

[Excerpts from Thieu's Address on peace negotiations]

Saigon, Oct. 24 (Reuters) - Following are excerpts from an unofficial translation of President Nguyen Van Thieu's address tonight on South Vietnamese radio and television:

During the past two days I have met with province chiefs, mayors and chairmen of city councils and have consulted politicians. I have heard many rumors, including some favorable and some unfavorable to our country.

Secret talks have been going on between Communist leaders and our U.S. allies, and these have no other objective save that of a peaceful solution for our country. I think that the most important thing for us now is a political solution.

You probably recall that every time I have had an initiative or a new peace proposal I have always let you know in advance. My stance is that I will always try to bring a just and lasting peace to South Vietnam.

Recently the Vietcong put forward a so-called new proposal involving a three-part government of national concord. Today I am going to discuss with you details of this plan.

The Vietcong Plan

While it is still under negotiation, the Vietcong have taken advantage of this plan to make propaganda and to use it as political opportunity to try to poison public opinion. On Sept. 11 the Vietcong proposed the following plan:

They said that if the United States wanted a settlement in South Vietnam they must respect the right of self-determination of the South Vietnamese people. For this they demanded a complete withdrawal of United States troops and an end to the bombing of North Vietnam

and the mining of North Vietnamese ports.

They also demanded that the United States must cease all its military involvement in South Vietnam and insisted that all other allies withdraw and that all military installations be abolished in South Vietnam.

They demanded that the United States cease support for Nguyen Van Thieu. Before, the Vietcong demanded only the resignation of Mr. Thieu, but now they also demanded an end to support for Mr. Thieu's Government.

At the same time they demand equality of the National Liberation Front with the South Vietnamese Government. The North Vietnamese Communists never admitted they have troops in the South and instead have always maintained that North Vietnamese troops fighting in the South are not North Vietnamese but the Vietcong of the South.

They have been speaking of a coalition government, but since the South Vietnamese people are opposed to such a government they have changed their word from coalition to government of national concord, but actually it means the same thing to me.

They speak of setting up a three-part government that will open the way for new elections. So far we have also been speaking about organizing new presidential elections in our eight-point peace plan, but to the Vietcong organizing new elections means we have to reorganize the whole election for the National Assembly and presidential elections.

They speak of two governments in the South—the Saigon Government and the so-called Revolutionary Government, while the P.R.G. does not even have its own capital.

Three-Part Government

They speak of a three-part government of national concord and a third part made up of the so-called neutralists and think some political opportunists living in exile and foreign countries have the right to take part in this three-part government. The Communists say they want a three-part government both in the central government and throughout the infrastructure down to the village and hamlet level.

The Vietcong say they want a three-part government of national concord which will replace our current Government, and that three-part government will organize new elections for both the National Assembly

and the Presidency. From this you can see that the Vietcong are afraid of new presidential elections as suggested by our Government in our eight-point proposals because they know that they will lose in that election and because they do not like a presidential regime. The regime that they want is something else—a parliamentary regime, for example.

Dissolution of Police

We know that if we coalesce with the Communists they will always take advantage of internal disturbances to try to take over the government.

Four years ago when they spoke of a coalition government they put out directives to their cadres saying the coalition was to be only at the central government level while at lower levels they must seize the right to control.

The more we deal with them the more we know about their cunning schemes. The so-called government of national concord is actually only a deceitful trap to dup public opinion.

They speak of the dissolution of the national police and freedom of speech and other rights and the abolition of press censorship in South Vietnam, but all these things are only aimed at duping public opinion.

Recently Pham Van Dong said there would be a cease-fire in South Vietnam if the U.S. stopped bombing the North and mining its ports. He said this would lead to a peaceful settlement in South Vietnam by setting up a three-part government of national accord.

They speak of accepting Mr. Thieu as the leader of a South Vietnamese faction but they do not speak of him as a President, as he is at present.

While they speak of a three-part government of national accord, they have been begging the United States for a cease-fire. And while this has not come about they have prepared for one and made flags for you in case it comes.

Why do they want a cease-fire? Because six months ago they thought they could conquer South Vietnam as well as other countries in Indochina.

But now they want a cease-fire because they know the United States Presidential election is only two weeks away. Moreover, they are in a weaker position every day because of the bombing of North Vietnam.

The reason they want a cease-fire now is because they think that it is easier to deal with Mr. Nixon as a candidate than with Mr. Nixon as a President-elect.

Their cunning scheme is to beg for a cease-fire now in order to keep their troops in the South to prepare for another offensive in the future even after a coalition government came into existence. They say they have always aimed to defeat the Vietnamization policy and to destroy the rural pacification program. And they have always asked their cadres to prepare for final victory.

Warns of Uprisings

They have instructed their cadres to urge uprisings in the cities and towns both before and after a cease-fire. They have told their sappers to attack police posts and outposts and even resettlement camps. And they have instructed them to incite refugees to rise up and demand the right to return to their own villages.

They have told their cadres to have from three to five flags each and to have between 300 and 500 flags for each village in case of a cease-fire. They have instructed them to ask people to give them money or materials or paint to erase all Government signs.

They also instructed their cadres to sabotage water and electric plants with the aim of making the people suffer in order to organize demonstrations.

Communist documents captured by our troops in Thua-thien Province show they told their cadres to prepare to play an upper hand in every field before and after a cease-fire.

From this we know that they have always advocated a cease-fire, but not a permanent one, and this means they just want time for a

good rest before fighting again. So when they speak of a cease-fire we should not believe them.

