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No. 1361

Hoc Tap, No. 2, 1973



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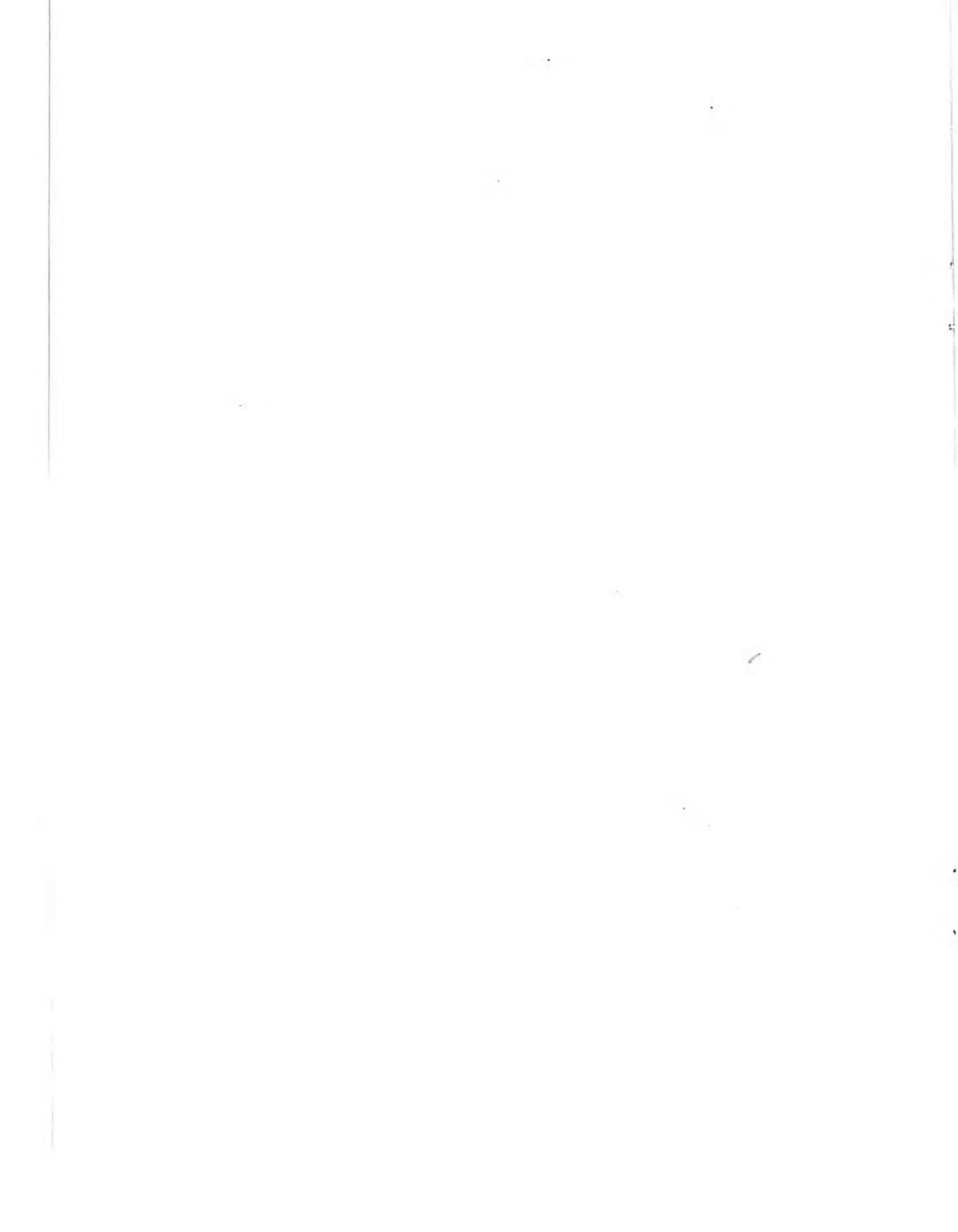
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Partial translation of the monthly theoretical and political journal of the Vietnam Lao Dong Party published in Hanoi.

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A HISTORIC VICTORY

[Editorial; Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese, No 2, February 1973, pp 1-9]

With the signing of the "agreement on ending the war and restoring peace in Vietnam," our people's resistance against the U.S. for national salvation, filled with countless difficulties and hardships, has ended victoriously.

The Vietnamese people and all progressive mankind have joyfully acclaimed this great victory.

In the atmosphere of enthusiasm in the days of victory, let us look back at our struggle, evaluate the past results, and advance to win new victories while aiming at the set objectives.

Our people's resistance against the U.S. for national salvation is the most glorious one in the history of our nation's struggle against foreign invasion for several thousand years. It is also the greatest and fiercest war for the liberation of peoples since World War II.

In this resistance our people have won glorious victories of decisive significance not only regarding our nation's present and future but also with a profound effect on the development of the revolutionary movement for the world's peoples.

Our victory in the undertaking against the U.S. for national salvation was a victory by a nation with an ancient culture and a spirit of self-reliance and self-strengthening, and that loves independence and freedom. To deprive our people of their right to live in independence the U.S. imperialists resorted to every violent maneuver. When the local war reached its climax more than 600,000 U.S. and allied troops and hundreds of thousands of troops of the Saigon administration trampled upon this small South Vietnam. They used a sizeable and modern air force to conduct the "greatest bombing in the history of the earth" with a view to bombing the north back to the stone age and smashing our people's will to resist. Moreover, they carried out crafty diplomatic schemes to suppress our people's resistance.

Never have our people undergone such a terrible trial. Never have we coped with such a brutal enemy possessing a material force several times bigger than ours.

However, our people never yielded. "Nothing is more precious than independence and freedom." Because of this truth our people would rather sacrifice everything than live in slavery. Because of this truth we pledged to act as an assault combatant on the anti-U.S. forefront, determined to fulfill our sacred national duties and our noble international obligations.

With heroic spirit and extraordinary energy, our people successively defeated the four war strategies of neocolonialism, scoring brilliant victories unprecedented in our nation's several-thousand-year history.

The "general uprising," the Ap Bac, Binh Gia, Van Tuong, Ba Gia, Dong Xoai, 1968 Mau Than Tet, and Route 9-southern Laos victories, and especially the victory of our southern compatriots' offensive and uprising in 1972 and our northern people's victory in defeating the great U.S. strategic air offensive on Hanoi and Haiphong will live forever with our country, just as have the Bach Dang, Chi Lang, Dong Da and Dien Bien Phu victories.

Faced with the strong vitality of a nation capable of fighting endlessly and frustrating all enemy strategies and schemes, the U.S. Government was forced to recognize Vietnam's independence, sovereignty, unity, and territorial integrity and end its aggressive war, military involvement, and interference in South Vietnam's internal affairs.

In invading the southern part of our country, the imperialists not only trampled on our nation's independence but also deprived our southern people of all their democratic freedoms. They imposed an extremely brutal fascist regime on South Vietnam. They set up a huge ruling apparatus to coerce every citizen, family, hamlet, and ward and turn South Vietnam into a huge prison. They brought to South Vietnam a way of life typifying all that is savage, evil, and condemned by mankind. They plotted to transform the South Vietnamese people, who are patriotic, unsubmitive, stalwart, united, creative, intelligent, hard-working plain people into uprooted Vietnamese ready to serve as mercenaries and kill their compatriots. Destroying this fascist regime, smashing this coercive machinery, frustrating this savage scheme, and regaining independence and democratic freedoms were the basic objectives of our southern people's struggle, and it was because of these noble objectives that our people made sacrifices, fought, and triumphed.

After many years of hard struggle and after several disputes, many vast areas in South Vietnam have been liberated and millions of southern compatriots have become real masters of their society. In the south, the concentration centers have been destroyed, the coercive machinery has been smashed, democratic liberties have been achieved, and people are living in

concord to build a new life. The U.S. Government must pledge to respect the right to self-determination of the South Vietnamese people and guarantee their democratic liberties; the South Vietnamese people will decide their political future themselves through a truly free and democratic general election. The victory in the struggle is very great. This victory creates very favorable basic conditions for the South Vietnamese people to continue to advance.

The victory of the Vietnamese people's undertaking against the U.S. for national salvation and the Lao and Cambodian people's victories represent great victories for the Indochinese peoples. By the combat ability of each people and by coordinating the activities and mutual assistance among the three peoples, the Indochinese people have scored great achievements in their struggle against the U.S. for national salvation. The situation in the Indochinese countries has changed rapidly.

The liberated area of the Lao people, which extends from north to south, encompasses a majority of the strategic area and amounts to more than two-thirds of the land where nearly half of the Lao people live. People's administrations have been set up in the area and have become increasingly consolidated. New economic bases and a new culture are being built. A new regime is being formed and developing its superiority. This is a basic condition for the Lao people to advance and fulfill their national and democratic missions.

With a marvelous leap forward, the Cambodian people's resistance against the U.S. for national salvation has scored very great victories: nine-tenths of the land and more than two-thirds of the population have been liberated. The Vietnamese people are very joyous over the great victories of the fraternal Lao and Cambodian peoples, and consider them as their own.

The victory of our people's resistance against the U.S. for national salvation is also a victory of epochal significance for the socialist forces, national independence, democracy and peace, and for freedom- and justice-loving people throughout the world. We know that the strategic objective of the U.S. imperialists in conducting this war of aggression was not only to transform the three countries on the Indochinese peninsula into their neocolony and military base but also to force back socialism, use Vietnam as a testing ground for the strategies and tactics of the war of aggression and for various types of new weapons, and gain experience in the hope of suppressing the revolutionary movement in various countries and preparing for World War III. For this strategic objective the U.S. imperialists have spent hundreds of billions of dollars in the war of aggression against Vietnam and have sacrificed hundreds of thousands of their troops. In the end, however, they did not attain their dark design and could not check the revolutionary movement in various countries. Moreover, they also faced a comprehensive crisis. Thus, a major part of their global strategy has been defeated and their strategic dispositions plan in the world has been confused.

Obviously the victory of the resistance against the U.S. for national salvation has created a big change in the world balance of forces, contributed to increasing the strength of the socialist system, stepped up the dissolution of neocolonialism, and encouraged the world people's movement to struggle for peace, national independence, democracy, and socialism, and for human qualities and man's right to live. This victory will surely produce a deep impact on the development of the world's revolution during the remaining years of the 20th Century.

By this significance and stature alone the Vietnamese people's resistance against the U.S. for national salvation resistance has entered the world peoples' history of struggle against foreign aggression as an eternal epic.

Our friends throughout the five continents have overwhelmingly praised this victory and consider it a victory for all progressive mankind.

How honored and proud are the Vietnamese people who have achieved this sacred victory, thus being worthy of the confidence of brothers and friends throughout the five continents!

The victory of the undertaking against the U.S. for national salvation is a result of the struggle full of sacrifices and hardships by the 40 million compatriots and combatants throughout our country, those who fully understand respected and beloved Uncle Ho's teaching, "nothing is more precious than independence and freedom."

Without a nation with an age-old civilization that has gone through thousands of years of struggle against foreign aggression and has a very strong spirit of self-reliance; without a people who have a boundless spirit of sacrifice and marvelous intelligence; and without an army that is always "loyal to the country, faithful to the people, and determined to fulfill all duties, overcome all difficulties, and defeat all enemies," we would not have been able to confront the enemy.

During the past 18 years and more of aggression the U.S. imperialists have caused boundless suffering to our people. No family village or hamlet, and no city ward has been spared from pain and grief. However, for independence and freedom our people are not afraid of hardships and sacrifices. Our compatriots -- the nonreligious and religious, old and young, and boys and girls -- in the south as well as in the north, in the lowlands as well as in the mountainous areas, and at home as well as in foreign countries have contributed their sweat, bones, and blood to the fatherland. Wave after wave of youths have set out to fight the enemy. In many families three generations have successively joined the armed forces. If one person fell, another would advance. In particular, the southern compatriots -- the brave children of the fatherland's brass fortress who have always been the first to go and the last to return and who have undergone 32 years of incessant war and endured countless suffering -- have continued to struggle persistently for national independence and democracy and have set a shining

example of revolutionary heroism, loyalty to the fatherland, and marvelous creativity in struggle. Our fatherland will remember forever these great contributions by the blood-sealed southern compatriots.

Through the course of struggle, countless cadres and party members and countless compatriots and combatants have worked selflessly for the country and sacrificed their bones and blood for "the country to blossom flowers of independence and grow fruits of freedom." The examples set by the war heroes will live forever with our people, our generation, and future generations of our posterity.

The victory of the undertaking against the U.S. for national salvation is a victory for ever-victorious Marxism-Leninism and for our party's correct and creative political and military lines.

These lines are the product of a close combination of Marxism-Leninism with Vietnamese revolutionary realities. These lines bear in themselves the working class' thoroughly revolutionary spirit with a deep scientific sense. They are deeply imbued with our independent, sovereign spirit and our genuine patriotism in coordination with the pure proletarian internationalism of our party and venerated and beloved President Ho -- the great master of the Vietnamese revolution.

