
On November 17, 1963, the DRV news service, VNA, published in its international service, in English, a statement on the war in South Vietnam which it said had been issued by the South Vietnam National Liberation Front standing committee following an extraordinary session. Since the statement was in English, it obviously was aimed at Americans and other westerners. Since it was issued in Hanoi and not by the NLF in South Vietnam (although in its name), it probably represents policy as the DRV hopes to see it developed and in effect is a set of instructions to NLF cadres operating in South Vietnam.

The heart of the statement is a list of six demands with an accompanying statement on unification.

In the following reproduction of the statement, subheads have been added to facilitate reading:

Introduction.

The military putsch of November one set for the South Vietnamese people a number of urgent problems which any Vietnamese patriot is concerned with. That is the danger of the present war being expanded with deeper and deeper aggression of the U.S. imperialists. That is, the danger of the dictatorial regime being maintained in a new form and with new elements.

It is the duty for any responsible and goodwill force
in South Vietnam, regardless of the tendency and affiliation, to resolutely prevent the South Vietnam situation from developing in a more dangerous way, and to strive to improve that situation.

The South Vietnam National Liberation Front deems that in the present circumstance, the Vietnamese people have full conditions to take appropriate and effective measures to lessen the sufferings of the 14 million people in South Vietnam, to create a basis to stabilize step by step the South Vietnam situation in conformity with the national interests and the aspirations of all the people.

For nine years now, the South Vietnamese people have been persistently struggling for these fundamental demands: National independence, democracy, freedom, peace, neutrality, and improvement of their living conditions. These basic demands have not been realized so far, mainly because of the gross interference of the U.S. imperialists, which has become a large-scale aggressive war, and of the frantic opposition to the South Vietnamese people by the Ngo Dinh Diem administration installed by the U.S. imperialists.

American Imperialism Key Factor.

The overt policy of the United States is to impose on South Vietnam a new-type colonialist yoke, to turn it into a military base and springboard for war provocations in Southeast Asia. It is through their indigenous lackeys that
the former Eisenhower government and the present Kennedy government have realized the above dark designs.

On orders from the United States, the Ngo Dinh Diem family carried out in South Vietnam an extremely cruel, dictatorial, and fascist rule, massacred hundreds of thousands of people, adopted murder, execution, and imprisonment as a state policy, cut all fundamental democratic liberties, and generally speaking had led South Vietnam to a state of enslavement, ruin, and utter misery. There has never been in Vietnam's history such a cruel and arbitrary regime.

That regime has caused many losses to the nation, the biggest of which resulted from selling at a cheap price the national independence to the U.S. imperialists and paving the way for the latter to carry out their aggressive war in South Vietnam.

The South Vietnamese people had no other alternative than to oppose the U.S.-Diemists. Under the glorious banner of the South Vietnam National Liberation Front, the sacred resistance war, carried out with patriotism and in the spirit of democracy by the 14 million people, has continuously foiled the U.S.-Diem criminal moves, pinned down the U.S. imperialists in a bog in South Vietnam, seriously shook the reactionary administration, and drove step by step the U.S.-Diem clique to complete collapse. The ruthless massacre of Buddhist believers, students, and pupils over recent months:
by the Ngo Dinh Diem authorities at U.S. orders proved that they had been undergoing the most serious crisis since they came to power.

The gloomy future of the aggressors and traitors in the face of the ever developing might of the revolutionary movement in South Vietnam has made the contradictions among the rulers to increase quickly and become ever more acute.

**U.S. Sponsored Change of Government.**

To prolong their death struggle on Vietnam's soil, to deceive public opinion in the United States, in the world, and even in South Vietnam, the U.S. imperialists have resorted to the routine trick of changing horses in midstream, replacing by new lackeys the Ngo Dinh Diem family which had been exposed as traitors and especially had become inefficient. The coup d'etat of November 1, 1963 was arranged by the U.S. imperialists. That coup shows on the one hand the machiavellian maneuver of the U.S. imperialists to prolong and further expand the aggressive war in South Vietnam, and on the other the impasse of the Kennedy government in the face of an urgent situation which it failed to solve by simpler means.

