WELCOME
THE SIGNING
OF THE PARIS
AGREEMENT
ON VIET NAM
Welcome the Signing of the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam
Chairman Mao shakes hands with Comrade Le Duc Tho.
Chairman Mao shakes hands with Comrade Nguyen Duy Trinh.
Chairman Mao with Comrades Le Duc Tho and Nguyen Duy Trinh.
The Peking people warmly celebrate the signing of the agreement on Viet Nam.
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CHINESE PARTY AND STATE LEADERS
WARMLY GREET THE SIGNING OF THE
PARIS AGREEMENT ON VIET NAM

Comrade Ton Duc Thang,
President of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam,

Comrade Le Duan,
First Secretary of the Central Committee of the
Viet Nam Workers’ Party,

Comrade Truong Chinh,
Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National
Assembly of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam,

Comrade Pham Van Dong,
Premier of the Government of the Democratic Republic
of Viet Nam,

Hanoi

His Excellency Nguyen Huu Tho,
President of the Presidium of the Central Committee of
the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation,

His Excellency Huynh Tan Phat,
President of the Provisional Revolutionary Government
of the Republic of South Viet Nam,

South Viet Nam
On the occasion of the formal signing in Paris of the Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Viet Nam, we, on behalf of the Chinese Communist Party, the Chinese Government and the Chinese people, extend our warm congratulations and pay our high respects to you and, through you, to the Viet Nam Workers’ Party and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, to the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam and to the people in north and south Viet Nam.

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 on 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 Viet Nam, 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. As a result, conditions have been created for the Vietnamese people to solve their own problems free from external armed intervention, and a vista has been opened up of the realization of peace, independence, unity, democracy and prosperity in Viet Nam.

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 they would at 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, and a weak nation can win victory over a strong. It is a great inspiration to all the oppressed nations and oppressed people 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 example of the contemporary war of national liberation.

China and Viet Nam are close neighbours linked by common rivers and mountains. Our two peoples have always supported and encouraged each other and have 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 bounden internationalist duty to support and assist your just cause. This we have done in the past during your war against U.S. aggression and 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 Viet Nam, under the leadership of the Viet Nam Workers’ Party and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam,
will achieve new successes in consolidating and building the socialist north. We sincerely wish that the people in south Viet Nam under the banner of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation and the Provisional Revolutionary Government will, together with the other two political forces, set up speedily a National 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 continuous progress along the road of independence, democracy and national unity. We are convinced that the Vietnamese people’s aspiration to reunify their 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 Teh,
Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People’s Congress of the People’s Republic of China

Chou En-lai,
Premier of the State Council of the People’s Republic of China

Peking, January 29, 1973
CHAIRMAN MAO TSE-TUNG MEETS
COMRADES LE DUC THO AND
NGUYEN DUY TRINH

Mao Tsetung, the great leader of the Chinese people and Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, met with Le Duc Tho, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party and Special Adviser to Minister Xuan Thuy, Head of the Delegation of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam to the Paris Conference on Viet Nam, and Nguyen Duy Trinh, Member of the Political Bureau of the Viet Nam Workers' Party Central Committee and Vice-Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the D.R.V.N. Government, at Chung-nanhai in Peking on February 1, 1973.

Chairman Mao greeted the Vietnamese comrades-in-arms in his study. When Comrades Le Duc Tho and Nguyen Duy Trinh arrived in the company of Ambassador Ngo Thuyen, Chairman Mao extended a warm welcome to them and tightly clasped their hands.

Comrade Le Duc Tho said warmly: We have come to pay our respects and regards to you, Chairman Mao, and to express our deep gratitude to you and the Chinese Communist Party for giving us great help and encouragement in our war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation.
Chairman Mao said to the Vietnamese comrades: Our help has been very little. We should thank you. It is you who have helped us. You have been fighting against U.S. imperialism for more than ten years. We have helped each other all along. Chairman Mao asked Comrades Le Duc Tho and Nguyen Duy Trinh to convey his regards to Comrades Ton Duc Thang, Le Duan, Truong Chinh, Pham Van Dong and Vo Nguyen Giap and the Vietnamese people.

The cordial meeting lasted one hour and a half.