These lines have set forth for our people appropriate struggle objectives, correct strategies and tactics, scientific revolutionary methods, and talented organizational art in all fields of internal relations as well as foreign relations, and in the political and military fields as well as in the diplomatic field. With these lines our party has motivated and organized all the national potentialities, now as well as in the past, and within as well as without the country, created a combined strength, and dealt the enemy deadly blows.

These lines also reflect brilliantly Vietnamese intelligence in the glorious Ho Chi Minh era of our country. With this intelligence our people have bankrupted many of the enemy's political theories and various military strategies and tactics.

Only by thoroughly understanding the role and effect of the party's revolutionary lines can we explain what many people consider strange: A people with a small population, a small territory, and a still lower economic level have defeated an enemy whose material forces are greater than ours by thousands of times.

The success of the resistance against the U.S. for national salvation is also a success of a new system, the socialist system, filled with vitality which has transformed the north into a firm and stable base area for the revolution nationwide.

This system has reflected in the war flames its superiority and created a marvelous strength. Relying on this strength, the northern people have not only gloriously defeated two U.S. wars of destruction and, in particular, doomed the U.S. Air Force's large-scale strategic attacks, but have also firmly maintained production, communications, and transportation, supplied all the battlefields with adequate material and human resources on time, and gloriously fulfilled the vast rear's duty to the vast frontline. The root cause of this strength was the fact that the new system created economic, political, and social conditions favorable for organizing, mobilizing, deploying, and devoting all the national potential to fighting the war and has created new men who are masters of their lives, who have associated themselves closely with the new system, and who have sufficient determination and talents to protect this system.

The success of our people's resistance against the U.S. for national salvation was also a result of the wholehearted support and great assistance from the socialist countries and progressive people all over the world.

Never before in the history of struggle against foreign aggression by various nations was there such a broad and vigorous international support movement, embracing billions of people on earth regardless of political views, religions, races, nationalities or ages, as is the world's movement in support of Vietnam in its anti-U.S. fight. This movement has not only developed seethingly in the socialist countries, nationalist countries, and capitalist countries but has also developed fiercely in the United States itself.

The deep cause of the formation and strong development of this movement lies in the fact that the world peoples have realized ever more clearly that our anti-U.S. national salvation resistance was not only a test of strength between the Vietnamese people and the U.S. imperialists but also a struggle between the socialist countries and the warlike imperialists, between the national liberation forces and the aggressive imperialist forces, and between the peace-loving forces and the warmongering forces. The success or failure of this struggle would greatly influence the future of the world peoples' struggle for peace, national independence, democracy, and socialism.

The world peoples' movement in support of Vietnam in its anti-U.S. fight was a very important assistance force that was indispensable for our people's resistance against the U.S. for national salvation. Therefore we all will remember forever this great, wholehearted assistance from the people of the fraternal socialist countries, the Lao and Cambodian peoples, and people all over the world, including the progressive U.S. people.

With the great success of the undertaking against the U.S. for national salvation, the Vietnamese revolution has shifted to a new phase.

In this new phase the immediate task of our people throughout the country is "to strengthen our unity, constantly heighten our vigilance, endeavor

to struggle to consolidate our past achievements, firmly maintain a lasting peace, achieve independence and democracy in the south, and advance toward peaceful reunification of the fatherland." We will struggle firmly so that the signed "agreement on ending the war and restoring peace in Vietnam" will be implemented seriously and thoroughly, because it is the political and legal basis for guaranteeing our people's fundamental national rights, for guaranteeing the southern compatriots' right to self-determination and rights to freedom and democracy, and for creating favorable conditions for advancing our national revolutionary undertaking toward new achievements. This struggle is very difficult, hard, and complex, because implementation of the agreement will encounter obstacles created by the militarists and fascists, and because these forces have not yet renounced their scheme to sabotage peace and serve as a tool to implement the U.S. imperialists' neocolonialism in the south. Therefore this struggle requires very great efforts by our entire people in consolidating and strengthening their revolutionary forces -- a decisive condition for winning victories.

As those who have had to endure most of the very heavy consequences of the war, the southern compatriots will certainly unite and love each other, live in concord with each other as brothers and younger brothers of the same family, endeavor to consolidate and develop their past achievements, and side with each other in "struggling to firmly maintain peace, to achieve true independence, to achieve the rights to freedom and democracy and national concord, to heal the war wounds, to rebuild the country, and to bring a bountiful life and happiness to our entire people."

The success of the undertaking against the U.S. for national salvation has opened up unprecedentedly favorable conditions for stepping up the socialist construction undertaking on a large scale and at a high speed. The northern people must "uphold their heroic tradition and their spirit of collective ownership, labor enthusiastically and creatively, restore and develop the economy, consolidate the national defense forces, expand the cultural undertaking, eliminate poverty and backwardness, and transform our country into a firm, strong, and prosperous socialist country," thus transforming the DRV into an increasingly firm and stable prop for the nationwide revolutionary struggle and enabling the DRV to develop its international role even more satisfactorily.

At the new turning point of the revolution our people's task is very heavy, and new difficulties will arise. Our advantages are, however, basic.

Due to the success of the resistance against the U.S. for national salvation, the revolutionary forces in our country and throughout Indochina have developed by leaps and bounds quantitatively, qualitatively, and as regards their posture and strength. This is the most decisive condition and at the same time the most basic advantage to insure that our people throughout the country will advance toward fulfilling their revolutionary tasks in the new phase.

The resistance against the U.S. for national salvation has bequeathed us a boundlessly noble spiritual value, the value of the very fine qualities of the new men of the present era, and the value of our experience and revolutionary consciousness in defeating the enemy.

We have a very great party, a very heroic people, and friends all over the world who have always sympathized with and supported our people's revolutionary undertaking.

By firmly maintaining and developing these basic advantages our people throughout the country will certainly overcome every difficulty and advance steadily toward even greater new achievements.

For the prosperity of the fatherland, for the undertaking of achieving independence and democracy in the south, and for the happiness of the people and our own happiness, let all of us in the north devote all our enthusiasm, talents, and strength to labor productivity, reorganize our daily life, rebuild our country, and strengthen our national defense forces. Each man, each unit, each locality, each branch must struggle every hour, every day to score concrete and realistic achievements in production, daily activities, and studies and in fulfilling our obligation to the fatherland.

We must live so that we are worthy of the noble sacrifices of the comrades and compatriots who have passed away. We must always firmly maintain our revolutionary tradition, uphold our constant revolutionary spirit, and guard against thoughts of rest, seeking safety, enjoying pleasure, or complacency. We must firmly maintain our industrious, simple, and modest bearing and work enthusiastically so as to build a prosperous and beautiful fatherland. We must enthusiastically enter the fields of science and technology and promptly assimilate mankind's modern knowledge. We must pay attention to heightening our economic management level and our professional and specialized level. We must further strengthen our love for our comrades and compatriots. We must further heighten our genuine patriotism in coordination with pure proletarian internationalism.

Under the party's clear-sighted leadership, relying on the people's invincible strength, and with the great, enthusiastic impetus brought about by the success of the undertaking against the U.S. for national salvation, let all our cadres, party members, and people continue to struggle to advance our great national revolutionary undertaking forever and realize the boundlessly venerated and beloved President Ho's last desire that "our entire party and people unite in their struggle to build a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic, and prosperous Vietnam and to contribute worthily to the world's revolutionary undertaking."

CSO: 3909-F

VIETNAM LAO DONG PARTY ISSUES SLOGANS GREETING PEOPLE'S VICTORY

[Article; Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese, No 2, February 1973, pp 10-11]

The Central Committee of the Vietnam Lao Dong Party has formulated the following slogans for the celebrations of the great victory of the Vietnamese people:

1. Hurrah for the great victory of the nation-wide resistance to U.S. aggression, for national salvation!
2. Hurrah for the Paris agreement on ending the war and restoring peace in Vietnam!
3. Hurrah for the great victory of the heroic people of South Vietnam!
4. Hurrah for the great victory of the heroic people of North Vietnam!
5. Hurrah for the great victory of the heroic people of Laos!
6. Hurrah for the great victory of the heroic people of Cambodia!
7. Nothing is more precious than independence and freedom!
8. Vietnam is one. The Vietnamese nation is one!
9. Everything for the cause of socialist construction in North Vietnam; everything for the blood-sealed South Vietnam!
10. Let the whole nation be of one mind and strive to implement the provisions of the Paris agreement on Vietnam and resolutely struggle for peace, independence, democracy, welfare and national concord!
11. Let us endeavor to restore normal relations between the two zones and advance towards the peaceful reunification of the fatherland!

12. Let the compatriots and combatants throughout the country resolutely put into practice President Ho Chi Minh's testament to build a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic, prosperous and strong Vietnam, thus making a worthy contribution to the revolutionary cause of the world people!
13. Let us strive to emulate one another and work with enthusiasm, heal the wounds of war, develop the economy and culture, and build socialism successfully!
14. Let us constantly enhance our vigilance and consolidate our defense potential to defend the fatherland and preserve the gains of the revolution!
15. Our sincere thanks to the peoples and governments of the Soviet Union, China and the other fraternal socialist countries, the peoples and governments of the friendly countries, and the world people including the progressive people in the United States for their great support and assistance!
16. Let the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia unite closely, and give mutual support for the sake of peace, independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of their fatherlands!
17. Our eternal gratitude to the heroes and combatants who have laid down their lives for the country.
18. Long live the Vietnam Lao Dong Party, architect and leader of the victorious war of resistance against U.S. aggression, for national salvation, and of the success of socialist construction!
19. Long live the peaceful, unified, independent, democratic, prosperous and strong Vietnam!
20. The memory of the great President Ho Chi Minh will live forever with our cause!

CSO: 3909-F

APPEAL OF VIETNAM LAO DONG PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE AND THE GOVERNMENT OF
THE DRV

[Appeal; Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese, No 2, February 1973, pp 12-17]

Appeal of the Central Committee of the Vietnam Lao Dong Party and the DRV
Government

Dear countrymen and combatants,

The Central Committee of the Vietnam Lao Dong Party and the Govern-
ment of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam are greatly joyful to inform our
countrymen and combatants throughout the country that:

On the 27th of January 1973, in Paris, capital of the French Republic,
the minister for foreign affairs of the Government of the Democratic Republic
of Vietnam, the minister for foreign affairs of the Provisional Revolutionary
Government of the Republic of South Vietnam, the secretary of state of the
Government of the United States of America and the minister for foreign
affairs of the Government of the Republic of Vietnam, formally signed the
"agreement on ending the war and restoring peace in Vietnam."

Today, the 28th of January, war completely ends in both zones of our
country.

As provided for in the agreement, the United States, and the other
countries respect the independence, sovereignty, unity, and territorial
integrity of Vietnam. The United States ends its war of aggression, its
military involvement and its intervention in the internal affairs of South
Vietnam.

The right to self-determination and the democratic liberties of the
South Vietnamese people shall be respected. The people of South Vietnam
shall decide themselves their political future through genuinely free and
democratic general elections.

The reunification of Vietnam shall be carried out step by step through peaceful means.

With the signed agreement, the resistance of our people against U.S. aggression for national salvation, has won a very glorious victory. This is a very great victory of the most glorious war of resistance in the history of our people's struggle against foreign aggression.

Our entire people, in the south and the north alike, take immense pride in and are greatly inspired by this great victory of the fatherland.

This is also a victory of the peoples of the Indochinese countries in their united fight against the common enemy.

This victory of the Vietnamese people is also a victory of epochal significance of the forces of socialism, national independence, democracy and peace, of the freedom and justice-loving people all over the world.

This brilliant victory is the fruit of more than 18 years of persistent fight of the 40 million people and combatants throughout our country, after surmounting innumerable sacrifices and hardships.

This is a victory of the spirit "nothing is more precious than independence and freedom," of the strength of solidarity of the entire people, of revolutionary heroism, of the tradition of patriotism, dauntlessness and staunchness forged in 4,000 years of existence of the Vietnamese nation.

We warmly salute the people and combatants in the heroic south, who united under the glorious banner of the National Front for Liberation and Provisional Revolutionary Government, the only authentic representatives of the people in the southern part of our country, have gone through innumerable trials and dangers and fought with matchless courage.

We warmly salute the people and combatants of the heroic north who have fought very valiantly while eagerly building socialism and wholeheartedly assisting the great front in the south in the fight against U.S. aggression for national salvation.

With boundless loyalty to the fatherland and the people, our invincible armed forces in both the south and the north have fought and made sacrifices with tremendous valor, recorded marvelous exploits and proved themselves very worthy of being "the heroic army of a heroic people."

In these joyful days of victory, our entire people feel all the more indebted to the great services of our venerated and beloved President Ho Chi Minh, the teacher of the Vietnamese revolution, who has devoted all his life to the independence and freedom of the fatherland and the revolutionary cause of the world's people.

We will remember with most profound feeling of gratitude the immortal services of the heroes, heroines, martyrs and all our comrades and compatriots in both zones who have laid down their lives for the country.