We think that the overthrow of the Ngo Dinh Diem family regime not useless if it constitutes at the same time either a sign of an end to the disasters pressing heavily on the South Vietnamese people for nine years now, or a precedent to reach a better solution for the South Vietnam problem.
For many years for the South Vietnamese people have sacrificed all for the abolition of that mediepal regime and it is precisely the great sacrifices of the 14 million South Vietnamese that weaken and isolate seriously the traitorous gang. This constitutes the decisive condition for the anti-Diem forces to win success when they rise up.

Nevertheless, what the Vietnamese people and their friends in the world demand is obviously not the replacement of the Ngo Dinh Diem dictatorial clique, henchmen of the United States, by another dictatorial clique which pursues the U.S. reactionary policy of aggression in South Vietnam. The overthrow of Ngo Dinh Diem must, in its content, create conditions to end the U.S. imperialists' aggression, extinguish the hotbed of war in South Vietnam, and lay a basis for a real and broad democracy in which freedom of thought in this part of the world.

In other words, if the Ngo Dinh Diem gang was abolished while the root of that regime and the traitorous policies carried out by it remain unchanged, that abolition is but a change of actors while the same play goes on.

The South Vietnamese people cannot agree with such a change. Moreover, they strongly oppose the U.S. imperialists' scheme to take advantage of the shaken position of the Ngo Dinh Diem clique in the face of the revolutionary movement, take advantage of the patriotism of South Vietnamese armymen
and the antidictatorship spirit of officers to engineer the putch, for the sake of maintaining and strengthening the U.S. colonialist position and the positions of the traitors in South Vietnam.

Five Demands.

In the present situation, the South Vietnam National Liberation Front deems it necessary to put forth the most urgent demands of the South Vietnamese people, after the Ngo Dinh Diem clique was deposed:

Abolish Apparatus of Diem Government

1--Unconditionally abolish the dictatorial and fascist regime of Ngo Dinh Diem as a whole, including the U.S. dependent lines, the anti-communist policies which mean anti-people policies, the dictatorship in general in internal and external affairs, the reactionary political organizations under such labels as "Labor and Human Dignity Organization," "National Revolutionary Movement," "Women's Solidarity Movement," "Association of Victims of Communism," "Association of War Martyrs Families," "Republican Youth and Women," the network of policemen and secret agents, and so on, which constitute the tools to manipulate, control, and suppress the people, the "Strategic Hamlets, quarters, and sectors," the policies of militarizing youths and women, the anti-popular laws such as law 1-59, the fascist law controlling
the press, the emergency order, the order on mobilization and requisition, and so on.

Release all political detainees regardless of tendency, bringing out in the open the crimes of the U.S.-Diem regime and bring to trial and duly punish those who perpetrated bloody crimes against the people.

**Establish Democratic Freedoms.**

2--Carry out without delay real and broad democracy, including freedom of thought, expression, the press, organization, assembly, demonstrations, trade union; freedom to set up parties, political and social, cultural, and professional organizations; freedom of movement, trade, religion, and worship, corporal liberty; and guarantee by law nondiscrimination for all the people; stop the persecution, arrest, and detention of patriots and opposition individuals and parties; cancel the barbarous prison regime, especially torture, penitence, brain washing, and ill treatment of prisoners. Refrain from setting up in South Vietnam any form of dictatorial regime, either militarist or set up by a group or party, and from carrying out a policy of monoparty or monoreligion, a policy of dictatorship concerning thoughts, politics, religion, and economy.

**Eliminate American Influence in Vietnam.**

3--Put an immediate end to the U.S. aggression in South
Vietnam, withdraw all U.S. advisers from the Republican army units and military and civilian branches, in an advance toward withdrawing from South Vietnam all troops and military personnel of the United States, including the military command of Paul D. Harkins, weapons and other war means. The U.S. imperialists must respect South Vietnam's independence and sovereignty, and must not interfere in its internal affairs. The U.S. Embassy must halt spying activities to foment trouble in South Vietnam. South Vietnam must enjoy complete sovereignty in all political, military, economic, and cultural fields, in internal as well as in foreign relations. It must not be dependent on any country whatsoever and must enjoy an international position on equal footing with other countries.