Taking part in the meeting were Chou En-lai, Member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Premier of the State Council; Chang Chun-chiao, Member of the Political Bureau of the C.P.C. Central Committee; Chi Peng-fei, Foreign Minister; and staff members Liang Feng, Wang Teh-yang and Tang Wen-sheng.
COMRADE CHOU EN-LAI’S SPEECH
at the Banquet in Honour of Comrades Le Duc Tho
and Nguyen Duy Trinh
(February 1, 1973)

Respected Comrade Le Duc Tho,
Respected Comrade Nguyen Duy Trinh,
Respected Samdech and Madame Penn Nouth,
Respected Ambassador Ngo Thuyen,
Respected Ambassador Nguyen Van Quang,
Distinguished Vietnamese Guests,
Comrades and Friends,

Comrades Le Duc Tho and Nguyen Duy Trinh and the
other comrades of the delegation have come to Peking
after concluding the Paris talks and signing the Agreement
on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Viet
Nam. You have successfully fulfilled the difficult and
important task entrusted to you by the Viet Nam Workers’
Party, the Government of the Democratic Republic of
Viet Nam and the Vietnamese people. We are particularly
glad to gather joyously with you and the other Viet-
namese comrades-in-arms in joint celebration of the
victory upon your triumphant return. We express to
you our warm welcome.

The formal signing of the Agreement on Ending the
War and Restoring Peace in Viet Nam is an occasion of
great rejoicing for the Vietnamese people as well as a major event which brings joy to the people of the whole world. Allow me to take this opportunity to extend warm congratulations and pay high respects once again to the fraternal and heroic Vietnamese people on behalf of the Chinese people’s great leader Chairman Mao, the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese Government and people.

There was a possibility after the 1954 Geneva Conference for the Vietnamese people to realize their national independence and the reunification of their fatherland. It was U.S. imperialist disruption and its steadily-expanding aggression against Viet Nam that compelled the Vietnamese people to take up arms and fight the war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. In the past decade and more, the heroic Vietnamese people carried on a valiant, tenacious, inspiring and heart-stirring struggle under extremely difficult conditions. Now, in the agreement, the U.S. Government recognizes the Vietnamese people’s fundamental national rights — independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity — and the south Vietnamese people’s right to self-determination, assumes the obligation of withdrawing all the armed forces of the United States and its allies from south Viet Nam within a fixed time and undertakes to stop all military actions against Viet Nam. Thus the Vietnamese people have regained the possibility of solving their internal problems by themselves free from external armed intervention. This is a great victory won by the Vietnamese people through self-reliance, arduous struggle and perseverance in a protracted people’s war. It is a common victory for the three Indochinese peoples fighting
in unity. It is also a common victory for the people of the whole world, the American people included.

The fact that the Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Viet Nam was eventually signed is another convincing proof that no force on earth can check the great historical trend, namely, countries want independence, nations want liberation, and the people want revolution. In the world today, any country, however mighty a big power it may be, will definitely run up against a wall if it attempts by force of arms to impose its will on the people of another country. A just cause enjoys abundant support while an unjust cause finds little support; a just cause is bound to win while a war of aggression is doomed to fail. This is an incontestable truth. The victorious Vietnamese people have set the most brilliant example for and made the greatest contribution to the peoples of the world who are engaged in struggles against imperialism and colonialism and for national liberation.

The signing of the Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Viet Nam has opened up prospects for the settlement of the Viet Nam question in conformity with the national aspirations and interests of the Vietnamese people. The Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam have both solemnly declared that they will strictly and fully implement all the provisions of the Paris agreement. It is our hope and demand that the U.S. Government and particularly the Saigon authorities will refrain from procrastination, expansion and sabotage, and will also strictly observe and carry out all the provisions of the agreement so that what is written on paper may be turned into
reality, consequently the Vietnamese people may obtain a genuine peace and a contribution may be made to easing the tension in the Far East.

As pointed out in the Appeal of January 28 of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers’ Party and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, “The victorious conclusion of the war of resistance against U.S. aggression and for national salvation has ushered in a new turning point in the Vietnamese revolution.” The new tasks confronting the Vietnamese people are most arduous. We are confident that the people in north Viet Nam, under the leadership of the Viet Nam Workers’ Party and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, will surely heal the wounds of war and achieve new successes in socialist construction. The people in south Viet Nam, rallied around their authentic representative — the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam — will surely heighten their revolutionary vigilance, promote national concord, continually overcome all possible difficulties and obstacles and advance valiantly on the road of bringing about peace, independence and democracy in the south. The entire Vietnamese people, through their united struggle, will surely realize President Ho Chi Minh’s great behest: “Our fatherland will certainly be reunified. Our fellow-countrymen in the south and in the north will certainly be reunited under the same roof.”

While celebrating the signing of the Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Viet Nam, we cannot but point out that the United States has not yet stopped its war of aggression against Cambodia and Laos. The peoples of Cambodia and Laos are carrying on heroic
resistance in defence of the independence and sovereignty of their fatherlands. On January 26, 1973 Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia, Samdech Penn Nouth, Prime Minister of the Royal Government of National Union, and Mr. Khieu Samphan, Vice-Prime Minister and Minister of National Defence, issued a statement on the settlement of the Cambodian question. The Chinese Government and people resolutely support the solemn and just stand taken in that statement. The United States should stop all its acts of aggression against Cambodia and Laos. We are confident that the just struggles of the Cambodian and Lao peoples, too, will surely be crowned with great victory.