The great victory of the resistance against U.S. aggression for national salvation is the victory of all-conquering Marxism-Leninism, of the judicious and creative political and military line of our party which has upheld the spirit of independence and freedom, united the entire party, army and people in a firm resolve to fight and to win, closely combining genuine patriotism with pure internationalism.

This victory is the victory of the socialist regime full of vitality which has turned the north into the steady base of the revolution throughout the country.

This victory of our nation is also the result of the wholehearted support and great assistance accorded us by the other socialist countries and the progressive people all over the world. On this occasion, our people express heartfelt thanks to the fraternal countries, the international working class and all the peace- and justice-loving nations and peoples throughout the world, including the progressive people in the United States.

Dear countrymen and combatants,

The victorious conclusion of the resistance against U.S. aggression for national salvation, has ushered in a new turning point in the Vietnamese revolution. The signed agreement is the political and legal basis ensuring the fundamental national rights of our people, and the sacred right to self-determination of our compatriots in the south. This victory is the basis for our people to march forward and win new victories and achieve the national democratic revolution throughout the country.

The struggle of our people in South Vietnam still has to overcome many difficulties and obstacles. The militarist and fascist forces, instrument of neocolonialism, running counter to the aspirations of our nation, have not yet renounced their scheme to sabotage peace and block the road to independence and freedom of our people.

That is why the immediate task of our countrymen in both zones of the country is to strengthen solidarity, maintain high vigilance at all times, and do our best to consolidate the successes already won, firmly preserve lasting peace, achieve independence and democracy in the south and proceed to the peaceful reunification of the fatherland.

The Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam solemnly declares that it will seriously and scrupulously implement all the provisions of the Paris agreement, and demands that all parties signatory respect this agreement and fully implement it. This is a very important, and, at the same time, a very difficult and complicated struggle to which our people of all strata and all patriots in South Vietnam must make an active contribution.

The war of aggression which the various imperialist countries have, one after another, conducted on our land for more than 30 long years has left very serious aftermaths. It is a certainty that our compatriots in the south will unite with and love one another as children of the same family, dispel all animosity and suspicion, and will, without distinction of the poor and the rich, political affiliation, religious belief and nationality, pool efforts in the struggle to preserve peace, achieve genuine independence, exercise democratic liberties, materialize national concord, heal the wounds of war, rebuild the country, and bring a life of plenty and happiness to the entire people.

Vietnam is one. The Vietnamese nation is one. The unification of the fatherland is the sacred desire of our people in both zones. Let us, on the road toward the reunion of all Vietnamese in the lap of our beloved fatherland, soon join efforts in reestablishing normal relations between the two zones to meet the earnest desire for family reunion and endeavoring for the bright future of the nation.

The victory of the resistance against U.S. aggression for national salvation, has created unprecedented favorable conditions for the north of our country to forge ahead with the building of socialism. For the prosperity and strength of the country, for the achievement of independence and democracy in the south and of a beautiful and happy life for themselves, let our compatriots in the north uphold their traditional heroism and sense of collective ownership to work with enthusiasm and creativeness so as to restore and develop the economy, increase defense potential, broaden our cultural activities and do away with poverty and backwardness, thus turning our country into a solid, strong and prosperous socialist country and further enhancing the international role of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the impregnable outpost of the socialist camp in Southeast Asia.

Let everybody, after decades of war, enter the stage of peaceful construction with high revolutionary zeal and in a stirring emulation movement. Let us transform the revolutionary heroism we have displayed in combat into our determination to overcome all difficulties in order to accelerate, at a greater tempo than ever before, the socialist construction and the building of a new life and the new man.

The destinies of the three Indochinese peoples are always closely related to one another. The mutual love and friendship between Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia have been forged by the blood they have shed in the protracted struggle against the common enemies for their respective independence and freedom.

We firmly believe that the resistance put up by the heroic Lao people under the glorious banner of the Lao Patriotic Front, as well as the resistance waged by the valorous people of Cambodia under the banner of the National United Front of Cambodia and the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia will end in very glorious victory.

It is the firm conviction of our people that in our struggle for the firm maintenance of peace and the achievement of independence and democracy as well as in the national reconstruction in both parts of the country, we will continue to have the warm sympathy and precious assistance of the other socialist countries and the progressive people all over the world.

It is the sincere desire of our government and people to entertain friendly relations with all countries, including the United States of America, on the basis of respect for each other's independence and sovereignty and of equality and mutual benefit.

Dear countrymen and combatants,

The Vietnamese revolution has won very great victories. Yet, our nation's struggle must be continued to consolidate the gains we have made and march toward new successes in order to build a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic prosperous and strong Vietnam and do our share in the common struggle of the world's peoples for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

This glorious victory will be followed by a period of most resplendent development of our nation. To be worthy of the compatriots and comrades who have laid down their lives for the country's independence and freedom and for the happiness of the people and all the future generations, let all of us devote all our mind, energy and talent to defending the building the country, thus writing new pages in the glorious history of the nation.

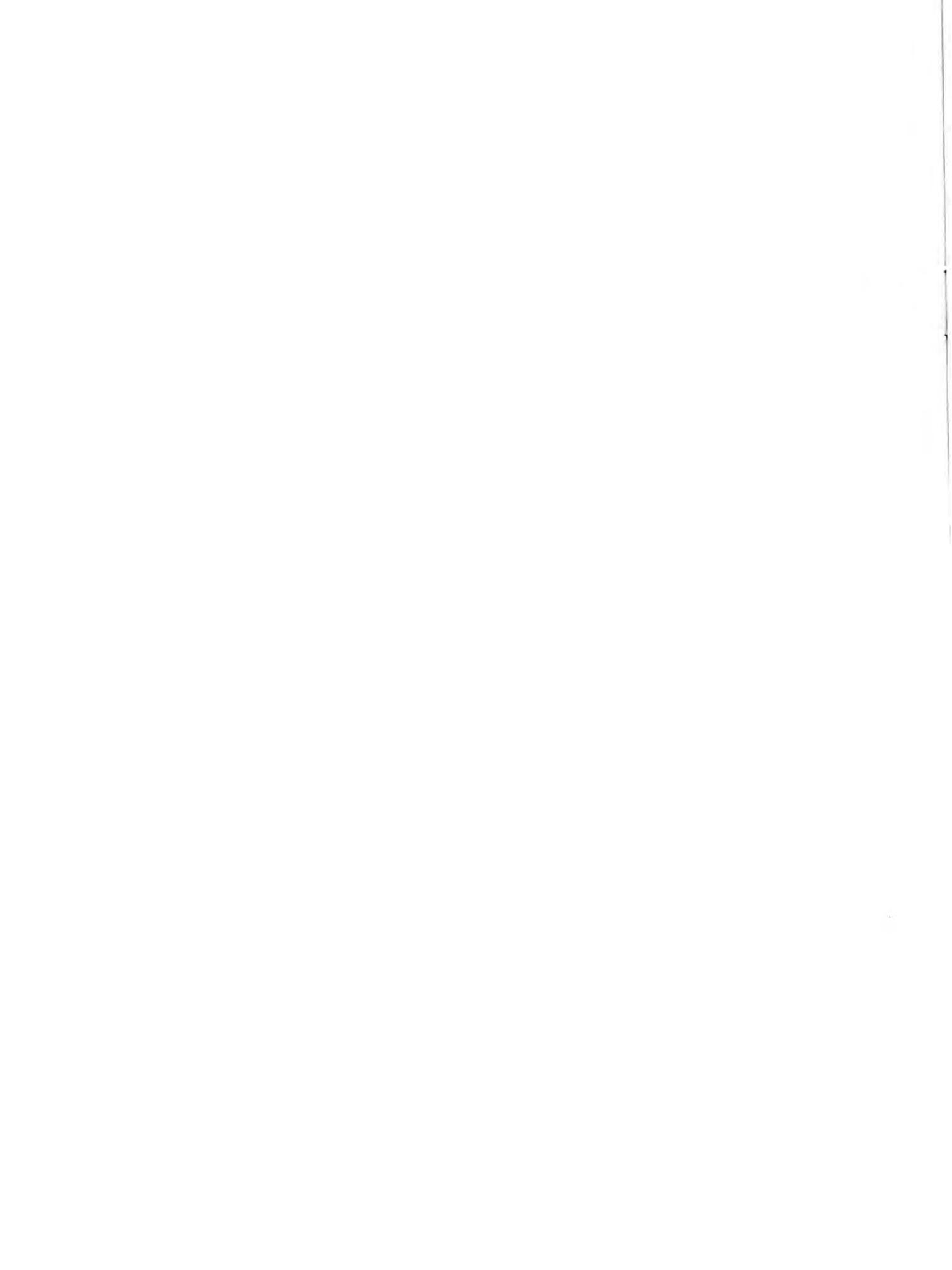
Let our compatriots in the whole country strengthen unity, develop our victory and march forward enthusiastically!

Long live our Vietnamese fatherland!

Long live the Vietnam Lao Dong Party!

The great President Ho Chi Minh will live forever with our cause!

CSO: 3909-F



THE APPEAL OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT AND THE PROVISIONAL REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH VIETNAM

[Appeal; Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese, No 2, February 1973, pp 18-24]

Beloved countrymen and soldiers,

The Central Committee of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam solemnly make the following proclamation to all our compatriots:

On January 27, 1973, the ministers for foreign affairs, plenipotentiary representatives of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam, the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the Republic of Vietnam, signed the agreement on ending the war and restoring peace in Vietnam.

The main contents of the agreement are as follows:

The United States and the other countries commit themselves to respect the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of Vietnam,

The United States shall completely end the war of aggression, its military involvement and its intervention in the internal affairs of South Vietnam,

The right to self-determination of the South Vietnamese people shall be respected and their democratic liberties shall be ensured. The South Vietnamese people shall determine themselves their political future through genuinely free and democratic general elections.

The reunification of Vietnam shall be carried out step by step by peaceful means,

Countrymen and combatants,

The war of aggression waged by U.S. imperialism has ended. Peace has been restored in our country.

This great victory is the result of more than 18 years of fierce fighting of our heroic people, as a whole, of our combatants and people in the south who, overcoming innumerable sacrifices and hardships, have fought with persistence, who are the first to stand up for the resistance and the last to enjoy peace, always proving themselves worthy of being the "iron fort of the fatherland."

Our entire nation is the victor. Anyone carrying the Vietnamese blood in his being, who really loves the country and the people, has the right to be proud and has his share in the common glory.

Glory belongs first of all to the best sons and daughters of the people, the heroes, heroines and martyrs who have laid down their lives for the fatherland.

Glory belongs to the heroic liberation armed forces who have made brilliant exploits, and to all the valiant sons and daughters of the country who, in defiance of repression and imprisonment, have resolutely struggled against U.S. aggression, for national salvation, to liberate the south.

This victory of the Vietnamese nation is also a victory of the peoples of the three fraternal countries on the Indochinese peninsula, who have united and fought against the common enemy. It is also the victory of all the independence-and-freedom-loving nations, of the whole progressive mankind, including the American people who have justice and peace at heart.

This great victory of our Vietnamese people proves that in the present era, a nation who, even with no large territory and no big population, have a just revolutionary line, know how to unite the entire people and achieve international solidarity, is determined to fight and to win, can certainly defeat any aggressive foe.

Beloved countrymen and combatants,

The dawn of peace, the glory of victory is radiating all over our land.

Before our people, a new period is being opened and a new situation is being created, one very advantageous for the completion of the national and democratic revolution.

However, our people's struggle has not ceased to be a difficult and complicated one. The reactionary, militarist and fascist forces dependent on foreign countries are hatching many dark schemes to sabotage peace and oppose independence, democracy and national concord.

That is why the task of our people at present is to strive, in the spirit of national concord, to unite the entire people, be determined to firmly maintain peace and genuine independence and sovereignty, exercise democratic freedoms, improve the people's living conditions, build a peaceful, independent, democratic and prosperous South Vietnam and proceed to the peaceful reunification of the fatherland.

The National Front for Liberation and Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam solemnly declared that they themselves will strictly and fully implement the agreement and persistently struggle to demand for the full implementation of all the provisions of the signed agreement.

All countrymen and combatants, workers and laborers, peasants, youths, pupils and students, intellectuals, teachers, functionaries, personalities, traders and industrialists, all religious countrymen, all national countrymen and overseas Vietnamese:

A life in peace, independence, democracy and happiness is a deep aspiration and urgent demand of various strata of the people.

The new weapon in our hand is the signed agreement.

The invincible strength of our people is the great unity of the entire people in the spirit of national concord.

The great unity and national concord are the lofty tradition of our nation and the unswerving clear and definite policy of the National Front for Liberation and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam.

Those Vietnamese who, in the past, had no opportunity to take part in the resistance to defend the fatherland, will, from now on, have the chance to contribute their part to the common struggle of the people. The National Front for Liberation and the Provisional Revolutionary Government warmly welcome them and are ready to cooperate with all persons, without consideration of their past, who now advocate peace, independence, democracy and national concord.

For the sake of our bloodsealed sentiments and compatriotism, let us hold hands as brothers of the same family, end all enmity and prejudice and together build a life full of love and happiness.

