APPENDIX I
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Joint U.S.-Chinese Communique

"President Richard Nixon of the United States of America visited the People's Republic of China at the invitation of Premier Chou En-lai of the People's Republic of China from February 28, 1972. Accompanying the President were Mrs. Nixon, U.S. Secretary of State William Rogers, Assistant to the President Dr. Henry Kissinger, and other American officials.

"President Nixon met with Chairman Mao Tse-tung of the Communist Party of China on February 21. The two leaders had a serious and frank exchange of views on Sino-U.S. relations and world affairs.

"During the visit, extensive, earnest and frank discussions were held between President Nixon and Premier Chou En-lai on the normalization of relations between the United States of America and the People's Republic of China, as well as on other matters of interest to both sides. In addition, Secretary of State William Rogers and Foreign Minister Chi Peng-fei held talks in the same spirit.

"President Nixon and his party visited Peking and viewed cultural, industrial and agricultural sites and they also toured Hangchow and Shanghai where, continuing discussions with Chinese leaders, they viewed similar places of interest."
"The leaders of the People's Republic of China and the United States of America found it beneficial to have this opportunity, after so many years without contact, to present candidly to one another their views on a variety of issues. They reviewed the international situation in which importance changes and great upheavals are taking place, and expounded their respective positions and attitudes.

"The Chinese side stated: Wherever there is oppression, there is resistance. Countries want revolution - this has become the irresistible trend of history. All nations, big or small, should be equal; big nations should not bully the small and strong nations should not bully the weak. China will never be a super-Power, and it opposes hegemony and power politics of any kind. The Chinese side stated that it firmly supports the struggles of all the oppressed people and nations for freedom and liberation, and that the people of all countries have the right to choose their social systems according to their own wishes and the right to safeguard the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of their own countries and oppose foreign aggression, interference, control and subversion. All foreign troops should be withdrawn to their own countries."
"The Chinese side expressed its firm support to the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia to their efforts for the attainment of their goal and its firm support to the seven-point proposal of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam and the elaboration of February this year on the two key problems in the proposal, and to the Joint Declaration of the Summit Conference of the Indo-Chinese Peoples. It firmly supports the eight-point programme for the peaceful unification of Korea put forward by the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on April 12, 1971 and the stand for the abolition of the 'U.N. Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea'. It firmly opposes the revival and outward expansion of Japanese militarism and firmly supports the Japanese people's desire to build an independent, democratic, peaceful and neutral Japan. It firmly maintains that India and Pakistan should, in accordance with the United Nations resolutions on the India-Pakistan question, immediately withdraw all their forces to their respective territories and to their own sides of the cease-fire line in Jammu and Kashmir, and firmly supports the Pakistan Government and people in their struggle to preserve their independence and sovereignty.

"The U.S. side stated: Peace in Asia and peace in the world requires efforts both to reduce immediate tensions and to eliminate the basic causes of conflict. The United States will work for a just and secure peace: just, because it fulfills the aspirations of peoples and nations for freedom and progress; secure, because it removes the danger of foreign aggression. The United States supports individual freedom and social progress for all the peoples of the world, free of outside pressure or intervention. The United States believes that the effort to reduce tensions is served by improving communication between countries that have different ideologies so as to lessen the risk of confrontation through accident, miscalculation or misunderstanding. Countries should treat each other with mutual respect and be willing to compete peacefully, letting performance be the ultimate judge. No country should claim infallibility and each country should be prepared to re-examine its own attitudes for the common good.

"The United States stressed that the peoples of Indo-China should be allowed to determine their destiny without outside intervention; its constant primary
objective has been a negotiated solution; the eight-point proposal put forward by the Republic of Vietnam and the United States on January 27, 1972 represents a basis for the attainment of that objective; in the absence of a negotiated settlement the United States envisages the ultimate withdrawal of all U.S. forces from the region consistent with the aim of self-determination for each country of Indo-China. The United States will maintain its close ties with and support for the Republic of Korea; the United States will support efforts of the Republic of Korea to seek a relaxation of tension and increased communication in the Korean peninsula. The United States places the highest value on its friendly relations with Japan; it will continue to develop the existing close bonds. Consistent with the Security Council Resolution of Dec. 21, 1971, the United States favours the continuation of the cease-fire between India and Pakistan and the withdrawal of all military forces to within their own territories and to their own sides of the cease-fire line in Jammu and Kashmir; the United States supports the right of the peoples of South Asia to shape their own future in peace, free of military threat, and without having the area become the subject of great-Power rivalry.
"There are essential differences between China and the United States in their social systems and foreign policies. However, the two sides agreed that countries, regardless of their social systems, should conduct their relations on the principles of respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all States, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence. International disputes should be settled on this basis, without resorting to the use or threat of force. The United States and the People's Republic of China are prepared to apply these principles to their mutual relations.