Comrades and Friends,

The peoples of China and Viet Nam are close comrades-in-arms and brothers sharing weal and woe. It is the steadfast stand of the Chinese people to support the Vietnamese people in their just struggle for independence and freedom. In the new period of ending the war and restoring peace, just as in the past during the difficult years of the war of resistance against U.S. aggression and for national salvation, we will stand together with the fraternal Vietnamese people, unswervingly perform our proletarian internationalist duty and give all-out support and assistance to the just cause of the Vietnamese and other Indochinese peoples till complete victory is won.

Now, I propose a toast

to the great victory of the Vietnamese people,

to the fraternal friendship and militant unity between the peoples of China and Viet Nam,

to the fraternal friendship and militant unity between the Chinese people and the three Indochinese peoples,
to the health of President Ton Duc Thang and Comrade Le Duan, Comrade Truong Chinh and Comrade Pham Van Dong,

to the health of Comrade Le Duc Tho,

to the health of Comrade Nguyen Duy Trinh,

to the health of Samdech Penn Nouth and Madame Penn Nouth,

to the health of the Ministers of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia and their wives present,

to the health of Ambassador Ngo Thuyen and Ambassador Nguyen Van Quang,

to the health of all the distinguished guests from Viet Nam,

to the health of the heads of diplomatic missions and their wives present, and

to the health of our comrades and friends present here!
Respected Comrade Premier Chou En-lai,
Respected Leading Comrades of the Chinese Party and Government,
Respected Samdech Prime Minister Penn Nouth and Madame Penn Nouth,
Dear Comrades and Friends of the Diplomatic Corps,
Dear Comrades and Friends,

First of all, Comrade Le Duc Tho and I would like to express our heartfelt thanks to Comrade Premier Chou En-lai and to other leading comrades of the Party and Government of China for their extremely warm welcome extended to us. We are deeply grateful to Comrade Premier Chou En-lai's speech in which he highly evaluates the victory achieved by the Vietnamese people in the conclusion of the Paris agreement on Viet Nam. Under that agreement, the United States is obliged to put an end to its war of aggression in Viet Nam, to cease all U.S. military involvement in Viet Nam, to undertake to respect the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of Viet Nam, and to respect and ensure the
south Vietnamese people’s right to self-determination and democratic liberties.

The signing of the Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Viet Nam constitutes a great and extremely glorious victory of the Vietnamese people’s struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. It is also a great victory of the three Indochinese peoples in the united combat against their common enemy, a great victory of the socialist countries, of the oppressed nations and of the forces throughout the world that love peace and uphold justice. The Vietnamese people have won that victory thanks to the correct line of President Ho Chi Minh and of the Viet Nam Workers’ Party of persevering in the struggle on the military, political, and diplomatic fronts. It is also due to the unity and the determination to fight and to win victory of our entire Party, army and people. It is also due to the enthusiastic support and enormous assistance given us by the socialist countries, nationalist countries, and peoples all over the world who love peace and uphold justice.

On this occasion, allow me to express the sincere gratitude of the Viet Nam Workers’ Party, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the whole people of Viet Nam to our brothers and friends on the five continents for their precious sympathy and support.

Dear Comrades and Friends,

The signing of the Paris agreement on Viet Nam brings the Vietnamese people’s war of resistance against U.S. aggression and for national salvation to a victorious end and marks a new turning point for the revolution in Viet Nam. It has laid a solid basis for the Vietnamese people
to continue to go forward and score further victories, and to complete the national democratic revolution throughout the country. In their January 28 appeal, our Party Central Committee and Government have pointed out that the immediate task of the entire Vietnamese people is to strengthen their unity, to maintain high vigilance at all times, to do their utmost to consolidate the victories already won, to maintain lasting peace, to vigorously push forward socialist construction in the north, to achieve independence and democracy in the south, and to proceed to the peaceful reunification of the fatherland. In the south, under the glorious banner of the N.F.L. and the P.R.G. of the R.S.V.N., their only authentic representative, the south Vietnamese people will struggle for the full implementation of the Paris agreement on Viet Nam, the realization of the democratic liberties and national concord so as to stabilize the situation in south Viet Nam and eventually to organize general elections. In the north, utmost efforts must be made to rapidly heal the wounds of war, to rehabilitate and develop the economy, to consolidate the national defence, to broaden cultural activities, and to advance towards a strong and prosperous socialist country.

In order to accomplish these difficult and complicated tasks, we must rely mainly on our own strength, and at the same time it is highly necessary to obtain further enormous support and assistance from the socialist countries and our brothers and friends all over the world.