I have always said we are not afraid of a cease-fire but our stance is that if there is a cease-fire it must go along with a political settlement.

Troop Withdrawal Demand

Our position has been put forward with the purpose of guaranteeing a just and lasting peace. But this stance is that if they want U. S. troops to withdraw they must also withdraw their troops back to the North.

Our position includes a demand that the North Vietnamese withdraw their troops from Indochina because we do not want them to take advantage of neighboring countries to supply their troops in preparation for future offensives against our country.

You know the Paris peace talks have been going on now for several years. Actually, there has been no progress. In the meantime the Vietcong have been trying to hold secret talks with Dr. Kissinger in order to put forward their cunning plots.

They are always afraid of speaking directly to our representatives. This is because they know that if they speak directly to us we will see through their cunning plots and they know that by speaking with the U. S. the latter will not uncover the plots.

Our stand is that any solution to end the war must be finally approved by our Government. The United States has been trying its best to deal with both Russia and China in order to bring a just peace to South Vietnam, but our position here is that any solution must be approved by the South Vietnamese Government. Any agreement leading to a peace settlement must have the signature of the Government of South Vietnam.

The reason why I have held meetings with Dr. Kissinger in the past few days is to explain this. I can say that the meetings were productive because the U. S. allies have asked our opinion about Communist proposals and we made our position clear to them.

Reaffirms 1954 Accords

Today I would like to reaffirm our standpoint in this way: To restore peace first we must use the 1954 Geneva accords as a basis. This means North Vietnam is North Vietnam and South Vietnam is South Vietnam. For the time being one must accept the two Vietnams and neither side can invade the other.

On the question of reunification of the two Vietnams, I can only say this must be realized through democracy and not through force. Speaking about the 1954 accords I can say the North Vietnamese Communist have no right to interfere in the internal affairs of South Vietnam. They must withdraw their troops back to the North. Their cunning plot is to retain troops in South Vietnam in order to use them after a cease-fire.

If they do not withdraw their troops to North Vietnam it will be difficult to tell North from South because we are all yellow, of the same race and the same language.

The Vietcong speak of controlling two-thirds of the South Vietnamese populace. If they really do, I challenge them to accept free elections, and of course we are ready to accept the results of such an election. I have always advocated that any settlement must be discussed between North and South Vietnamese Governments, and the National Liberation Front has no right to stick its nose into our business."

Tonight I say that a cease-fire will have a chance to be augured soon if such a cease-fire is guaranteed and internationally supervised, as proposed by our Government and our American allies.

Crack-Down in Provinces

If you ask me whether there will be a cease-fire in the near future, I tell you that sooner or later there will be a cease-fire. We are not afraid of a cease-fire as long as it is guaranteed and internationally supervised. A cease-fire is a need for our side and therefore we have nothing to be afraid of.

In my meetings with province chiefs and mayors I ordered them to crack down on any Communist disturbances aimed at destroying a cease-fire—such as the use of their flags in local areas, etc. I also ordered them to prepare necessary measures to guarantee security for the people in case a cease-fire comes, no matter whether it comes very soon or later, in one or two months.

Tonight I would like to let you know that we do not have anything to worry about. Therefore, do not be confused by recent rumors of a peace settlement. Right now the war is still on, and since it continues we will continue our fight against the Com-

munists. We will keep fighting until there is a cease-fire.

I call on you to have your flags made and ready to be used in the event of a cease-fire. If the Communists have two flags in their hands, we will do the same on our side. These flags will be used to hoist over our houses and party buildings and public places in order to prevent the Communists from hoisting their flags over ours.

You must not listen to the Communists. They have exploited the secret meetings between me and Dr. Henry Kissinger by saying Thieu agreed to a three-part government. All these rumors are aimed at sowing confusion among the people, so you must not listen to them.

They spread rumors that there are divisions among members of the National Security Council — that I have my ideas and Vice President Huong has his own ideas. But it is not true.

Let me ask you something. Do you think I am the main obstacle to a peace settlement, as the Communists always say? Of course I am not. If I am the main obstacle I would never put out a proposal to resign one month before new presidential elections are held. And if I hunger for power I would never propose such a thing. Again I reaffirm that I am not the main obstacle to any peace solution.

Since this is a question of survival for our country, I will not pay attention to criticism against me at the moment, no matter what kind and no matter from where it comes. On this occasion I would like to call on the press to take a serious attitude toward my opponents and

I call on you not to write any articles harmful to national security and the nation.

I call as well on the superpowers to cooperate with us for peace because our peace is also your peace—because South Vietnam is defending not only its own peace but also world peace. Please do not sow division among our people.

'It Is Just a Ploy'

The Communists speak of a coalition, saying that if we do not accept it we will have nothing. It is nonsense, it is just a ploy. We must realize that if they were still in a strong position they would never accept a cease-fire.

I would like to remind you that when a cease-fire comes it is not the task of international bodies or commissions to prevent the Communists from violating it. It is our task if we want to guarantee a lasting peace.

I would like to remind you about the offensive of 1968 and about the way they treated our people. They massacred thousands of our people during the 24 days in which they occupied Hue.

Therefore you must see that if they come to the South then many more of our people will be killed—not just thousands but many more. The bloodthirsty Communists will never tolerate our people.

On this occasion I call on all middle-of-the-road politicians not to sacrifice your own cause, not to speak their rumors. Instead you should give up your middle-of-the-road position and join 17 million South Vietnamese people in their struggle against Communism.