Officers and soldiers of the People's Liberation Armed Forces,

Continue your endeavors under the banner of defending peace independence, and democracy and defending the signed agreement.

Implement seriously the cease-fire order and in any of your contacts with republican soldiers, you should treat them as brothers and take the first step in realizing the great cause of national concord.

Officers and soldiers of the army of the Saigon administration,

Peace is a common victory, to maintain peace firmly is to love the country and people and is your personal happiness. May you co-operate with the liberation fighters in seriously implementing the cease-fire and avoid all regrettable conflicts.

The position of the front, government and our people is as clear as daylight, and shines with justice.

The attitude of the front, government and our people is very sincere and full of goodwill.

In these important moments of our national history, the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam hopes that the Saigon administration places the interests of the fatherland above all, meets the demands of all strata of our people, rapidly forms, through sincere consultations, a national council of national reconciliation and concord with three equal segments at all levels, in order to arrive at the early holding of genuinely free and democratic general elections so that the South Vietnamese people may freely decide their political regime. Let the two parties together seriously implement all provisions of the agreement, fully implement all democratic liberties of the people, heal the wounds of war, look after our compatriots' life so that they can soon enjoy a happy and prosperous life, promptly establish normal relations in all fields with the north, and hold negotiations with the Democratic Republic of Vietnam Government to advance to the peaceful reunification of the fatherland.

Beloved blood-sealed compatriots in the north,

Before the glorious victory of the nation, the armed forces and people in the south are all the more sensitive to the fraternal sentiments and great services of the heroic armed forces and people in the north in the resistance against U.S. aggression for national salvation. The South Vietnamese people have complete confidence in the 22 million of our compatriots who are building North Vietnam to make it strong and firm in all fields to serve as a base for the whole country in the struggle to firmly preserve peace, achieve independence and democracy and proceed to the peaceful reunification of the country.

The National Front for Liberation and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam wish to convey to the brotherly Cambodian people under the leadership of the National United Front of Cambodia and the Cambodian Royal Government of National Union, and to the

brotherly Lao people under the leadership of the Lao Patriotic Front, sincere gratitude for their unreserved support and precious assistance to the Vietnamese people's resistance for national salvation. May the noble solidarity among the peoples of our three countries on the Indochinese peninsula last and strengthen with every passing day.

The National Front for Liberation and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam extend their deep gratitude to the governments of the brother countries, international organizations, as well as the peace- and justice-loving people all over the world for their heartfelt support and generous assistance to the Vietnamese people's resistance.

The NFL and the PRG of the RSV extend to the progressive people in the United States their warm congratulations on the common victory won for the sake of peace and the interests of the two peoples.

We earnestly hope that the valuable international solidarity and support will continue and grow with regard to the struggle to consolidate peace and achieve the fundamental national rights of the Vietnamese people and the right of self-determination of the South Vietnamese people.

The PRG of the RSV, the only authentic representative of the South Vietnamese people, declares that it shall maintain and develop friendly relations with those countries that have established diplomatic relations with the RSV, and is ready to set up diplomatic relations with all other countries on the basis of respect for each other's independence and sovereignty, of equality and mutual benefits.

Beloved countrymen and combatants,

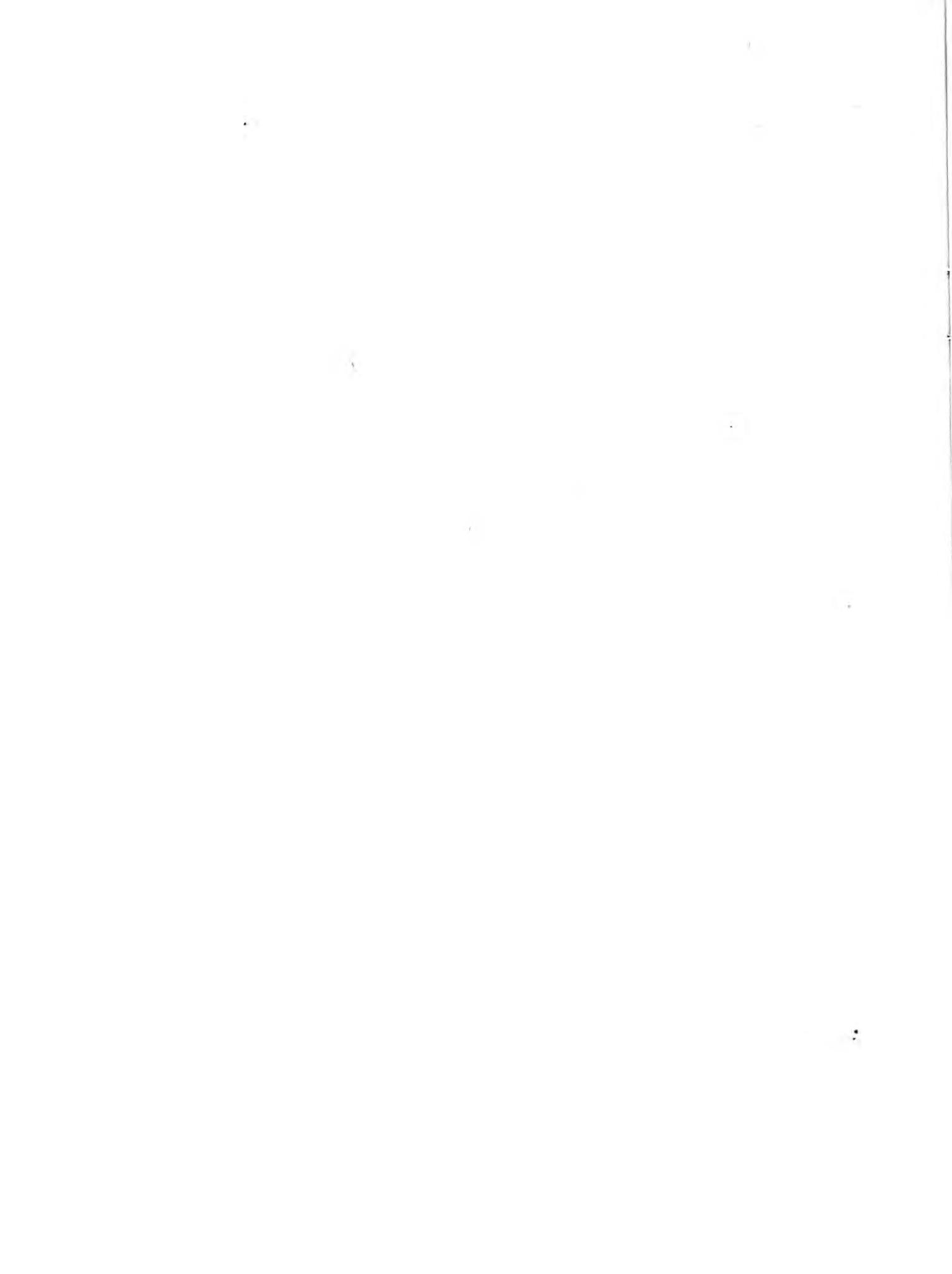
In these joyful days of victory, everyone of us turns his thoughts to the great services of the venerated and beloved President Ho Chi Minh.

His sacred testament constantly illuminates the road to the inevitable victory of our people.

In order to be worthy of his boundless solicitude, the armed forces and people in the south pledge to always uphold the banner of peace, independence, democracy and national concord, and resolutely strive for new victories.

Upholding together with the people in the rest of the country the victorious banner of the nation, the 18 million South Vietnamese people, in a strengthened position and with redoubled force, and united more closely than ever before, are determined to struggle to consolidate peace and promote victory, and will certainly achieve a peaceful, independent, democratic and prosperous South Vietnam with a view to the peaceful reunification of the fatherland.

Let the people and combatants of the heroic south march forward enthusiastically.



THE ORDER OF THE HIGH COMMAND OF THE VIETNAM PEOPLE'S ARMY

[Article; Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese, No 2, February 1973, pp 25-26]

To all officers and soldiers of all branches and services of the regular army, the regional forces, the people's armed security service and the militia and homeguards.

The agreement on ending the war and restoring peace in Vietnam was signed in Paris on January 27, 1973, and comes into effect at 0700 hours January 28, 1973.

Our people and our nation have won a great victory in the sacred war of resistance against U.S. aggression for national salvation. This is a brilliant victory of the independent, sovereign, judicious and creative political and military line of our party. This is a victory of the strength of our nation and our entire people united as one man in the fight against the aggressors.

This is a victory of the staunch fighting spirit of our countrymen and combatants in the south for independence and freedom, a victory of the great strength of our army and people of the superior socialist regime in the north. It is also a victory of the close militant solidarity among the Indochinese countries, of the great support and assistance accorded us by the fraternal socialist countries, of the sympathy and support shown to us by peace- and justice-loving people throughout the world.

Peace has been restored in our beloved fatherland but it is not yet consolidated. The task of our people's revolutionary struggle still remains very heavy. Our people still have to endeavor in the struggle for the successful building of socialism in the north, and the completion of the national, democratic and people's revolution throughout the country with a view to realizing, at all costs, the noble objective: to build a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic, strong and prosperous Vietnam.

In execution of the instruction of the Party Central Committee and the government, the High Command of the Vietnam People's Army orders our entire army to develop the victory already won, seriously implement the signed agreement, and at the same time, to struggle resolutely to urge that the opponent also implement the agreement. They must uphold their fighting spirit and revolutionary vigilance, preserve and consolidate peace and stand ready to smash all schemes and acts of provocation and sabotage and all acts of war of the aggressors and the warmongers against the socialist north, and fulfill their role as steady prop for our entire people in the struggle to achieve peace, independence, democracy, and national concord and proceed to the peaceful reunification of the fatherland, let all officers and combatants urgently build our people's armed forces into a mighty army, unceasingly increase their strength and combat skill aimed at defending the revolutionary gains, defend peace, defend the fatherland and contribute to the safeguarding of peace in Indochina, Southeast Asia and the rest of the world.

Let all officers and soldiers actively take part in the building of the country, in the building of socialism, quickly heal the wounds of war, build and consolidate the north, bastion of the revolution, to make it ever stronger in all fields, while fulfilling the glorious international duty of our people.

Let all officers and soldiers seriously observe all policies of the party and government and observe the discipline of the army and unite with and assist the people. Let all officers and combatants of our people's armed forces constantly prove themselves worthy of being "fighters loyal to the party and the people, ready to fight and make sacrifices for the independence and freedom of the fatherland, for socialism, fulfill all tasks entrusted to them, surmount all difficulties and defeat all enemies," and take the ever-victorious banner of the party and President Ho Chi Minh to the ultimate goal.

CSO: 3909-F

THE ORDER OF THE COMMAND OF THE PEOPLE'S LIBERATION ARMED FORCES OF SOUTH VIETNAM

[Article; Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese, No 2, February 1973, pp 27-28]

To all cadres, soldiers, regular units, regional forces and guerrillas throughout South Vietnam.

On 27 January 1973, at the Paris conference on Vietnam, the agreement on ending the war and restoring peace in Vietnam was signed. This is a very great, very glorious historic victory of our people's great resistance against the U.S. for national salvation, a victory of nearly 20 years of extremely brave and hard fighting by our people throughout the country, and a victory of the invincible strength of militant unity of our compatriots in both parts of our country. This historic victory is also the victory of the joint efforts and hearts of the three Indochinese peoples' fight, the world national liberation movement, the great and effective support and assistance by the fraternal socialist countries and the peoples all over the world struggling for peace, democracy and social progress and against imperialism.

Our nation has won a great victory. Peace has been restored in our country. But the warlike forces submissive to foreigners are refusing to renounce their scheme to divide our people, divide our country and serve as a tool for neocolonialism in the south. These forces are seeking to sabotage implementation of the agreement, sabotage national concord, sabotage peace and scheme to resume the war.

Our people's revolutionary struggle in the present phase is still continuing in a fierce and complex manner. Our entire armed forces must, together with our entire people, resolutely struggle to consolidate peace, demand that the adversary strictly implement the agreement, achieve independence, democracy, improved living conditions and national concord, and advance toward peaceful national unification in conformity with the articles of the agreement on ending the war and restoring peace in Vietnam which has just been signed.

Implementing the PRGRSV's order, the South Vietnam PLAF command orders that all units of the regular forces, regional forces, and the guerrillas forces observe the ceasefire throughout South Vietnam beginning at 0700 hours on 28 January 1973, Hanoi time, that is, 0800 hours on 28 January 1973, Saigon time.

All the cadres and soldiers of the South Vietnam PLAF must:

1. Clearly realize the great victory of our people's great revolutionary struggle, the schemes of the reactionary forces, and the tasks and responsibilities of the liberation armed forces in the new phase, and remain absolutely confident in the clear-sighted leadership of the NFLSV and the PRGRSV.

2. Always uphold the determination to fight and the spirit of revolutionary vigilance, struggle resolutely together with our entire people to firmly maintain peace, protect the liberated areas and protect the people's lives and property, and calmly take precautions against and be ready to smash all enemy schemes and provocative acts to sabotage the agreement, sabotage peace or resume the war.