Dear Comrades and Friends,

The Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and China are two socialist, brotherly neighbours as closely related to each other as the lips to the teeth. Our recent victories
cannot be separated from the very enormous and precious support and assistance in various fields that the Chinese Communist Party, the Chinese Government and the fraternal Chinese people have given us in keeping with proletarian internationalism. The splendid words in the January 29, 1973 message of congratulations by the leading comrades of the Chinese Party and State are a great encouragement to the Vietnamese people in both zones. On this occasion, I would like, on behalf of the Viet Nam Workers' Party, the Government of the D.R.V.N. and the entire Vietnamese people, to voice our sincerest and deepest gratitude to respected Chairman Mao, to the Chinese Communist Party, the Chinese Government and the fraternal Chinese people.

May I propose a toast

to the common great victory we have achieved in the conclusion of the Paris agreement that brings to an end the Vietnamese people's war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation,

to still more and greater victories to be achieved by the fraternal Chinese people, under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party headed by respected Chairman Mao Tsetung and the Chinese Government, in the socialist revolution and socialist construction,

to the unbreakable and everlasting militant solidarity and friendship between the Vietnamese and Chinese peoples,

to the good health and longevity of Chairman Mao, the great leader of the Chinese people and the respected friend of the Vietnamese people,

to the health of respected Premier Chou En-lai,
to the health of other leading comrades of the Chinese Party and Government,
to the health of Samdech Prime Minister Penn Nouth
and Madame Penn Nouth,
to the health of the Ministers of the Royal Government
of National Union of Cambodia and their wives,
to the health of Messrs. the Ambassadors, Charges
d’Affaires, and their wives, and
to the health of all comrades and friends present.
COMRADE CHANG CHUN-CHIAO’S SPEECH

at the Peking Mass Rally in Celebration of the Signing of the Agreement on Viet Nam

(February 2, 1973)

Respected Comrade Le Duc Tho,
Respected Comrade Nguyen Duy Trinh,
Respected Samdech Penn Nouth and Madame Penn Nouth,
Respected Ambassador Ngo Thuyen,
Respected Ambassador Nguyen Van Quang,
Respected Vietnamese Comrades,
Comrades and Friends,

Today, people from all walks of life in our capital are gathered in this grand rally in great joy to celebrate the signing of the Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Viet Nam and the great victory of the Vietnamese people in their war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. On behalf of the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese Government and people, I extend our warm fraternal congratulations to the people in north and south Viet Nam and express our high respects to the army and people of Viet Nam who have performed magnificent feats in their protracted war of resistance.

We are particularly glad that Comrade Le Duc Tho, Special Adviser to the Delegation of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam to the Paris Con-
ference, Comrade Foreign Minister Nguyen Duy Trinh who signed the Paris agreement on behalf of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, Ambassador Ngo Thuyen, Ambassador Nguyen Van Quang and the other distinguished Vietnamese guests are present at today’s rally to celebrate this great victory together with us. Let us express warm welcome once again to our Vietnamese comrades-in-arms.

The Vietnamese people had waged long and valiant struggles for the independence of their fatherland and the liberation of their nation. For more than ten years, they carried on an extremely arduous fight against U.S. imperialism, displaying dauntless heroism. Under the leadership of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam, the people in south Viet Nam overcame great hardships, persevered in a protracted people’s war, wiped out large numbers of enemy effectives and liberated large areas. Under the leadership of the Viet Nam Workers’ Party and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, the people in north Viet Nam, uniting as one and unafraid of sacrifice, heroically resisted the air and naval raids perpetrated by the United States, smashed each of its “war escalations,” victoriously defended the socialist north Viet Nam and rendered powerful support and assistance to their flesh-and-blood compatriots in the south in the struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. U.S. imperialism failed to obstruct the triumphant advance of the Vietnamese people although its strategists worked out wild schemes of so-called “special warfare,” “local war,” “Vietnamization,” etc. and resorted to all kinds of brutal means of aggression. The
Vietnamese people, by courageously waging a war of resistance for more than ten years, and through innumerable trials of combat, prove themselves the vanguard of the contemporary national liberation struggle and worthy of the name of heroes fighting for independence and freedom.

The Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Viet Nam has now at last been formally signed. In the agreement, the U.S. Government has had to recognize the Vietnamese people’s fundamental national rights of independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity, and recognize the south Vietnamese people’s right to self-determination, agree to withdraw all the armed forces of the United States and its allies within a fixed time and undertake to stop all military actions against north and south Viet Nam. The signing of this agreement has created conditions for the Vietnamese people to solve their own internal problems free from external armed intervention and opened up prospects for the realization of peace, independence, unity, democracy and prosperity in Viet Nam. This is a significant achievement made by the Vietnamese people through protracted struggles on the military, political and diplomatic fronts. It is a great victory which the Vietnamese people have won by holding high the brilliant banner of President Ho Chi Minh’s call for “firm resolve to fight and win,” relying on the united strength of the entire nation, maintaining independence, persisting in self-reliance and persevering in a protracted people’s war. It is a great victory which the Vietnamese people have won by uniting closely and fighting shoulder to shoulder with the fraternal Lao and Cambodian peoples. It is also a common victory for all the countries and peo-
pleas of the world who love peace and uphold justice, including the American people.