"With these principles of international relations in mind the two sides stated that:

Progress toward the normalization of relations between China and the United States is in the interest of all countries;

both wish to reduce the danger of international military conflict;

neither should seek hegemony in the Asia-Pacific region and each is opposed to efforts by any other country or group of countries to establish such hegemony; and

neither is prepared to negotiate on behalf of any third party or to enter into agreements or understandings with the other directed at other States."
"Both sides are of the view that it would be against the interests of the peoples of the world for any major country to collude with another against other countries, or for major countries to divide up the world into spheres of interest.

"The two sides reviewed the longstanding serious disputes between China and the United States. The Chinese side reaffirmed its position: the Taiwan question obstructing the normalization of relations between China and the United States; the Government of the People's Republic of China is the sole legal Government of China; Taiwan is a province of China which has long been returned to the motherland; the liberation of Taiwan is China's internal affair in which no other country has the right to interfere; and all U.S. forces and military installations must be withdrawn from Taiwan. The Chinese Government firmly opposes any activities which aim at the creation of 'one China, one Taiwan', 'one China, two Governments', 'two Chinas', and 'independent Taiwan' or advocate that 'the status of Taiwan remains to be determined'.

"The U.S. side declared: The United States acknowledge that all Chinese on either side of the
Taiwan Strait maintain there is but one China and that Taiwan is a part of China. The U.S. Government does not challenge that position. It reaffirms its interest in a peaceful settlement of the Taiwan question by the Chinese themselves. With this prospect in mind, it affirms the ultimate objective of the withdrawal of all U.S. forces and military installations from Taiwan. In the meantime, it will progressively reduce its forces and military installations on Taiwan as the tension in the area diminishes.

"The two sides agreed that it is desirable to broaden the understanding between the two people. To this end, they discussed specific areas in such fields as science, technology, culture, sports and journalism, in which people-to-people contacts and exchanges would be mutually beneficial. Each side undertakes to facilitate the further development of such contacts and exchanges.

"Both sides view bilateral trade as another area from which mutual benefit can be derived, and agreed that economic relation based on equality and mutual benefit are in the interest of the people of the two countries. They agree to facilitate the progressive development of trade between their two countries."
"The two sides expressed the hope that they will in contact through various channels, including the sending of a senior U.S. representative to Peking from time to time for concrete consultations to further the normalization of relations between the two countries and continue to exchange views on issues of common interest.

"The two sides expressed the hope that the gains achieved during this visit would open up new prospects for the relations between the two countries. They believe that the normalization of relations between the two countries is not only in the interest of the Chinese and American peoples but also contribute to the relaxation of tension in Asia and the world.

"President Nixon, Mrs. Nixon and the American party expressed their appreciation for the gracious hospitality shown them by the Government and people of the People's Republic of China."
APPENDIX II
The Peace Agreement

The text of the agreement, officially entitled the "Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Vietnam", which was published in Washington on January 24, was as follows:

"The parties participating in the Paris Conference on Vietnam, with a view to ending the war and restoring peace in Vietnam on the basis of respect for the Vietnamese people's fundamental national rights and the South Vietnamese people's right to self-determination, and to contributing to the consolidation of peace in Asia and the world, have agreed on the following provisions and undertake to respect and to implement them:

Chapter I - The Vietnamese People's Fundamental National Rights

Article 1.

"The United States and all other countries respect the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of Vietnam as recognized by the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Vietnam.

Chapter II - Cessation of Hostilities - Withdrawal

Article 2.

"A cease-fire shall be observed throughout South Vietnam as of 24:00 hours GMT on Jan. 27, 1973."
"At the same hour, the United States will stop all its military activities against the territory of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam by ground, air and naval forces, wherever they may be based, and end the mining of the territorial waters, ports, harbours, and waterways of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

"The United States will remove, permanently deactivate or destroy all the mines in the territorial waters, ports, harbours and waterways of North Vietnam as soon as this agreement goes into effect.