3. Try to build their forces, heighten the combat strength of the PLAF in all fields, service as a stable prop for the entire people's political struggle for peace, independence, democracy, improved living conditions and national concord, and advance toward peaceful unification of the fatherland.

4. Strictly implementing all the policies of the NFLSV and the PRGRSV in the new revolutionary phase, uphold the army's discipline and seriously maintain the masses' discipline.

5. Contribute positively to building stable and strong liberated areas in all fields, try to proselyte the masses, develop the revolutionary forces and wholeheartedly unite with and help the people stabilize their daily life and boost production.

6. Protect and aid the Four-Party and Two-Party Joint Military Committees in charge of insuring the coordination of actions of each side in seriously implementing the articles of the agreement, and protect and aid the International Control and Supervision Commission in charge of controlling and supervising serious implementation of the articles of the agreement.

Let all cadres and soldiers uphold the revolutionary nature and the glorious tradition of the PLAF, which is always an army that is boundlessly loyal, marvelously brave and gloriously victorious, and lead our people's revolutionary undertaking to final victory.

The South Vietnamese PLAF command, South Vietnam, 2330 hours Saigon time on 27 January 1973.

CSO: 3909-F

THE TEXT OF THE PROTOCOLS SIGNED BY THE VARIOUS PARTIES
PARTICIPATING IN THE PARIS CONFERENCE ON VIETNAM

[Article; Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese, No 2, February 1973,
pp 65-66]

Together with the signing by the governments of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the United States of America of the various protocols of the Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Vietnam, the following protocols among the parties participating in the Paris Conference on Vietnam have also been signed.

The protocols of the Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in South Vietnam concerning the cease fire in South Vietnam and the Joint Military Commission signed by the participants in the Paris Conference on Vietnam are identical to the protocols signed by the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the United States of America in Articles 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, and 18; the only differences are in the preface and Article 19 which have the following contents:

The parties participating in the Paris Conference on Vietnam,

In keeping with the first section of Article 2, Article 3, Article 5, Article 6, Article 16, and Article 17 of the Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Vietnam signed today, provide for a cease-fire in South Vietnam and the establishment of the four-party and two-party Joint Military Commissions.

Agreed to by the following:

.....

Article 12

This protocol will become effective when it is signed by the plenipotentiary representatives of the parties participating in the Paris Conference on Vietnam. All concerned parties will fully implement this protocol.

Executed in Paris on 27 January 1973 in the Vietnamese and English languages. The Vietnamese and English language copies are the official copies and are of equal value.

Signed by the foreign ministers of the government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam, the government of the United States of America, and the government of the Republic of Vietnam.

The protocols of the Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Vietnam on the International Commission of Control and Supervision is identical to the text of the protocols signed by the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the United States of America in Articles 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, and 17; the only differences are in the preface and Article 18 which have the following contents:

The Preface

The parties participating in the Paris Conference on Vietnam,

In keeping with Article 18 of the Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Vietnam signed today, prescribe the establishment of the International Commission of Control and Supervision.

Agreed to by the following:

.....

Article 18

This protocol will become effective when signed by the plenipotentiary representatives of the parties participating in the Paris Conference on Vietnam. All concerned parties will fully implement this protocol.

Executed in Paris on 27 January 1973 in the Vietnamese and English languages. The Vietnamese and English language

copies are the official copies and are of equal value.

Signed by the foreign ministers of the government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam, the government of the United States of America, and the government of the Republic of Vietnam.

The protocols of the Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Vietnam concerning the return of captured military personnel, captured foreign civilians, and Vietnamese civilian personnel captured and detained signed by the parties participating in the Paris Conference on Vietnam are identical to the protocols signed by the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the United States of America in Articles 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, and 13; the only differences are in the preface and Article 14 which have the following contents:

The Preface

The parties participating in the Paris Conference on Vietnam,

In keeping with Article 8 of the Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Vietnam signed today, prescribe the return of captured military personnel, captured foreign civilians, and captured and detained Vietnamese civilian personnel.

Agreed to by the following:

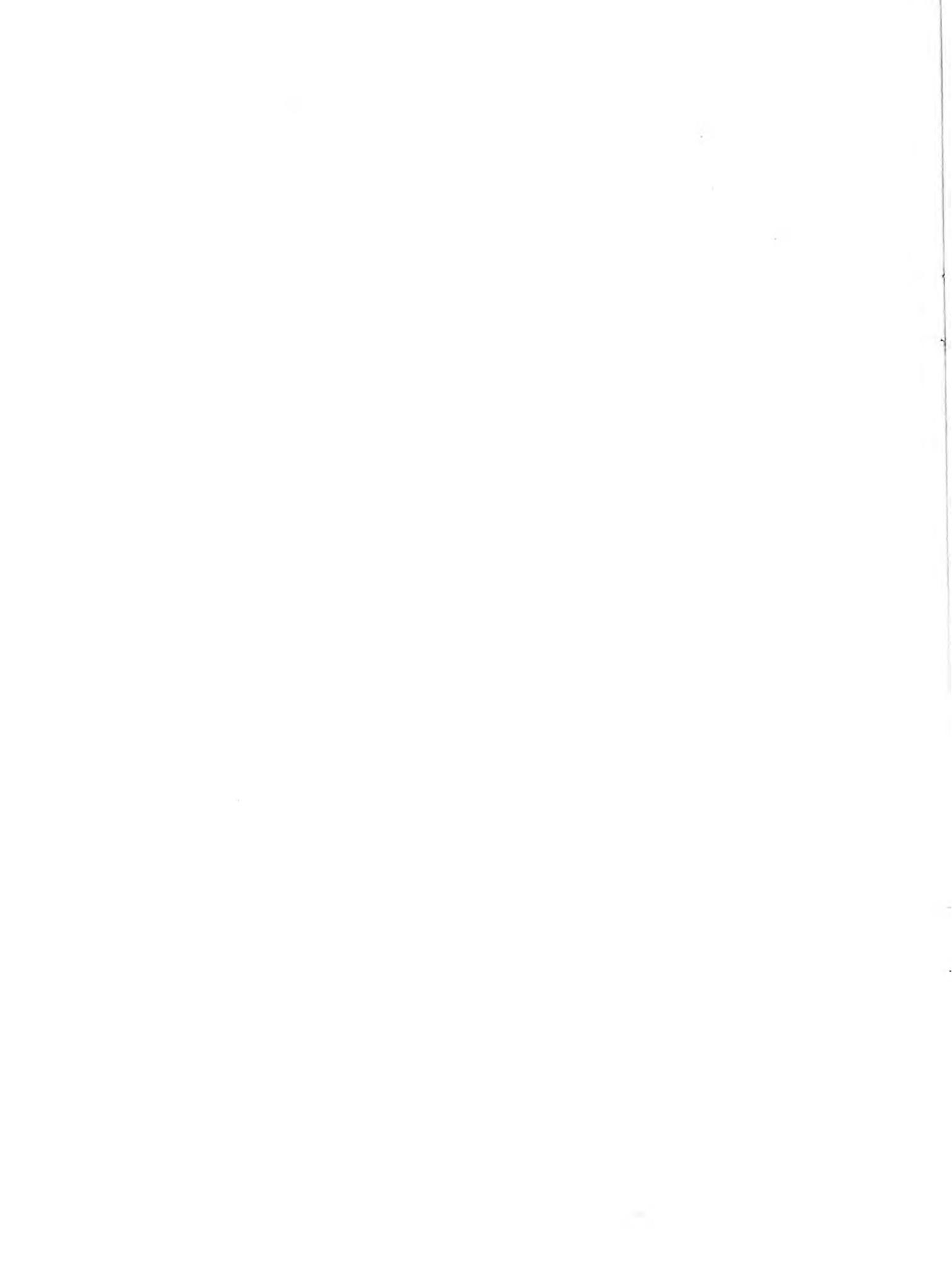
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Article 14

This protocol will become effective when signed by the plenipotentiary representatives of the parties participating in the Paris Conference on Vietnam. All concerned parties will fully implement this protocol.

Executed in Paris on 27 January 1973 in the Vietnamese and English languages. The Vietnamese and English language copies are the official copies and are of equal value.

Signed by the foreign ministers of the government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam, the government of the United States of America, and the government of the Republic of Vietnam.



THE WORLD CELEBRATES OUR PEOPLE'S GREAT VICTORY

[Article; Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese, No 2, February 1973, pp 67-89]

To: Ton Duc Thang, president of the DRV, Le Duan, first secretary of the Vietnam Lao Dong Party Central Committee, Truong Chinh, chairman of the Standing Committee of the National Assembly, and Pham Van Dong, prime minister of the DRV Government. It reads as follows:

The Soviet Union

Dear comrades,

On behalf of the Central Committee of the CPSU, the Supreme Soviet, the Soviet Government, and the entire Soviet people, we convey to you, and through you, to the fraternal people of Vietnam, our warm congratulations on the occasion of this remarkable event and great success of all Vietnamese patriots -- the ending of the war and the restoration of peace in Vietnam.

The Vietnamese people, with their heroic struggle, have performed a glorious exploit, which will go down in the history of the fight of nations for their liberty and independence and against the aggressors and oppressors as an illustrious page. The courageous firmness and self-abnegation of the glorious sons and daughters of the Vietnamese people in the north and the south of the country have earned them the great respect of all the progressive people on the globe.

The prestige of the Vietnam Lao Dong Party, vanguard of the Vietnamese people, founded and trained by Ho Chi Minh, the great patriot and internationalist, and of the LDP* Central Committee, which is wisely leading the socialist construction in the DRV, and which has shown a creative approach to the organization of the struggle against the aggression by the United States on the military, political and diplomatic fronts, has risen to an unprecedented high.

* LDP: Lao Dong Party

The conclusion of the agreement providing for the total withdrawal of U.S. troops and other foreign troops from the land of Vietnam and for the cessation of U.S. interference in Vietnam's internal affairs constitutes an important victory in the struggle against imperialism and offers convincing proof of the fact that in our times, no force can break the will of a nation struggling for its inalienable rights and enjoying the support of all progressive forces in the world.

The Soviet people, in the hard years of war of Vietnam, were always on the side of their Vietnamese brothers and gave them aid and support in the struggle against aggression.

The efforts of the socialist community, the communists and workers party, and all the forces of peace, which in the past years were actively directed against the imperialist aggression of the Vietnamese people for their rights, have been an important factor in the conclusion of the agreement on the cease-fire in Vietnam and the withdrawal of foreign troops from her territory. Today, the broad international movement of solidarity with Vietnam has become the most striking manifestation of the aspiration of the nations for peace, national independence and social justice.

The conclusion of the accord on ending the war and restoring peace in Vietnam has paved the way for the Vietnamese people to settle in a definitive and equitable manner the questions before them.

The Democratic Republic of Vietnam -- outpost of socialism in Southeast Asia -- can, from now on, heal the wounds caused by the war, consolidate its economic potential and carry out large-scale socialist construction, thus setting an example for the peoples that are now struggling for national independence and have embarked on the path of independent development. The ending of the war and foreign aggression has created prerequisites for the advance of Vietnam along the path of national concord democracy, true independence, and neutrality.

The restoration of peace on the land of Vietnam will be a contribution to the improvement of the situation in Southeast Asia, and will open up still more favorable prospects for the struggle of the forces of socialism and of national independence and progress in the world for further international detente and the strengthening of peace and security in Asia and other continents.

The Soviet people sincerely rejoice at the successes of their Vietnamese brothers. The Soviet Union, as in the years of great trials of the Vietnamese people during the period of their struggle against imperialist aggression, will, in this new stage, always stand beside the just cause of Vietnam. The Soviet people are sure that the materialization of the concluded agreements will be an important and practical step on the road

toward the building of a unified, democratic, peaceful, independent, and prosperous Vietnam.

L. Brezhnev, secretary general of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, N. Podgorny, chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, and A. Kosygin, chairman of the Council of Ministers.

The People's Republic of China

To: Ton Duc Thang, president of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, Le Duan, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Vietnam Lao Dong Party, Truong Chinh, chairman of the Standing Committee of the National Assembly of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, Pham Van Dong, premier of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, Nguyen Huu Tho, president of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation, and Huynh Tan Phat, president of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam.

On the occasion of the formal signing in Paris of the agreement on ending the war and restoring peace in Vietnam, we, on behalf of the Chinese Communist Party, the Chinese Government and the Chinese people, extend our warm congratulations and pay our high respect to you and, through you, to the Vietnam Lao Dong Party and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, to the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam and to the people in North and South Vietnam.

For the sake of the independence of their fatherland and the liberation of their nation, the heroic Vietnamese people, holding high the banner of President Ho Chi Minh's call for "firm resolve to fight and win"; carried out a staunch fight against U.S. imperialism for a decade and more and eventually impelled the U.S. Government to sign the agreement on ending the war and restoring peace in Vietnam, agree to withdraw all the armed forces of the United States and its allies within a fixed time and recognize the Vietnamese people's fundamental national rights and the South Vietnamese people's right to self-determination, and as a result conditions have been created for the Vietnamese people to solve their own problems free from external armed intervention, and prospects have been opened for the realization of a Vietnam of peace, independence, unity, democracy and prosperity.