The Chinese people warmly hail the great victory of the Vietnamese people’s war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. Your heroic deeds have greatly inspired all the oppressed nations and peoples of the world. Through fighting you have set a brilliant example for the people of the whole world in their anti-imperialist revolutionary struggles.

The victory of the Vietnamese people’s war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation is a vivid proof that all just causes are invincible. When rising against oppression, oppressed nations and peoples are usually weak, with small forces, while their enemy is strong and big. This was true when the Vietnamese people were compelled to take up arms and fight their sacred war of resistance. But since their war was a great war of national liberation, their cause was entirely just. The people of the whole world stood on their side. They had lofty fighting goals and an iron will to fight to the finish. They were good at learning warfare through fighting the war, accumulating experience and developing their ability. They increased their strength gradually from small to big and from weak to strong in the course of the protracted resistance, and ultimately won the great victory of their war against aggression.

The great victory of the Vietnamese people also proves convincingly that any big country or big power attempting by force of arms to impose its will upon the people of another country is doomed to fail. On the Viet Nam battlefield, the United States employed hundreds of thousands of troops, adopted all kinds of strategies and tactics, used large numbers of modern and chemical
weapons, made unprecedentedly large military expenditures and dropped far more bombs than in any other war in history. But instead of subduing the Vietnamese people, it landed itself in dire straits at home and abroad. **A weak nation can defeat a strong, a small nation can defeat a big.** The triumphant war of resistance of the Vietnamese people is a shining example of this truth.

The people of the whole world are acclaiming the signing of the Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Viet Nam and they sincerely hope that the Vietnamese people may henceforth have real independence and peace and a contribution may thus be made towards easing the tension in the Far East. We know from experience that it is not easy to get an armistice agreement signed, and that after its signing it is not easy either to make what is written on paper a reality. It requires that all the parties concerned make earnest and serious efforts. The Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam have both solemnly declared that they will strictly and fully implement all the provisions of the Paris agreement. It is our hope and demand that the U.S. Government and particularly the Saigon authorities, too, should strictly observe and implement all the provisions of the Paris agreement. However, we cannot but note that in the past few days since the ceasefire, the Saigon authorities have been continuing their military activities to nibble at the liberated areas and setting up obstacles to the functioning of the Four-Party Joint Military Commission. We consider this impermissible. All acts which run counter to and violate the agreement ought to be checked
in good time and all provisions of the agreement should be scrupulously observed and carried out.

Dear Comrades and Friends,

The victory of the Vietnamese people’s war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation has brought about a new situation for the cause of socialism in the north and for the national democratic revolution in the south of Viet Nam. The Viet Nam revolution has entered a new stage. The tasks confronting the Vietnamese people are still very arduous. We are confident that the Vietnamese people, who are tempered in their protracted revolutionary war, will surely carry forward their revolutionary heroism displayed in the war, work strenuously, overcome all difficulties and fulfil the new tasks set in the January 28 appeals issued respectively by the Viet Nam Workers’ Party and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and by the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam to consolidate the fruits of victory already won and achieve new successes continuously.

We sincerely wish that the people in north Viet Nam, under the leadership of the Viet Nam Workers’ Party and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, will speedily heal the wounds of war, rehabilitate and develop their economy and win new successes in consolidating and building the socialist north.

We sincerely wish that the people in south Viet Nam, under the banner of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam, will achieve national unity and make continuous progress on the road
of building a peaceful, independent, democratic and prosperous south Viet Nam.

The Vietnamese nation is an integral whole. Reunification of the country is the national aspiration for which the entire Vietnamese people have long fought. The agreement signed stipulates that the reunification of Viet Nam shall be carried out step by step through peaceful means between north and south Viet Nam without foreign interference. We are convinced that through their united struggle, the people in north and south Viet Nam will overcome the artificial division and realize the sacred goal of the peaceful reunification of their fatherland. The fine day when the north and the south will be "reunited under the same roof," as forecast by President Ho Chi Minh, will arrive.

Dear Comrades and Friends,

At today's rally, we Chinese people and the Vietnamese comrades-in-arms have a common feeling, that is, our two peoples "are of the same family" and we are "both comrades and brothers." Our two peoples, sharing one life-breath and destiny, have encouraged and supported each other and forged a profound revolutionary friendship in the long anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle. This friendship of ours has been nurtured by the Chinese people's great leader Chairman Mao Tsetung and the Vietnamese people's great leader President Ho Chi Minh personally; it is based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and is firm and unbreakable.