"The complete cessation of hostilities mentioned in this article shall be durable and without limit of time.

Article 3.

"The parties undertake to maintain the cease-fire and to ensure a lasting and stable peace.

"As soon as the cease-fire goes into effect:

"(a) The United States forces and those of the other foreign countries allied with the United States and the Republic of Vietnam shall remain in place pending the implementation of the plan
of troop withdrawal. The four-party joint military commission described in Article 16 shall determine the modalities.

"(b) The armed forces of the two South Vietnamese parties shall remain in place. The two-party joint military commission described in Article 17 shall determine the areas controlled by each party and the modalities of stationing.

"(c) The regular forces of all services and arms and the irregular forces of the parties in South Vietnam shall stop all offensive activities against each other and shall strictly abide by the following stipulations:

"All acts of force on the ground, in the air, and on the sea shall be prohibited:

"all hostile acts, terrorism and reprisals by both sides will be banned.

Article 4.

"The United States will not continue its military involvement or intervene in the internal affairs of South Vietnam.

Article 5.

"Within 60 days of the signing of this agreement, there will be a total withdrawal from
South Vietnam of troops, military advisers and military personnel, including technical military personnel and military personnel associated with the pacification programmes, armaments, munitions and war material of the United States and those of the other foreign countries mentioned in Article 3 (a). Advisers from the above-mentioned countries to all paramilitary organizations and the police force will also be withdrawn within the same period of time.

Article 6.

"The dismantlement of all military bases in South Vietnam of the United States and of the other foreign countries mentioned in Article 3(a) shall be completed within 60 days of the signing of this agreement.

Article 7.

"From the enforcement of the cease-fire to the formation of the Government, provided for in Article 9(b) and 14 of this agreement, the two South Vietnamese parties shall not accept the introduction of troops, military advisers and military personnel including technical military personnel, armaments, munitions and war material into South Vietnam."
"The two South Vietnamese parties shall be permitted to make periodic replacement of armaments, munitions and war material which have been destroyed, damaged, worn out or used up after the cease-fire, on the basis of piece-for-piece, of the same characteristics and properties, under the supervision of the joint military commission of the two South Vietnamese parties and of the International Commission of Control and Supervision.

Chapter III - The Return of Captured Military Personnel and Foreign Civilians, and Detained Vietnamese Civilian Personnel.

Article 8.

"(a) The return of captured military personnel and foreign civilians of the parties shall be carried out simultaneously with and completed not later than the same day as the troop withdrawal mentioned in Article 5. The parties shall exchange complete lists of the above-mentioned captured military personnel and foreign civilians on the day of the signing of this agreement.

"(b) The parties shall help each other to get information about those military personnel and foreign civilians of the parties missing in action, to determine the location and take care of the
graves of the dead so as to facilitate the exhumation and repatriation of the remains, and to take any such other measures as may be required to get information about those still considered missing in action.

"(c) The question of the return of Vietnamese civilian personnel captured and detained in South Vietnam will be resolved by the two South Vietnamese parties on the basis of the principles of Article 21 (b) of the agreement on the cessation of hostilities in Vietnam of July 20, 1954.

"The two South Vietnamese parties will do so in a spirit of national reconciliation and accord, with a view to ending hatred and enmity, in order to ease suffering and to reunite families. The two South Vietnamese parties will do their utmost to resolve this question within 90 days after the cease-fire comes into effect.

Chapter IV - The Exercise of the South Vietnamese People’s Right of Self-determination.

Article 9.

"The Government of the United States of America and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam undertake to respect the following
principles for the exercise of the South Vietnamese people's right to self-determination:

"(a) The South Vietnamese people's right to self-determination is sacred, inalienable, and shall be respected by all countries.

"(b) The South Vietnamese people shall decide themselves the political future of South Vietnam through genuinely free and democratic general elections under international supervision.

"(c) Foreign countries shall not impose any political tendency or personality on the South Vietnamese people.

Article 10.

"The two South Vietnamese parties undertake to respect the cease-fire and maintain peace in South Vietnam, settle all matters of contention through negotiations, and avoid all armed conflict.

Article 11.

"Immediately after the cease-fire, the two South Vietnamese parties will:

"Achieve national reconciliation and concord, end hatred and enmity, prohibit all acts of reprisal and discrimination against individuals or organizations that have collaborated with one side or the other;"
"ensure the democratic liberties of the people: personal freedom, freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of meeting, freedom of organization, freedom of belief, freedom of movement, freedom of residence, freedom of work, right to property ownership, and right to free enterprise.