The signing of the Paris agreement is an important achievement scored by the Vietnamese people through their protracted struggles on the military, political and diplomatic fronts. It is a great victory won by them through self-reliance, arduous struggle, and perseverance in a protracted people's war. It is a great victory for the three Indochinese peoples united struggle. It is also a common victory for the people of the whole world, the American people included.

The Chinese people heartily rejoice at the victory of the Vietnamese people as at a victory of their own. The tenacious revolutionary spirit and dauntless heroism you displayed in your protracted war of resistance have won you the admiration and praise of the people of the whole world. Your brilliant example proves that a small nation can win victory over a big nation, and a weak nation can win victory over a strong one. It is a great inspiration to all the oppressed nations and oppressed peoples of the world in their anti-imperialist revolutionary struggles. Your heroic struggle and great victory will be written into the annals of history as a shining model of the contemporary war of national liberation.

China and Vietnam are close neighbors linked by common rivers and mountains. Our two peoples have always supported and encouraged each other and forged a profound revolutionary friendship in the protracted struggles against imperialism. The Chinese people have always regarded your struggle as their own and taken it as their internationalist duty to support and assist your just cause. This we have done in the past during your war against U.S. aggression for national salvation, and we will in the future continue to stand together with the fraternal Vietnamese and the other fraternal Indochinese peoples and give resolute support and assistance to their just cause.

We sincerely wish that the people in North Vietnam, under the leadership of the Vietnam Lao Dong Party and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, will achieve new successes in consolidating and building the socialist north. We sincerely wish that the people in South Vietnam, under the banner of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation and Provisional Revolutionary Government, will, together with the other two political forces, speedily set up a council of national reconciliation and concord and councils at lower levels and, through consultations, hold general elections and decide the political future of the south and make a continuous advance along the road of independence, democracy and national unity. We are convinced that the Vietnamese people's aspiration to reunify the fatherland will surely be realized and that their just cause will surely triumph.

Mao Tsetung, chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, Tung Pi-wu, acting chairman of the People's Republic of China, Chu Te, chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China, and Chou En-lai, premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China

Cuba

To: Ton Duc Thang, President of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, Le Duan, First Secretary of the Vietnam Lao Dong Party, Pham Van Dong, Premier of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam

On behalf of the people, the Communist Party, and the revolutionary government of Cuba, we extend to you our warmest congratulations on the occasion of the signing of the peace agreement in Paris. This agreement

stops the criminal aggression of the U.S. imperialists against Vietnam. Recently, this aggression was intensified in a savage and unprecedented manner. The destruction of the entire country and the murder of many men, women, and children by U.S. aircraft and warships have ended.

The agreement which was signed is of international significance. Never has a small nation had to endure a genocidal war as long, painful, or horrible as the one endured by the people of Vietnam. However, never has a nation displayed a more unyielding spirit or a greater confidence in victory than has the nation of which you are the worthy representatives. Nixon obstinately tried to use acts of genocide in a vain attempt to defeat the people of Vietnam, however, he was forced to accept a peace agreement which embodies the fundamental requirements of Vietnam in order to end the barbarous massacre. The fundamental rights of the people of South Vietnam have been recognized and the aggressors will have to withdraw within 60 days. The victory embodied within the peace agreement signed in Paris is the beautiful fruit of the heroic, dedicated, and unyielding struggle of the people of Vietnam for their independence and liberty and the true fruit of the unshakeable unity of the socialist camp and the revolutionary people and progressive forces of all continents, including the progressive forces of the U.S. It is this special coordination which makes the victory which has been won one of international significance. Through its bravery, determination, and spirit of sacrifice, Vietnam has set an immortal example for the world. People are invincible when they are determined to sacrifice themselves in order to save their independence, honor, and future. On this memorable occasion, when the total victory which President Ho Chi Minh foresaw is starting to be realized, the people of Cuba movingly remember the man who charted the course for the people of Vietnam, the outstanding man who taught the people of Vietnam the spirit of "there is nothing more precious than independence and freedom."

However, international unity must be as close, effective, and rich now as it was during the war. The people of Cuba had a feeling of increasingly close unity with the people of Vietnam during the recent years and months of bravery and suffering; they stood ready to contribute their blood to the people of Vietnam and supported them in every way they could as symbolized by the Cuban sailors, technical cadres, and physicians, and, in the same spirit of steadfastness, they shared the recent weeks of heavy fighting with the people of Vietnam. The people of Cuba will strengthen their unity and cooperation with the people of Vietnam in the upcoming difficult and complex task. As before, Cuba will be present wherever its help is most beneficial and timely. In the difficult struggle to move forward and consolidate the victory and bring about the peaceful reunification of the Fatherland, the unity of Cuba will always be as strong as it was during the years of fighting.

Confirming, once again, our unity in these hours filled with happiness and responsibility, the people, Communist Party, and revolutionary government of Cuba, loyal to the principles of proletarian internationalism, will always support Vietnam in the struggle to thoroughly implement the

Paris Agreement. We do not doubt for 1 minute that, as they did in the glorious stage which just concluded, the unyielding spirit, the intelligence, and the will of the people of Vietnam and their leaders will win new victories and defeat each plot and trick of the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys.

We are absolutely confident that the sacrifice of those heroes whose memory we salute will not be useless and that the clear-sighted prediction of President Ho Chi Minh will be transformed into reality by his noble people.

Havana, 30 January 1973
Major Fidel Castro Ruz,
Prime Minister of the Revolutionary
Government and the First Secretary
of the Central Committee of the
Cuban Communist Party

Dr. Osvaldo Dorticos Torrado,
President of the Republic of Cuba

The German Democratic Republic

To:

Phon Duc Thang,
President of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam

Le Duan,
First Secretary of the Vietnam Lao Dong Party Central
Committee

Truong Chinh,
Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National
Assembly of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam

Pham Van Dong,
Premier of the Government of the Democratic Republic
of Vietnam

Hanoi

Dear Comrades,

On the occasion of the signing of the agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Vietnam, we congratulate you from the bottom of our hearts and convey the greetings of fellow combatants.

The Central Committee of the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the State Council, the government, and the people of the German Democratic Republic consider the signing of the agreement a great victory and a symbol of the historic victory won by the people of Vietnam in their long and brave struggle for freedom, independence, and peace.

We salute the souls of the tens of thousands of people who sacrificed themselves in this just struggle, those who the unyielding people of Vietnam sacrificed for the sake of their basic national rights as well as the interests of each peace-loving person. At the same time, we would like to express our respect for all of the laboring people who, by means of their unparalleled heroism, maintained production despite the barbarous bombings and who, today, in the spirit of confidence and optimism, are overcoming the destruction caused by the U.S. aggressors.

The socialist countries always supported the people of Vietnam in their just struggle. The great Soviet Union made its own important contribution. The peace-loving and progressive people expressed their positive spirit of unity. Now, the anti-imperialist forces have joined together to gloriously defeat the bloody terror and barbarous aggression of the U.S.

Thoroughly respecting and fully implementing the agreement will create favorable conditions for overcoming the aftereffects of the war as well as continuing to carry out socialist construction in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. The Central Committee of the SED, the State Council, the government, and the people of the German Democratic Republic consider this agreement a contribution toward improving the international situation and guaranteeing world peace.

Dear comrades,

We wish to assure you that we will, in the future and together with the fraternal countries in the socialist camp, be loyal to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and continue to strongly support the fraternal people of Vietnam. The people of the German Democratic Republic have, are, and will always be the trustworthy comrades in arms of the people of your country. The people of the German Democratic Republic will fulfill their obligation of unity in healing the wounds of the war and in supporting socialist construction.

Berlin, 27 January 1973

Erich Honecker,
First Secretary of the Central
Committee of the SED

Walter Ulbricht,
Chairman of the State Council of
the German Democratic Republic

Willi Stoph,
Chairman of the Council of
Ministers of the German Democratic
Republic

Korea

To:

Ton Duc Thang,
President of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam

Pham Van Dong,
Premier of the Government of the Democratic Republic
of Vietnam

Hanoi

On the occasion of the signing of the Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Vietnam which has restored peace to all corners of Vietnam, we, on behalf of the People's Central Commission and the Government Council of the Democratic Peoples Republic of Korea, the people of Korea, and ourselves, send to you, and through you to the government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the people, and the cadres and soldiers of the heroic Vietnam People's Army, our warm congratulations.

The Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Vietnam which has been signed is a great victory for the people of Vietnam in their heroic struggle against the U.S. for national salvation and a brilliant victory for the peace-loving people of the world.

The people of Vietnam, who have defeated the U.S. imperialist aggressors and won an historic victory, have made a great contribution to the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America and to world peace.

We sincerely wish the fraternal people of Vietnam new achievements in their struggle to consolidate the victory they won in the struggle against the U.S. for national salvation, in healing the wounds of war, in stepping up socialist construction, and in bringing about the peaceful reunification of the country.

Pyongyang, 30 January 1973

Kim Il-song,
President of the Democratic
Peoples Republic of Korea

Kim Il
Premier of
the Democratic Peoples Republic
of Korea Administration Council

Hungary

To:

Ton Duc Thang,
President of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam

Le Duan,
First Secretary of the Vietnam Lao Dong Party

Pham Van Dong,
Premier of the Government of the Democratic Republic
of Vietnam

Hanoi

Dear Comrades,

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party, the Presidential Council, the government of the Peoples Republic of Hungary, and all of the Hungarian people, we send you and the fraternal people of Vietnam our warm congratulations on the occasion of the signing in Paris of the Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Vietnam which resulted from the long and heroic struggle of Vietnam.

This historic war of the people of Vietnam became a very beautiful symbol of the love of freedom and the desire for peace of mankind. As peace comes to the bloodsoaked

country of Vietnam, the progressive world expresses its deep respect for the countless sacrifices, the heroic bearing, and the very brilliant victory of the noble undertaking of Vietnam.

In the revolutionary war, the people of Vietnam forced the cruelest enemy of social progress, the strongest power in the imperialist world, and their lackeys to withdraw. The victory of the people of Vietnam expresses the deep truth of the fight of Vietnam and the invincible strength of the unity of progressive mankind, the collective of socialist countries, and proletarian internationalism.

As a result of the struggle of the people of Vietnam, better conditions have been created for the establishment of peace and the improvement of democracy. Our spirit of unity of proletarian internationalism is unshakeable and, together with the other socialist countries and the progressive countries of the world, we will do everything we can to contribute to the peaceful reconstruction and restoration of the country of Vietnam.

Budapest, 27 January 1973

Janos Kadar,
First Secretary of the Central
Committee of the Hungarian
Socialist Workers Party

Pal Losonczi,
President of the Presidential
Council of the Peoples Republic
of Hungary

Jeno Fock,
Premier of the Peoples Republic
of Hungary

Poland

To:

Ton Duc Thang,
President of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam

Le Duan,
First Secretary of the Vietnam Lao Dong Party Central
Committee

Truong Chinh,
Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National
Assembly of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam

Pham Van Dong,
Premier of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam

Hanoi

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party, the State Council, and the Council of Ministers of the Peoples Republic of Poland together with all the Polish people, we convey our fraternal congratulations to the Central Committee of the Vietnam Lao Dong Party, the National Assembly and the government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam together with all of the people of Vietnam on the occasion of the signing of the Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Vietnam.

This is a great victory for the people of Vietnam in their heroic and unyielding struggle against the aggression of imperialism for peace, independence, and national reunification. The effective repelling of the intervention of a foreign country against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the restoration of peace are the result of the correct line of the party and government of Vietnam which has been unanimously supported by the people of Vietnam and the sympathy, support, and comprehensive assistance of the fraternal countries in this struggle. It is also the victory of the united stand taken by the socialist countries and all peace forces in endorsing the peaceful solution to the Vietnam problem to insure the people of Vietnam of independent development under peaceful conditions.

The people of Poland, who have experienced the cruelties of war, always determinedly and steadfastly support your struggle.

Dear Comrades,

In this hour of peace and victory in war, we would like to extend our wish to you and, through you, to all of the people of Vietnam that you rapidly heal the wounds of war and achieve success in post-war reconstruction and socialist construction in your country. We deeply believe that the feeling of friendship between the two nations of Poland and China which has been challenged in the years of difficult struggle of the people of Vietnam against foreign aggression will, in the new historical circumstances, continue to be strengthened and develop and grow as a result of the new factors of peaceful construction and international cooperation.

Dear Comrades,

We wish to assure you of the full support of the Peoples Republic of Poland of the implementation of the agreement which has been signed on restoring peace in your country and our readiness to continue to expand the cooperative relations which exist between our two countries.