The enduring achievement made by the heroic Vietnamese people in their protracted war of resistance is a powerful support and assistance to the Chinese people in our socialist revolution and socialist construction. Every
victory of yours is a great inspiration to us, and your revolutionary spirit is what we should always endeavour to emulate. We will never forget the Vietnamese people’s invaluable support and assistance to us. We wish to take this opportunity to express our sincere thanks to the fraternal Vietnamese people.

The Chinese people have always regarded the Vietnamese people’s struggle as our own struggle, their victories as our own victories and their difficulties as our own difficulties and taken it as our bounden proletarian internationalist duty to support and assist the Vietnamese people in their just struggle for independence and freedom. In the past, during the war years, the Chinese people followed Chairman Mao’s teaching that “the 700 million Chinese people provide a powerful backing for the Vietnamese people; the vast expanse of China’s territory is their reliable rear area” and firmly supported and assisted the Vietnamese people in their war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. In the new period after the ending of the war, we will remain united with the Vietnamese and the other Indochinese peoples, unswervingly perform our proletarian internationalist duty and continue to support and assist the just causes of the Vietnamese and the other Indochinese peoples till complete victory is won.

Long live the great victory of the Vietnamese people’s war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation!

Long live the great friendship and militant unity of the peoples of China and Viet Nam!

Long live the great friendship and militant unity of the peoples of China and the three Indochinese countries!

Long live the heroic Vietnamese people!
COMRADE LE DUC THO’S SPEECH
at the Peking Mass Rally in Celebration of the
Signing of the Agreement on Viet Nam

(February 2, 1973)

Respected Comrade Chou En-lai, Premier of the State
Council of the People’s Republic of China,
Respected Comrade Chang Chun-chiao, Member of the
Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chi-
inese Communist Party,
Respected Leading Comrades of the Chinese Party and
Government,
Respected Samdech Prime Minister Penn Nouth and
Madame Penn Nouth,
Respected Comrade Wu Teh, Chairman of the Peking
Municipal Revolutionary Committee,
Dear Comrades and Friends of the Diplomatic Corps,
Dear Comrades and Friends,

In this jubilant atmosphere of brotherhood between
the two peoples of Viet Nam and China, I would like to
convey to respected Premier Chou En-lai and other
leading comrades of the Chinese Party and Government,
to the whole people of the glorious capital, Peking, and
to the great Chinese people the highest tribute of militant
solidarity and fraternal friendship from the Viet Nam
Workers’ Party, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the entire Vietnamese people.

I would like to express our heartfelt thanks to you for organizing this grand meeting to hail the Vietnamese people’s victory on the occasion of the signing of the Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Viet Nam. I would like also to greet and thank Samdech Prime Minister Penn Nouth, Madame Penn Nouth, and all comrades and friends who have come here to share our joy in victory, that is actually our common victory. I deeply appreciate Comrade Chang Chun-chiao’s fine speech which is filled with fraternal friendship and highly evaluates the victories we have won. We consider it a great encouragement to us in this new stage of revolutionary struggle.

Dear Comrades and Friends,

As you know, the Vietnamese people’s war of resistance against U.S. aggression and for national salvation is the longest, hardest and most victorious struggle for national liberation in our history. It is also the fiercest war of national liberation in the history of the world’s oppressed nations.

Over the past thirteen years, the U.S. imperialists have mobilized the greater part of their naval, ground, and air forces, including nearly one million U.S. troops and over one million puppet and satellite troops, used the most modern weapons and war means, applied all kinds of strategies and tactics, and spent billions upon billions of dollars to carry out their war of aggression against our country. Yet all their strategies and tactics met with ignominious failure and they were compelled to negotiate with us to find a way out for the war. After
nearly five years of hard and tense talks, the Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Viet Nam was finally signed in Paris on January 27, 1973.

Under the agreement, the U.S. undertakes from now on to respect the Vietnamese people's fundamental national rights, namely the independence, sovereignty, unity, and territorial integrity of Viet Nam. It is obliged to stop its war of aggression in Viet Nam, to pull out all U.S. and satellite troops, all kinds of advisers and military personnel from south Viet Nam, and to dismantle all U.S. military bases in south Viet Nam. It undertakes to end all military involvement and all interference in the internal affairs of south Viet Nam. It undertakes to respect the south Vietnamese people's right to self-determination and democratic liberties. It has actually recognized that there are now in south Viet Nam the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam, and the Liberation Army and the liberated regions controlled by the Provisional Revolutionary Government.

The signing of the Paris agreement on Viet Nam embodies the results of the Vietnamese people's war of resistance against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. It has laid a political and juridical basis for the continued struggle of our whole people to advance and score still greater victories and to complete the national democratic revolution throughout the country.