Article 12.

"(a) Immediately after the cease-fire, the two South Vietnamese parties shall hold consultations in a spirit of national reconciliation and concord, mutual respect and mutual non-elimination to set up a National Council of National Reconciliation and Concord of three equal segments.

"The council shall operate on the principle of unanimity. After the National Council of National Reconciliation and Concord has assumed its functions, the two South Vietnamese parties will consult about the formation of councils at lower levels.

"The two South Vietnamese parties shall sign an agreement on the internal matters of South Vietnam as soon as possible and do their utmost to accomplish this within 90 days after the cease-fire comes into effect, in keeping with the South
Vietnamese people's aspirations for peace, independence and democracy.

"(b) The National Council of National Reconciliation and Concord shall have the task of promoting the two South Vietnamese parties' implementation of this agreement, achievement of national reconciliation and concord and assurance of democratic liberties.

"The National Council of National Reconciliation and Concord will organize the free and democratic general elections provided for in Article 9(b) and decide the procedures and modalities of these general elections.

"The institutions for which the general elections are to be held will be agreed upon through consultations between the two South Vietnamese parties. The National Council of National Reconciliation and Concord will also decide the procedures and modalities of such local elections as the two South Vietnamese parties agree upon.

Article 13.

"The question of Vietnamese armed forces in South Vietnam shall be settled by the two South Vietnamese parties in a spirit of national recon-
ciliation and concord, equality and mutual respect, without foreign interference, in accordance with the post-war situation.

"Among the questions to be discussed by the two South Vietnamese parties are steps to reduce their military effectives and to demobilise the troops being reduced. The two South Vietnamese parties will accomplish this as soon as possible.

**Article 14.**

"South Vietnam will pursue a foreign policy of peace and independence. It will be prepared to establish relations with all countries irrespective of their political and social systems on the basis of mutual respect for independence and sovereignty, and accept economic and technical aid from any country with no political conditions attached.

"The acceptance of military aid by South Vietnam in the future shall come under the authority of the Government set up after the general elections in South Vietnam provided for in article 9(b)."

Chapter V - The Reunification of Vietnam and the Relationship between North and South Vietnam

**Article 15.**

"The reunification of Vietnam shall be carried
out step by step through peaceful means on the basis of discussion and agreements between North and South Vietnam, without coercion or annexation by either part, and without foreign interference. The time for reunification will be agreed upon by North and South Vietnam.

"Pending the reunification:

"(a) The military demarcation line between the two zones at the 17th parallel is only provisional and not a political or territorial boundary, as provided for in Paragraph 6 of the final declaration of the 1954 Geneva conference.

"(b) North and South Vietnam shall respect the demilitarized zone on either side of the provisional military demarcation line.

"(c) North and South Vietnam shall promptly start negotiations with a view to re-establishing normal relations in various fields. Among the questions to be negotiated are the modalities of civilian movement across the provisional military demarcation line.

"(d) North and South Vietnam shall not join any military alliance or military block and shall not allow foreign Powers to maintain military bases, troops, military advisers, and military personnel on
their respective territories, as stipulated in the 1954 Geneva Agreement on Vietnam.

Chapter VI - The Joint Military Commissions, the International Commission of Control and Supervision, and the International Conference

Article 16.

"(a) The parties participating in the Paris Conference on Vietnam shall immediately designate representatives to form a four-party joint military commission with the task ensuring joint action by the parties in implementing the following provisions of this agreement:

"The first paragraph of Article 2, Article 3(a), Article 3(c), Article 5, Article 6, Article 8(a), Article 8(b).

"(b) The four-party joint military commission shall operate in accordance with the principle of consultations and unanimity. Disagreements shall be referred to the International Commission of Control and Supervision.

"(c) The four-party joint military commission shall begin operating immediately after the signing of this agreement and end its activities in 60 days, after the completion of the withdrawal of United States troops and those of the other foreign countries.
mentioned in Article 3(a) and the completion of
the return of captured military personnel and
foreign civilians of the parties.

"(d) The four parties shall agree immediately
on the organization, the working procedure, means
of activity, and expenditure of the four-party
joint military commission.

appeared in Article 17.

"(a) The two South Vietnamese parties shall
immediately designate representatives to form a
two-party joint military commission with the task of
ensuring joint action by the two South Vietnamese
parties to implementing the following provisions
of this agreement: the first paragraph of Article 2,
Article 3(b), Article 3(c), Article 7, Article 8(c),
Article 13.