Anton Gierek,
First Secretary of the Central
Committee of the Polish United
Workers Party

Henryk Jablonski,
Chairman of the State Council
of the Peoples Republic of Poland

Piotr Jaroszewicz,
Chairman of the Council of
Ministers of the Peoples Republic
of Poland

Bulgaria

To:

Ton Duc Thang,
President of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam

Le Duan,
First Secretary of the Vietnam Lao Dong Party Central
Committee

Truong Chinh,
Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National
Assembly

Pham Van Dong,
Premier of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam

Hanoi

Dear Vietnamese Comrades,

On behalf of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee, the State Council, the government of the Peoples Republic of Bulgaria, and all of the Bulgarian people and ourselves, we extend to you and the heroic people of Vietnam

our most affectionate congratulations on the occasion of the signing of the Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Vietnam. The heroic and arduous struggle you have waged for many years to win freedom, independence, and peace has led to victory. This is a victory of the people of Vietnam who, united under the banner of the Vietnam Lao Dong Party and tempered in combat, resisted aggression and gave the people of South Vietnam fraternal assistance and support.

The struggle of the people of Vietnam was fully supported by the Soviet Union and the fraternal socialist countries. This was an expression of proletarian internationalism and of the spirit of fighting unity of the socialist countries with the fraternal people of Vietnam. This struggle had the admiration and support of all peace forces and world public opinion.

The example set by Vietnam proves what a nation which is determined to defend its freedom and independence can do. Neither the political plots of the U.S. imperialists, their barbarous bombings, or destruction or death could weaken the will of Vietnam.

In the face of the defeat of the "Vietnamization of the war" policy, the hopeless situation surrounding the policy of winning a position of strength, and the fact that they could not win a military victory, the U.S. was forced to seriously negotiate in order to reach a political solution to the conflict. As a result of the initiative and the realistic and flexible attitude of the government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the negotiations in Paris were taken off dead center and resulted in the signing of the agreement on ending the war on 27 January 1973. This is an event of particular importance not only with respect to peace in Vietnam, but also with respect to peace throughout the world. The agreement which has been reached opens the way for the realization of the deepest aspiration of the people of Vietnam, namely, national reunification.

The Bulgarian Communist Party and the Bulgarian people, loyal to their internationalism, have fully supported your just struggle on the military, political, and diplomatic fronts. Because of this, today's festival of our dear Vietnamese comrades is our festival.

On this occasion, we would like to assure you that the Peoples Republic of Bulgaria will continue to help the

fraternal people of Vietnam in every possible way as it has in the past in order to heal the wounds of the war and successfully build socialism in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

Sophia, 27 January 1973

Todor Zhivkov,
First Secretary of the Bulgarian
Communist Party Central Committee

Stanko Todorov,
Chairman of the Council of
Ministers of the Peoples Republic
of Bulgaria

Czechoslovakia

To:

Ton Duc Thang,
President of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam

Le Duan,
First Secretary of the Vietnam Lao Dong Party Central
Committee

Pham Van Dong,
Premier of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam

Hanoi

Dear Comrades,

On the occasion of the signing of the Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Vietnam, we, on behalf of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee, the government of the Socialist Republic of Czechoslovakia, and all the Czechoslovakian people, convey to you and, through you, to the Vietnam Lao Dong Party Central Committee, the government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and all the Vietnamese people, our sincerest congratulations. We consider the signing of this agreement a great victory for the fraternal, heroic people of Vietnam in their brave struggle against the aggression of the U.S. to win the inviolable right to freely determine their own destiny and win independence, freedom, and peace. Your victory proves that a nation which defends its rights in the brave manner and the spirit of sacrifice the people of Vietnam have, a

nation which receives effective help in many areas from the Soviet Union, the first socialist state in the world, and the other socialist countries, and a nation which has the support of all progressive and peace forces is a nation which is invincible; even the most powerful of the imperialists cannot impress their will on this nation. Therefore, the signing of the agreement to restore a fair peace is, at the same time, a great victory of the spirit of unity of the fraternal countries, the socialist camp, all elements of the international communist and worker movement, and all other progressive forces. In the traditional spirit of unity with the Vietnamese people and in accordance with the principles of proletarian internationalism, the Czechoslovakian Communist Party and the government and people of the Socialist Republic of Czechoslovakia, having supported the just struggle of the people of Vietnam to win back their freedom and independence, will do everything they can to provide the Democratic Republic of Vietnam will provide all of the fraternal help needed to overcome the aftereffects of the war and insure the people of Vietnam of a peaceful life.

Prague, 27 January 1973

Gustav Husak,
General Secretary of the
Czechoslovak Communist Party
Central Committee

Ludvik Svoboda,
President of the Socialist
Republic of Czechoslovakia

Lubomir Strougal,
Premier of the Socialist Republic
of Czechoslovakia

Mongolia

To:

Ton Duc Thang,
President of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam

Le Duan,
First Secretary of the Vietnam Lao Dong Party Central
Committee

Truong Chinh,
Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National
Assembly of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam

Pham Van Dong,
Premier of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam

Hanoi

Dear Comrades,

On behalf of the Mongolian Revolutionary Peoples Party Central Committee, the Presidium of the National Assembly, the Council of Ministers of the Peoples Republic of Mongolia, all of the Mongolian people, and ourselves, we convey to you and, through you, to the Vietnam Lao Dong Party Central Committee, the Standing Committee of the National Assembly, the government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and the fraternal people of Vietnam, our warmest congratulations on the occasion of the signing of the Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Vietnam.

The laboring people of the Peoples Republic of Mongolia warmly welcome the signing of this agreement and other documents, considering it a great victory for the heroic people of Vietnam who have waged a just, selfless struggle for many years for the honor, dignity, and unity of their Fatherland against the criminal aggression of the U.S. imperialists. The bravery and heroism of the people of Vietnam, the endless loyalty of the people of Vietnam to the work of freedom, peace, and socialism, the international assistance and support provided in many areas by the Soviet Union and the other countries within the socialist camp, and the unity of all progressive and peace-loving forces in the world with the fighting Vietnamese are the factors which forced the aggressors to peacefully negotiate a political solution to the Vietnam problem.

The Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Vietnam was achieved in negotiations at Paris and fully respecting and implementing the various clauses of this agreement and the other documents will surely contribute to the development of socialist construction in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in peace and the development of South Vietnam along the course of freedom, social progress, and democracy and help improve the situation in Indochina and strengthen peace and security in Asia and the world.

The Mongolian people, who have always supported the just struggle of the people of Vietnam, express confidence that the laboring people of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, under the leadership of the Vietnam Lao Dong Party, their challenged vanguard unit, through their fraternal

alliance with the peoples of the Soviet Union and the other countries within the socialist camp, and by implementing the will of Ho Chi Minh, the great son of the Vietnamese people, will record many achievements in their efforts to consolidate the great victories which have been won on the military, political, and diplomatic fronts, in peaceful creative labor for socialist construction, and in their struggle to strengthen the freedom and independence of their Fatherland.

Glory to the heroic people of Vietnam who won an historic victory in their just struggle.

Long live the fraternal friendship between the Mongolian and Vietnamese peoples!

Ulan Bator, 27 January 1973

Y.U. Tsedenbal,
First Secretary of the Mongolian
Revolutionary Peoples Party
Central Committee
Chairman of the Council of Ministers
of the Peoples Republic of Mongolia

S. Lubsan,
First Deputy Chairman of the
Presidium of the Peoples Republic
of Mongolia

Albania

To:

Ton Duc Thang,
President of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam

Le Duan,
First Secretary of the Vietnam Lao Dong Party Central
Committee

Truong Chinh,
Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National
Assembly of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam

Pham Van Dong,
Premier of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam

Hanoi

On the occasion of the signing of the Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring peace in Vietnam, we, on behalf of the Albanian Labor Party Central Committee, the Presidium and the Council of Ministers of the Peoples Republic of Albania, the people of Albania, and ourselves, very happily convey to you and, through you, to the Vietnam Lao Dong Party and the government and people of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam our sincere congratulations and warm fraternal greetings.

The continuous and strong blows of the heroic struggle of the brave, unyielding people of both North and South Vietnam finally forced the U.S. to agree to withdraw its aggressor army and military bases from South Vietnam, end the serious acts of war against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and recognize the basic national rights of the people of Vietnam and the right of self-determination of the people of South Vietnam. This is a great victory for the people of Vietnam, one which the Albanian people welcome with all their enthusiasm.

The Albanian people have always attentively followed with special admiration the just and long struggle of the fraternal people of Vietnam against the U.S. imperialist aggressors and their lackeys to achieve their noble national aspirations, defend North Vietnam, liberate South Vietnam, and reunify the Fatherland. In the long people's war, the heroic people of Vietnam, by means of the sacred attacks conducted with the weapons in the hands of the brave soldiers of South Vietnam and by means of the unyielding war of resistance of North Vietnam against the barbarous bombings and other crimes of the U.S. aggressors, wrote the most brilliant pages in their history of struggle for independence and freedom. The people of Vietnam, who were united in the fight with the peoples of Cambodia and Laos and were united internationally with the peace and freedom-loving nations of the world, dealt the largest and most barbaric imperialist power of our age, the U.S. imperialists, continuous heavy defeats and showed the entire world that a nation, although a small one, is invincible when it fights for a just cause.

The sacred heroism and the noble selfless sacrifice of the freedom-loving Vietnamese will forever be an endless source of inspiration to all nations struggling for freedom, national independence, and social progress.

Under the difficult conditions created by the armed aggression of the U.S., the fraternal people of the

Democratic Republic of Vietnam have, under the leadership of the Vietnam Lao Dong Party and their government and with rare bravery and devotion, contended with countless difficulties and continued to work tirelessly to build socialism.

As they have done in the past, the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys will make every effort to use each plot and method to create many difficulties and obstructions for the people of Vietnam on their course toward achieving their noble national aspirations of living in independence and freedom in a reunified country. We deeply believe that the heroic people of Vietnam, united as one in both North and South Vietnam and with determination and bravery, will defeat the enemy's plots against their freedom and national independence.

On this occasion, we would like to assure you once again that the Albanian people, the Albanian Labor Party, and the government of the Peoples Republic of Albania will, as they have in the past, always stand beside the heroic people of Vietnam in times of difficulty as well as times of joy. We sincerely wish the fraternal people of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam many new victories in their socialist construction and their efforts to win total victory for their just cause.

May the feeling of warm militant friendship and the fraternal relationship between the Albanian and Vietnamese people be strengthened and grow with each passing day.

Tirana, 31 January 1973

Enver Hoxha,
First Secretary of the Albanian
Labor Party Central Committee

Haxhi Lleshi,
Chairman of the Presidium of the
Peoples Republic of Albania

Mehmet Shehu,
Chairman of the Council of
Ministers of the Peoples Republic
of Albania

Romania

To:

Ton Duc Thang,
President of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam

Le Duan,
First Secretary of the Vietnam Lao Dong Party Central
Committee

Truong Chinh,
Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National
Assembly of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam

Pham Van Dong,
Premier of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam

Hanoi

Dear Comrades,

On behalf of the Romanian Communist Party Central Committee, the State Council, the Council of Ministers of the Socialist Republic of Romania, the people of Romania, and ourselves, we convey to you, the Vietnam Lao Dong Party Central Committee, the Standing Committee of the National Assembly, the government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and the fraternal people of Vietnam our warmest congratulations on the occasion of the signing of the Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Vietnam.

It is with extreme satisfaction that we celebrate the signing of the agreement, it is an historic victory won by the people of Vietnam in their heroic struggle against imperialist aggression in order to defend the independence and sovereignty of their Fatherland and protect the existence of their nation.

The entire development of events in Vietnam proves that no power in the world can defeat a nation which is determined to defend its sacred right to live in freedom, independence, and dignity and determine its own destiny in accordance with its own desires. With their bravery and noble spirit of sacrifice, the people of Vietnam won the respect and sympathy of the people of the world, received very much support from the socialist countries and peace-loving forces everywhere...

The agreement which was signed in Paris reaffirms the basic national rights of the people of Vietnam -- the independence, sovereignty, unity, and territorial integrity of Vietnam -- and provides for the end of military activities, the withdrawal of all U.S. troops, and the restoration of peace in Vietnam, these things are consistent with the interests of the Vietnamese people and the American people as well as peace in the world.

We hope that the implementation of the agreement will create the conditions for the restoration of a stable peace so that the Vietnamese people and the peoples of the other countries of Indochina can devote themselves to economic and social development and solve their problems in accordance with their aspirations and determination free from outside intervention.

The Romanian Communist Party, our government, and our people once again affirm their unity with the people of Vietnam as regards their national aspirations and express our support of them in the international spirit in their establishment of a life of freedom and independence, the reconstruction of their country, socialist construction, and the reunification of the Fatherland.

We firmly believe that the friendly relations and the spirit of fraternal unity which exists between the Romanian Communist Party and the Vietnam Lao Dong Party and between the Romanian Socialist Republic and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam will continue to develop for the interest of the people of both countries, the spirit of unity the socialist countries and the anti-imperialist movement, and peace.