Only on such a basis can the relations between South Vietnam and the United States be normalized and the interests and honor of the latter in South Vietnam be guaranteed.

Make Social and Economic Reforms.

4--Carry out the policy of an independent, democratic, and national economy; gradually raise the people's living standard in an advance toward eliminating unemployment and poverty. Cancel all harsh economic laws, recognize freedom of business, and trade; abolish completely all kinds of exacting taxes, supplementary taxes, and forcible money collections; reduce other taxes and cut fines. Guarantee
and encourage the national economy, check the influx of foreign goods which upset the South Vietnam market. Abolish the monopoly of the U.S. imperialists and the Diem family. Increase wages of workers, armymen, public servants, and private enterprise employees.

Halt the Fighting.

5--Stop at once terrorist raids, strafings, and operations; and the use of chemical poison, toxic gas, and napalm bombs; generally speaking, end the war; restore peace and security and stabilize the situation in the countryside and the other part of South Vietnam; stop bloodshed among the Vietnamese people. Halt pressganging, demobilize the soldiers of the Republican army whose military terms have expired, and let them return to their families and earn their living. We loudly declare that 18 years of wars is more than sufficient! There is no reason to drag on the state of mourning our soil merely because of the ambition of the warlike U.S. imperialists and their followers.

Establish a Neutralist Coalition Government.

6--The parties concerned in South Vietnam should negotiate with one another to reach a cease-fire and solve the important problems of the nation, to stabilize the basic, internal and external policies, with a view to reaching free general elections to elect state organs and to form
a national coalition government composed of representatives of all forces, parties, tendencies, and strata of the South Vietnamese people.

South Vietnam, once independent, will carry out a policy of neutrality, will not adhere to any military bloc, and will not let any foreign country station troops or establish bases in South Vietnam. It will accept aid from all countries regardless of political regime and establish friendly relations on an equal footing with all countries. South Vietnam respects the sovereignty of all countries and is ready to form together with the kingdom of Cambodia and Laos a neutral zone on the Indo-Chinese peninsula.

Conditions for Unification.

Concerning the reunification of Vietnam, as was expounded many times by the South Vietnam National Liberation Front, the Vietnam Fatherland Front, and the DRV Government, it will be realized step by step on a voluntary basis, with consideration given to the characteristics of each zone, with equality, and without annexion of one zone by the other.

We believe that if the above six pressing demands are met, South Vietnam will get rid of the president disastrous state of things. Once the war is ended, our people's life will be normalized, the foreign enslavement will be gradually eliminated, and no form of dictatorship will be able to exist in South Vietnam.
Today, one of the main obstacles to the development in a favorable direction of the South Vietnam situation is that the Ngo Dinh Diem clique has been overthrown. The Vietnamese people will have conditions to realize those requirements in the spirit of agreement among themselves if the leaders of the coup d’etat are concerned about the people's interests, the nation's freedom, and the goodwill of the 14 million compatriots, and if they are resolved to choose the glorious path of siding with justice instead of stepping onto the shameful path of Ngo Dinh Diem and submitting to the U.S. warmongers.

They will render quite a considerable service to the fatherland if they do not let the November coup remain only a treacherous move of the U.S. imperialists. That coup will really be a struggle against dictatorship, for democracy, and against aggression if they are not willing to let themselves be misused by the U.S. imperialists.

Under such conditions and only so can they enjoy the support of the people and the members of the Republican army and of public opinion throughout the world. It is certain that once based on that might, they will have ample potential to achieve a change shaping a really revolutionary content.

We deem that the leaders of the coup, the officers and commanders of the Republican army in general, and the members of the new cabinet have favorable opportunities to
demonstrate their patriotism, if the latter is not an empty word.