"(b) Disagreements shall be referred to the
International Commission of Control and Supervision.

"(c) After the signing of this agreement, the
two-party joint military commission shall agree
immediately on the measures and organization aimed
at enforcing the cease-fire and preserving peace
in South Vietnam.
Article 18.

"(a) After the signing of this agreement, an International Commission of Control and Supervision shall be established immediately.

"(b) Until the international conference provided for in Article 19 makes definitive arrangements, the International Commission of Control and Supervision will report to the four parties on matters concerning the control and supervision of the implementation of the following provisions of this agreement: the first paragraph of Article 2, Article 3(a), Article 3(c), Article 5, Article 6, Article 8(a).

"The International Commission of Control and Supervision shall form control teams for carrying out its tasks. The four parties shall agree immediately on the location and operation of these teams. The parties will facilitate their operation.

"(c) Until the international conference makes definitive arrangements the International Commission of Control and Supervision will report to the two South Vietnamese parties on matters concerning the control and supervision of the implementation of the following provisions of this agreement: the
first paragraph of Article 2, Article 3(b), Article 3(c), Article 7, Article 8(c), Article 9(b), Article 13.

"The International Commission of Control and Supervision shall form control teams for carrying out its tasks. The two South Vietnamese parties shall agree immediately on the location and operation of these teams. The two South Vietnamese parties will facilitate their operations.

"(d) The International Commission of Control and Supervision shall be composed of representatives of four countries: Canada, Hungary, Indonesia and Poland. The chairmanship of this commission will rotate among the members for specific periods to be determined by the commission.

"(e) The International Commission of Control and Supervision shall carry out its tasks in accordance with the principle of respect for the sovereignty of South Vietnam.

"(f) The International Commission of Control and Supervision shall operate in accordance with the principle of consultations and unanimity.

"(g) The International Commission of Control and Supervision shall begin operating when a ceasefire comes into force in Vietnam. As regards the
provisions in Article 18(b) concerning the four parties shall end the International Commission of Control and Supervision shall end its activities when the commission's tasks of control and supervision regarding these provisions have been fulfilled.

"As regards the provisions in Article 18(c) concerning the two South Vietnamese parties, the International Commission of Control and Supervision shall end its activities on the request of the Government formed after the general elections in South Vietnam provided for in Article 9(b).

"(h) The four parties shall agree immediately on the organization, means of activity, and expenditures of the International Commission of Control and Supervision. The relationship between the International Commission and the international conference will be agreed upon by the International Commission and the international conference.

Article 19.

"The parties agree on the convening of an international conference within 30 days of the signing of this agreement to acknowledge the signed agreements; to guarantee the ending of the war, the maintenance of peace in Vietnam, the respect of
the Vietnamese people's fundamental national rights, and the South Vietnamese people's right to self-determination; and to contribute to and guarantee peace in Indo-China.

"The United States and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, on behalf of the parties participating in the Paris Conference on Vietnam, will propose to the following parties that they participate in this international conference: the People's Republic of China, the Republic of France, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic, the United Kingdom, the four countries of the International Commission of Control and Supervision, and the Secretary-General of the United Nations, together with the parties participating in the Paris Conference on Vietnam.

Chapter VII - Regarding Cambodia and Laos

Article 20.

"(a) The parties participating in the Paris Conference on Vietnam shall strictly respect the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Cambodia and the 1962 Geneva Agreements on Laos, which recognized the Cambodian and the Laos fundamental national rights, i.e. the independence, sovereignty,
unity and territorial integrity of these countries. The parties shall respect the neutrality of Cambodia and Laos.

"The parties participating in the Paris Conference on Vietnam undertake to refrain from using the territory of Cambodia and the territory of Laos to encroach on the sovereignty and security of one another and of other countries.

"(b) Foreign countries shall put an end to all military activities to Cambodia and Laos, totally withdraw from and refrain from reintroducing into these two countries troops, military advisers and military personnel, armaments, munitions and war material.

"(c) The internal affairs of Cambodia and Laos shall be settled by the people of each of those countries without foreign interference.

"(d) The problems existing between the Indo-Chinese countries shall be settled by the Indo-Chinese parties on the basis of respect for each other's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and non-interference in each other's internal affairs.