Nicolae Ceausescu,
General Secretary of the Romanian
Communist Party
President of the State Council
of the Romanian Socialist
Republic

Ion Gheorghe Maurer,
Chairman of the Council of
Ministers of the Romanian
Socialist Republic

Cambodia

To:

Ton Duc Thang,
President of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam

Pham Van Dong,
Premier of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam

Hanoi

On the occasion of the signing of the Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Vietnam, we convey to you our very warm congratulations. This agreement was signed as a result of the determined struggle waged by the heroic people of Vietnam who did not retreat one step in the face of any obstacle or sacrifice in order to defend the independence and freedom of the Fatherland. The unyielding spirit of the people of Vietnam has won them the respect of the people of the entire world, including the people of Cambodia. On this occasion, we again tell you of the unshakeable determination of the people of Cambodia to constantly struggle to strengthen the spirit of fighting unity and the spirit of fraternal friendship with the people of Vietnam against the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys in accordance with the spirit of the joint declaration of the high level conference of the people of Indochina. We send you our very respectful and warm fraternal greetings.

Norodom Sihanouk,
Chief of State of Cambodia

Pen Nut,
Premier of the Government of
National Unity of the Kingdom
of Cambodia

Laos

To:

Ton Duc Thang,
President of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam
and Chairman of the Presidium of the Central Committee
of the Vietnam Fatherland Front

Pham Van Dong,
Premier of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam

Hanoi

On the occasion of the signing of the Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Vietnam, I, on behalf of the Lao Patriotic Front, the people of Laos, and myself, very happily and proudly convey to you and, through you, to all of the heroic people of Vietnam the warmest and sincerest congratulations.

After decades of continuous fighting filled with difficulties, hardships, and sacrifices to defend the Fatherland

against the aggression of an enemy many times stronger, particularly recently when the people of Vietnam were face to face with the most dangerous and crafty enemy of progressive mankind and the enemy with the greatest economic and military power, the heroic people of Vietnam won extremely glorious victories, forcing them to end the criminal war of aggression in all corners of Vietnam and recognize the basic national rights of the Vietnamese people.

This victory, which has the nature of a turning point in history, is not only the victory of the people of Vietnam, but also the victory of the national liberation movement against the U.S. imperialists of the nations of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. It is also a source of pride and honor for progressive mankind, a source of strong encouragement and inspiration for our people of Laos who are continuing their struggle against the U.S. imperialist aggressors and their lackeys.

As comrades in arms who have shared the joys and sorrows of the Vietnamese people for nearly 30 years, the people of Laos warmly hope that the fraternal people of Vietnam will continue to record new and even larger victories in their work of safeguarding peace and rapidly overcoming the aftereffects of the war and building the Fatherland.

The Lao Patriotic Front and the people of Laos will continue the struggle to build a Laos of peace, independence, democracy, neutrality, unity, and prosperity and, together with the fraternal peoples of Vietnam and Cambodia, will turn the Indochina peninsula into a region of true independence and peace.

May the friendship and close fighting unity between the peoples of Laos and Vietnam live forever.

We send you gentlemen our warm and noble greetings.

Sam Nua, 28 January 1973

Prince Souphanavong,
Chairman of the Central Committee
of the Lao Patriotic Front

Excerpt From the Declaration of the French Communist Party

The French Communist Party, which has stood, since the very first days, beside the people of Vietnam in their fight for freedom, celebrates with deep joy this event of significance in the history of the world.

Our party has worked tirelessly so that the people of France could provide the just struggle of the peoples of North and South Vietnam and all of the nations in Indochina with regular and effective political and material support.

These efforts must be maintained and continued.

A new struggle now begins for the people of Vietnam and all of the nations of Indochina, a struggle which demands the respect of their independence and freedom, the establishment of a stable peace, and the reconstruction of their destroyed country.

We appeal to the working and democratic people of our country not to lose their vigilance and demand that the U.S. correctly implement the peace agreement; to prevent the U.S. from sabotaging the peace and freedom which the people of South Vietnam have selected and blocking their progress to the reunification of Vietnam; to demand the freedom of hundreds of thousands of people in the prisons of Saigon whose lives are threatened; and to demand that the U.S. imperialists end their war of aggression against the heroic peoples of Laos and Cambodia.

We appeal to the people of France to demand that the French government actively help uphold and implement the peace agreement and sign broad agreements on economic and cultural cooperation and technical and public health assistance with the Democratic Republic of Vietnam as well as the Government of National Concord which will be established after the elections in South Vietnam.

Finally, we appeal to them to continue to provide many forms of material assistance to the people of South Vietnam. This spirit of unity is now needed more than ever before in order to help the people of Vietnam rebuild their schools, hospitals, and factories and build a modern economy.

As in the past, the French Communist Party will continue to fulfill its international obligation to the people of Vietnam.

Excerpt From the Declaration of the Presidium of the Japanese Communist Party

...Today, the Vietnam war has become a focal point of the international test of strength between the imperialist powers and the anti-imperialist forces, between the powers of war and the forces of peace, and between reactionary powers

and democratic forces; at the same time, the Vietnam war has become the focal point of world antagonisms. With the signing of the Vietnam peace agreement in which the U.S. imperialists have been forced to cease each military activity and withdraw all troops and bases of the U.S. within the space of 60 days, this international test of strength has resulted in important victories for the people of Vietnam and the anti-imperialist forces and world democratic public opinion which have been and are supporting the people of Vietnam...

The results which have been achieved are important victories of historic significance for the struggle of the people of Vietnam, people who have been and are overcoming countless sacrifices and hardships in order to determinedly resist the most barbarous, cruel, and inhuman acts of murder and destruction in history, the victory of the support of the anti-imperialist democratic forces of the world...

In the aggressive nature of the U.S. imperialists and their repetitive actions to date, it can be said that the situation is still filled with danger because the Nixon and Saigon administrations will do everything they can to sabotage and not implement the agreement. It is also necessary to be extremely vigilant of the danger of their renewing their provocation or renewing the armed conflict in a vain attempt to clear the way for the intervention of the U.S. Army after U.S. prisoners have been released...

However, no matter what new plots or tricks are incorporated into the policy of strength of the U.S. imperialists, they cannot avoid the defeat which is their fate and, in the end, the people of Vietnam will, without fail, win ultimate victory in the implementation of their right of national self-determination, the democratization of the country, the reunification of the Fatherland...

Displaying unyielding heroism, the struggle of the people of Vietnam against the aggression of the U.S., the pillar of international reaction, the major power of aggression and war, the largest imperialist country in the world, defeated and kicked the U.S. Army out of Vietnam and won independence and sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity. This victory is a remarkable and great contribution to the progress of history, one of extremely great international significance, because:

1. The struggle of the people of Vietnam dealt a heavy blow to the entire policy of invading and ruling other countries of the U.S. imperialists and shook their entire organization.

2. The struggle of the people of Vietnam and the victory of this struggle have very strongly inspired the people of the world who are struggling against imperialism for national liberation and peace.

3. The struggle of the Vietnamese people is an important contribution to the unification and future of the anti-imperialist forces as a result of the participation of all anti-imperialist forces in the work of supporting the people of Vietnam despite the deep loss of unity within the socialist camp and the international worker movement...

An important problem which has been raised is that of blocking each plot and trick of the Nixon and Saigon administrations to prevent the full implementation of the agreement. Drawing deep lessons from these experiences, continuing to condemn and protest the neo-colonialist plots and actions of the U.S. imperialists, maintaining and defending the correct political stand of the people of Vietnam, and effectively strengthening the united international actions demanding the full implementation of the agreement is the common pressing task of all anti-imperialist democratic forces...

At the same time, another pressing task which also demands the full international support of all anti-imperialist forces and all peace and justice loving people is that of rapidly healing the wounds of the country and reconstructing the economy which has been destroyed by the war and, in particular, rapidly rebuilding houses, schools, hospitals, roads, bridges, and ports.

As a party which has always advocated the policy of considering the Vietnam problem and supporting the people of Vietnam its foremost international obligation and has always taken the lead in fulfilling this obligation, our party resolutely demands that the government of the Democratic Freedom Party abandon its Vietnam policy which has always been based on a stand of cooperation with the aggressors, the enemy of the people of Vietnam and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and, at the same time, we resolutely demand that, from now on, they abandon each form of cooperation with the neo-colonialist policy of the U.S. imperialists, normalize diplomatic relations with the Democratic Republic of Vietnam...

The Japanese Communist Party expresses its determination to step up and further develop the struggle to support the people of Vietnam and the peoples of the countries of Indochina...and appeals to all domestic and foreign anti-

imperialist forces to smash the dangerous plots and tricks of the U.S. imperialists, demand the full implementation of the Vietnam peace agreement, continue to strengthen their political and material support, and continue to strengthen their unity with the people of Vietnam and the peoples of the countries of Indochina in order to quickly win the final victory in the historic undertaking of the Vietnamese people and the peoples of the countries of Indochina.

Letter From the Italian Communist Party Central Committee to the Vietnam Lao Dong Party Central Committee

In this historic hour, when your party and people are celebrating the signing of the agreement on ending the war of aggression of the U.S., we convey to you the fraternal greetings of the communists, the working people, and the millions and millions of people of Italy who struggled and demonstrated for many years in order to bring this great hour into reality and provide the heroic people of Vietnam with a genuine peace and the recognition of their rights of freedom and independence. It is with deep emotion that we remember the great sacrifices made by the revolutionary fighters, the laboring people, and all of the people of Vietnam to win these rights. We remember all of the victims of the cruel war carried out by every possible means and weapon against your people. In particular, we remember the great President Ho Chi Minh who taught the people of Vietnam and has led them even though he is gone. In his will, President Ho Chi Minh said: "By means of the heroic struggle, our country has the honor of being a small country which has defeated two large imperialists, France and the U.S., and made a worthy contribution to the national liberation movement." Dear Vietnamese comrades, this great honor is the immortal work of you, people who have written one of the most beautiful and noble pages in the long history of the struggle of mankind for freedom and independence.

The entire world is deeply grateful to the people of Vietnam. The progressive and peace forces on all five continents share this gratitude. Through your example and struggle, they have learned a lesson in human dignity, bravery, ideological unity, and political clearheadedness which is an important contribution to the training of the generation which has the noble honor of being called "the Vietnam generation." Through your heroic example, this generation has learned the value of the political and moral pledges to nations struggling for freedom and independence and a peaceful future. All of the revolutionary forces of the world and all communist and worker parties are grateful to you for your

decisive contribution -- and the contributions you will surely make in the future in accordance with the spirit of the teachings of President Ho Chi Minh -- to the process of seeking sympathy and unity in uniting with your struggle.

The appeal you have issued is to both reason and feeling. Because of this, the socialist countries and all revolutionary and peace forces have grasped the international and historic significance of your struggle and victory and, as a result, confirm as clearly as possible the reality that, under the conditions created by the October Revolution, the Chinese Revolution, the formation of the socialist camp, and the decline of the colonial system, during this half century, imperialism can no longer impress its rule of force and suppression without being punished and may be resisted, blocked, and defeated by a small nation when this nation has a leading political force, such as your great party, which is capable of expressing the deepest interests of the entire nation and uniting the nation in the struggle for the noble objectives of freedom and independence.

You have not only united and struggled for the interests of the nation of Vietnam, but, moreover, by means of your heroic struggle and with concrete and positive international support and unity, you have expressed the feelings and will of hundreds of millions of people throughout the world who are struggling to build a world in which there is no imperialism, suppression, or exploitation. You are the unifying factors in the common struggle which is taking place in all countries throughout the world. You have assembled around yourselves people with different political, religious, and ideological tendencies from all countries on this globe. As a result, during the past several years, international unity with heroic Vietnam has been very strong.

We know that your party and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam stand before several large and difficult political struggles. Large and difficult political struggles also lie ahead of the patriots of South Vietnam whose will to struggle for freedom and independence has been expressed during the past years by the National Liberation Front and the Provisional Revolutionary Government. As in past years, we will always be beside our friends and participate with utmost enthusiasm in the struggles. Our immediate political task is to act in unison with each political force which supports this requirement in order to establish normal relations between our two countries so that we can, in the future, develop the deep relations which exist between the peoples of our two countries. We also have the task of appealing to the broad masses of Italians to be vigilant

against each plot to violate the recently signed agreement in order to insure that the agreement becomes a complete and positive reality.

Dear comrades, in the above spirit, we convey to you and, through you, to all of the revolutionary fighters and people of Vietnam, our happiness, gratitude, spirit of unity, and affectionate fraternal greetings.

Excerpt From the Declaration of the U.S. Communist Party

This is an historic victory in the struggle against imperialism. The defeat of the long and cruel war of aggression of the U.S. imperialists is, above everything else, the result of the struggle for freedom of the people of Vietnam, the support of all peace-loving nations...

However, the agreement has not ended the struggle. The responsibility of the U.S. does not end with this act. The entire U.S. Army must be withdrawn from Indochina. The U.S. 7th Fleet must leave the coastal waters of the countries in this region. U.S. military aircraft must cease all flights in the air space of the countries of Indochina.

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PHOTO CAPTIONS

1. Minister Nguyen Duy Trinh signing the Paris Agreement, p 29.
2. Minister Nguyen Thi Binh signing the Paris Agreement, p 29.
3. The signatures of the representatives of the parties participating in the Paris Conference, p 30.
4. Le Duc Tho waves good-bye at Paris. Nguyen Duy Trinh and Xuan Thuy bid farewell to Le Duc Tho, p 30.

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