As has been clearly pointed out time and again, the South Vietnam National Liberation Front thinks that the South Vietnam problem is an internal problem of the South Vietnamese people. The protracted war and the present dangerous situation definitely do not stem from an irreconcilable dispute among our people. Instead, they can be ended once neocolonialism is repulsed and those Vietnamese people who have goodwill make approaches for negotiation. No matter what their tendency and their past activities and regardless of differences of view, the Vietnamese people can reach agreements not by arms but through negotiations. If every force, party, group, organization, and individual in South Vietnam considers the interests of the fatherland, is determined to oppose foreign aggression, and is endowed with the spirit of concession, the South Vietnam problem will be solved easily in conformity with the aspirations of the people.

On the contrary, in case the leaders of the coup still deliberately follow the U.S.-Dependent path, continuing the policy of denouncing communists, that is, the policy betraying the fatherland and the people, pursuing the present war, maintaining the dictatorial regime, deliberately driving our compatriots into slavery, death. And poverty, they will certainly be, like the Ngo Dinh Diem clique, strongly opposed
by our people.

It is obvious that Ngo Dinh Diem perished because he opposed the nation and people and because of his anti-communist policy. With Ngo Dinh Diem the U.S. imperialists could not win over the South Vietnamese people; on the contrary, they were driven deeper and deeper to failure. With their new henchmen, the U.S. imperialists must also tie their arms in face of the strong mettle of the uprising of more than 14 million people.

The predetermined fate of all henchmen of the U.S. imperialists cannot differ from that of Phibul Songram, Nouri said, Syngman Rhee, Menderes, Ngo Dinh Diem, and Ngo Dinh Nhu. They were not only regarded by the people as enemies but also were not forgiven by the troops under their command, and this was because of their crimes.

By taking part in the coup d'etat to overthrow the Ngo Dinh Diem dictatorial regime, the South Vietnamese army men did not want to let another clique which is as dictatorial or more dictatorial than Ngo Dinh Diem's seize power, continue to squander the soldiers' blood in reciprocal murders in the interests of the U.S. imperialists and for the sake of disputes for positions among the traitors, and especially to be drawn into the shameful and unjust anti-popular war.

ARVN Desertions Increases.
That thousands of patriotic army men have sided with the revolution after learning that the new men in power have declared that they would pursue the Ngo Dinh Diem policy and continue to follow the U.S. imperialists is a fact which the new ruling clique in South Vietnam must think about. The other strata of the people, from the working people to the bourgeois, intellectuals, pupils, students, and religious people will certainly not let themselves be duped by empty words such as the revolution and freedom proclaimed by the new rulers but will turn their back on the latter.

It is too clear that the new rulers in South Vietnam are isolated, and it is sure that this staff will become more and more serious. This does not include the cunning policy of the U.S. imperialists, which is that when the new clique becomes ineffective—this ineffectiveness can already be seen—they will pitilessly stage another coup d'etat and shameless death will come to the leaders of the one November 1 coup.

Conclusion

We hold that the only correct way to settle the South Vietnam situation, which is also the only way to guarantee fully the honor of the coup leaders, is the implementation of the six demands put forth by this statement.

For its part, the South Vietnam National Liberation
Front, which conforms to the will of the South Vietnamese people, solemnly declares that it is ready to join with the other forces in realizing fully the above demands and to do everything in its power to meet the earnest aspirations of the 14 million South Vietnamese people and people of goodwill in the South Vietnamese army and administration can pin their confidence on the National Liberation Front once they are resolved to stand up and contribute to the saving of the people and nation.

The South Vietnamese people once again assert that they will never leave their arms and depart from the goal of struggle of the people, which is to liberate South Vietnam and to achieve national independence, freedom, democracy, peace, neutrality, and improvement of the people's living conditions. Being constantly vigilant, having rich experience, and realizing clearly the enemy, the South Vietnamese people will fight to the end and defeat all the reactionary forces at home and from outside. The U.S. imperialists and their henchmen can never deceive our people. All their efforts to give a luster to the aggressive and puppet regime will fail completely.

The November military coup confirms that any regime which opposes the people and the fatherland cannot exist in South Vietnam. Ngo Dinh Diem's successors will, together with their U.S. masters, be annihilated and the South
Vietnamese people's struggle, though protracted and hard, will finally win glorious success.

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