Chapter VIII - The Relationship between the United States and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam
Article 21.

"The United States anticipates that this agreement will usher in an era of reconciliation with the Democratic Republic of Vietnam as with all the peoples of Indo-China. In pursuance of its traditional policy, the United States will contribute to healing the wounds of war and to post-war reconstruction of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and throughout Indo-China.

Article 22.

"The ending of the war, the restoration of peace in Vietnam, and the strict implementation of this agreement will create conditions for establishing a new, equal and mutually beneficial relationship between the United States and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam on the basis of respect for each other's independence and sovereignty, and non-interference in each other's internal affairs. At the same time, this will ensure stable peace in Vietnam and contribute to the preservation of lasting peace in Indo-China and South-east Asia.

Chapter IX - Other Provisions

Article 23.

"This agreement shall enter into force upon
signature by plenipotentiary representatives of
the parties participating in the Paris Conference
on Vietnam. All the parties concerned shall strictly
implement this agreement and its protocols."

PROTOCOLS TO PEACE AGREEMENT

The agreement was accompanied by four protocols covering the cease-fire, the International
Commission of Control and Supervision, the return of
prisoners, and the destruction of mines in territorial waters. The texts of the protocols are given
below.

The Cease-fire

The protocol on the cease-fire was worded
as follows:

Article 1.

"The High Commands of the parties in South
Vietnam shall issue prompt and timely orders to all
regular and irregular armed forces and the armed
police under their command to completely end hosti-
lities throughout South Vietnam, at the exact time
stipulated in Article 2 of the agreement, and ensure
that these armed forces and armed police comply
with these orders and respect the cease-fire."
Article 2.

"(a) As soon as the cease-fire comes into force and until regulations are issued by the joint military commissions, all ground, river, sea and air combat forces of the parties in South Vietnam shall remain in place; that is, in order to ensure a stable cease-fire, there shall be no major redeployments or movements that would extend each party's area of control or would result in contact between opposing armed forces and clashes which might take place.

"(b) All regular and irregular armed forces and the armed police of the parties in South Vietnam shall observe the prohibition of the following acts:

"(1) Armed patrols into areas controlled by opposing armed forces and flights by bomber and fighter aircraft of all types, except for unarmed flights for proficiency training and maintenance;

"(2) armed attacks against any person, either military or civilian, by any means whatsoever...

"(3) all combat operations on the ground, on rivers, on the sea and in the air;

"(4) all hostile acts, terrorism or reprisals; and

"(5) all acts endangering lives or public or private property.
Article 3.

"(a) The above-mentioned prohibitions shall not hamper or restrict:

"(1) Civilian supply, freedom of movement, freedom to work, and freedom of the people to engage in trade, and civilian communication and transportation between and among all areas in South Vietnam;

"(2) the use by each party in areas under its control of military support elements, such as engineer and transportation units, in repair and construction of public facilities and the transportation and supplying of the population;

"(3) normal military proficiency training conducted by the parties in the areas under their respective control with due regard for public safety.

"(b) The joint military commissions shall immediately agree on corridors, routes, and other regulations governing the movement of military transport aircraft, military transport vehicles, and military transport vessels of all types of one party going through areas under the control of other parties.

Article 4.

"In order to avert conflict and ensure normal conditions for those armed forces which are in
direct contact, and pending regulation by the joint military commissions, the commanders of the opposing armed forces at those places of direct contact shall meet as soon as the cease-fire comes into force with a view to reaching an agreement on temporary measures to avert conflict and to ensure supply and medical care for these armed forces.

Article 5.

"(a) Within 15 days after the cease-fire comes into effect, each party shall do its utmost to complete the removal or deactivation of all demolition objects, minefields, traps, obstacles or other dangerous objects placed previously, so as not to hamper the population's movement and work, in the first place on waterways, roads and railroads in South Vietnam ....

"(b) Emplacement of mines is prohibited, except as a defensive measure around the edges of military installations .... Mines and other obstacles already in place at the edges of military installations may remain in place if they are in places where they do not hamper the population's movement and work...."
Article 6.

"Civilian police and civilian security personnel of the parties in South Vietnam... shall strictly respect the prohibitions set forth in Article 2 of this protocol. As required by their responsibilities, normally they shall be authorized to carry pistols, but when required by unusual circumstances, they shall be allowed to carry other small individual arms.

Article 7.