Dear Comrades and Friends,

The victorious conclusion of the Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Viet Nam is not only a very great victory of the Vietnamese people's war of resistance against U.S. aggression and for national salva-
tion, it is also a victory of the militant solidarity of the Vietnamese, Lao and Cambodian peoples in fighting their common enemy. It is a victory of epochal significance achieved by the people of the socialist countries, of the forces of national independence, democracy and peace, and of all people throughout the world who love peace and uphold justice.

This is a great victory of the correct line of the Viet Nam Workers’ Party of persevering in struggle on three different fronts — military, political and diplomatic. It is a victory of our whole Party and people who, united as one and determined to fight and win victory, have held aloft beloved President Ho Chi Minh’s banner “Nothing is more precious than independence and freedom” and have overcome hardships and sacrifices over the past decade and more. It is a victory of our 21 million compatriots in the north, and our 17 million compatriots in the south whose only authentic representative is the N.F.L. and the P.R.G. of the Republic of South Viet Nam.

Dear Comrades and Friends,

The successful conclusion of the Vietnamese people’s war of resistance marks a new turning point in the Vietnamese revolution. However, it is only an initial victory. Our people in both zones, north and south, still have to wage a hard and complicated struggle before we can reach our goal of building a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic and prosperous Viet Nam. The south Vietnamese people still have many difficulties and obstacles to overcome because the militarist and fascist forces — instruments of neo-colonialism — have not given up their scheme of sabotaging peace and preventing our people
from advancing on the road of independence and freedom. More than ever should our people in both zones strengthen our unity, maintain high vigilance at all times, and strive to consolidate the victories already won, so as to preserve a lasting peace, build up and consolidate the socialist north, bring about independence and democracy in the south, and eventually proceed to the peaceful reunification of the fatherland.

The Vietnamese people and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam will seriously and strictly implement all the provisions of the Paris agreement and demand that the other parties to the agreement respect and fully implement it too.

The Vietnamese people are confident that the Lao people under the banner of the Lao Patriotic Front and the Cambodian people under the banner of the National United Front and the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia will achieve glorious victories in their wars of resistance.

Dear Comrades and Friends,

In their just struggle, the Vietnamese people have always enjoyed the deep sympathy and great assistance of the people of the brother socialist countries and the people all over the world who love peace and uphold justice, including the progressive people in the United States. I take this opportunity to express to you, comrades, foreign guests and friends participating in this grand meeting, and, through you, to all our brothers and friends in all parts of the world, the heartfelt and profound gratitude of the Viet Nam Workers' Party, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and
the Vietnamese people for your precious sympathy and assistance.

The Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and China are two brother socialist countries, two close neighbours. Our two peoples have long, traditional solidarity and friendship. As our beloved President Ho Chi Minh said, "Profound is the friendship between Viet Nam and China, who are both comrades and brothers," or as respected Chairman Mao says, "We are of the same family." We have shared weal and woe in the days of hard struggle, and now we are sharing our common joy in victory. In the recent war of resistance against U.S. aggression and for national salvation, the Vietnamese people received a very great amount of precious support and assistance in various fields that the Chinese Communist Party, the Chinese Government and the fraternal Chinese people granted in a spirit of proletarian internationalism. This support and assistance contributed an important part to our recent victories. The message of congratulations sent on January 29 by the leading comrades of the Chinese Party and Government, the speech by Comrade Chou En-lai at the banquet yesterday, and the speech by Comrade Chang Chun-chiao at this grand meeting provide a great encouragement to our people in both north and south Viet Nam.

In this joyful atmosphere of victory, of Viet Nam-China militant solidarity and fraternal friendship, I would like, on behalf of the Viet Nam Workers' Party, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the entire Vietnamese people, to reiterate our sincere and deepest gratitude to the Chinese Communist Party, the Chinese Government and the fraternal Chinese people.
We are convinced that in building socialism in north Viet Nam as well as in the struggle for the completion of the national democratic revolution in south Viet Nam and the eventual peaceful reunification of the country, the Vietnamese people will continue to receive still greater sympathy and support from the fraternal Chinese people.

I sincerely wish the fraternal Chinese people, under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party headed by respected Chairman Mao, will win still greater victories in the socialist revolution and socialist construction and the realization of the Fourth Five-Year Plan.

May the militant solidarity and fraternal friendship based on Marxism-Leninism between our two Parties and two peoples last for ever!
The Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Viet Nam was formally signed in Paris on January 27, 1973, by the parties participating in the Paris Conference on Viet Nam. Longed for by the people of the world, peace in Viet Nam has finally come in conditions conforming with the aspirations of the Vietnamese nation. This is a tremendous victory for the Vietnamese people as well as for the people of the world. The Chinese people welcome the signing of the agreement on ending the war in Viet Nam and extend warm congratulations to the fraternal Vietnamese people.

To oppose U.S. aggression and to win the country’s independence and national liberation, the 40 million heroic Vietnamese people have for more than ten years waged a heroic war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation in defiance of great national sacrifice and by bringing their dauntless revolutionary spirit into full play, and have won a splendid victory. Despite the dispatch of over 500,000 ground troops, the Seventh Fleet, including a number of aircraft carriers, tens of thousands of aircraft, the dumping of nearly 8 million tons of bombs and a cost of nearly 200,000 million U.S. dollars in direct
military expenditures, the United States could not force the Vietnamese people into submission. The victory of the Vietnamese people is a strong inspiration to all the oppressed nations in their struggle for liberation and has made an important contribution to the anti-imperialist cause of the people of the world. The just war of the Vietnamese people will go down in history as an extremely great war of national liberation of the present era.

The Viet Nam war, which began with the U.S. sabotage of the 1954 Geneva Agreements and its intervention and aggression in Viet Nam, has now ended with the cessation of all U.S. military actions against Viet Nam and the withdrawal of all its armed forces and those of its allies within a fixed time. According to the agreement signed by the four parties, the United States undertakes to respect the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of Viet Nam; the United States shall withdraw all its armed forces and military personnel and those of its allies from south Viet Nam within 60 days, it shall not continue its military involvement or intervene in the internal affairs of south Viet Nam, and shall recognize the south Vietnamese people’s right to self-determination; the south Vietnamese people shall decide themselves the political future of south Viet Nam through general elections; and the reunification of Viet Nam shall be carried out step by step through peaceful means. It is possible in this way to settle the Viet Nam question without outside armed intervention. The Vietnamese people have braved death and sacrifice precisely to win and defend their fundamental national rights.

The signing of the Viet Nam agreement has shown once again that a just cause is invincible. War waged by
oppressed nations and countries subjected to aggression to resist foreign aggression and to win independence and liberation is a just war. Aggression and oppression by the hegemonists are unjust. So long as the oppressed nations and countries subjected to aggression dare to take up arms, unite as one, and persevere in fighting, they can certainly defeat foreign aggression and be masters of their own destiny. This has been fully borne out by people’s wars against foreign armed intervention and aggression since World War II. In Indochina, the same as elsewhere in the world today, the trend of history—that countries want independence, nations want liberation and the people want revolution—cannot be held back by any force. The affairs of each country can only be settled by its own people and no outside interference is permitted. All attempts running counter to this trend of history are doomed to fail.

The U.S. war of aggression in Viet Nam has brought colossal destruction and disaster to the Vietnamese people and much suffering to the American people; it has also gravely aggravated tension in Asia. The earnest implementation of the agreement already reached, the ending of the war and restoring of peace conform not only with the interests of the Vietnamese people but also with the interests of the American people and people all over the world. At the same time, they will have a positive influence on reducing tension in Asia and the world.

The Viet Nam armistice agreement has now been signed. But all the parties concerned have to make great efforts before what is written on paper can become a reality and all the provisions are thoroughly implemented. The Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam
and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam have solemnly declared that they will strictly carry out all the provisions of the agreement and the protocols to it and safeguard peace in Viet Nam. The people and public opinion around the globe demand that the U.S. Government and the Saigon authorities also strictly abide by the agreement and honestly fulfil their commitments.

The political future of south Viet Nam and the reunification of Viet Nam still remain to be settled step by step after the ending of the war in Viet Nam. Two administrations, two armies and two zones of control and three political forces now exist in south Viet Nam. This is the reality the agreement has actually affirmed. The Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam is the genuine representative of the south Vietnamese people. It has won the warm support of the south Vietnamese people and is widely recognized internationally. The political future of south Viet Nam must be solved by the three political forces there according to the actual state of affairs, free from outside armed intervention and through peaceful consultation. The fact that in the past 18 years Viet Nam has not been reunified promptly but has been divided for a long time into north and south is due to the sabotage of the 1954 Geneva Agreements. This state of affairs runs counter to the national aspirations and interests of the Vietnamese people. The Vietnamese people are one, and Viet Nam is one. This has also been affirmed by the agreement. The reunification of Viet Nam should be carried out step by step through peaceful means on the basis of consultations and agreements between north and south Viet Nam and without outside interference.
The Chinese and Vietnamese peoples are of the same family. The people of the two countries have always encouraged and supported each other in their common struggle. The Vietnamese people’s struggle has now entered a new stage. The Chinese people will as always continue to give firm support to the just cause of the fraternal Vietnamese people in the days to come. We are deeply convinced that no matter what difficulties and obstacles they may encounter on their road of advance, the Vietnamese people, with unremitting efforts, are sure to finally realize the lofty goal set by President Ho Chi Minh—to build a peaceful, independent, unified, democratic and prosperous Viet Nam.
欢迎越南协定的签订

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