"(a) The entry into South Vietnam of replacement armaments, munitions, and war material permitted under Article 7 of the agreement shall take place under the supervision and control of the two-party Joint Military Commission and of the International Commission of Control and Supervision and through such points of entry only as are designated by the two South Vietnamese parties.

"The two South Vietnamese parties shall agree on these points of entry within 15 days after the entry into force of the cease-fire. The two South Vietnamese parties may select as many as six points of entry which are not included in the list of places where teams of the International Commission of Control
and Supervision are to be based contained in Article 4(d) of the protocol concerning the International Commission. At the same time, the two South Vietnamese parties may also select points of entry from the list of places set forth in Article 4(d) of that protocol.

"(b) Each of the designated points of entry shall be available only for that South Vietnamese party which is in control of that point. The two South Vietnamese parties shall have an equal number of points of entry.

Article 8.

"(a) In implementation of Article 5 of the agreement, the United States and the other foreign countries referred to in Article 5 of the agreement shall take with them all their armaments, munitions and war material. Transfers of such items which would leave them in South Vietnam shall not be made subsequent to the entry into force of the agreement except for transfers of communications, transport and other non-combat material to the four-party Joint Military Commission or the International Commission of Control and Supervision.
"(b) Within five days after the entry into force of the cease-fire, the United States shall inform the four-party Joint Military Commission and the International Commission of Control and Supervision of the general plans for timing of complete troop withdrawals, which shall take place in four phases of 15 days each ....

Article 9.

"(a) In implementation of Article 6 of the agreement, the United States and the other foreign countries referred to in that article shall dismantle and remove from South Vietnam or destroy all military bases in South Vietnam of the United States and of the other foreign countries referred to in that article, including weapons, mines and other military equipment at these bases, for the purpose of making them unusable for military purposes.

"(b) The United States shall supply the four-party Joint Military Commission and the International Commission of Control and Supervision with necessary information on plans for base dismantlement ...."
Article 10.

"(a) The implementation of the agreement is the responsibility of the parties signatory to the agreement.

"The four-party Joint Military Commission has the task of ensuring joint action by the parties in implementing the agreement by serving as a channel of communication among the parties, by drawing up plans and fixing the modalities to carry out, co-ordinate, follow and inspect the implementation of the provisions mentioned in Article 16 of the agreement, and by negotiating and settling all matters concerning the implementation of those provisions.

"(b) The concrete tasks of the four-party Joint Military Commission are:

"(1) To co-ordinate, follow and inspect the implementation of the above-mentioned provisions of the agreement by the four parties;

"(2) to deter and detect violations, to deal with cases of violation, and to settle conflicts and matters of contention between the parties relating to the above-mentioned provisions;

"(3) to dispatch without delay one or more joint teams, as required by specific cases, to any part of South Vietnam to investigate alleged viola-
lations of the agreement and to assist the parties in finding measures to prevent recurrence of similar cases;

"(4) to engage in observations at the places where this is necessary in the exercise of its functions;

"(5) to perform such additional tasks as it may, by unanimous decision, determine.

Article 11.

"(a) There shall be a central Joint Military Commission located in Saigon. Each party shall designate immediately a military delegation of 59 persons to represent it on the central commission. The senior officer designated by each party shall be a general officer, or equivalent.

"(b) There shall be seven regional joint military commissions... based at the following places: I, Hue; II, Da Nang; III, Pleiku; IV, Phan Thiet; V, Bien Hoa; VI, My Tho; VII, Can Tho.

"Each party shall designate a military delegation of 16 persons to represent it on each regional commission. The senior officer designated by each party shall be an officer from the rank of lieutenant-colonel to colonel, or equivalent.
"(c) There shall be a joint military team... based at each of the following places in South Vietnam:


"Each party shall provide four qualified persons for each joint military team. The senior person designated by each party shall be an officer from the rank of major to lieutenant-colonel, or equivalent.

"(d) The regional joint military commissions shall assist the central Joint Military Commission in performing its tasks and shall supervise the operations of the joint military teams. The region of Saigon-Gia Dinh is placed under the responsibility of the central commission, which shall designate joint military teams to operate in this region.

"(e) Each party shall be authorized to provide support and guard personnel for its delegations to the central Military Commission and regional
joint military commissions, and for its members of the joint military teams. The total number of support and guard personnel for each party shall not exceed 550.

"(f) The central Joint Military Commission may establish such joint subcommissions, joint staffs and joint military teams as circumstances may require. The central commission shall determine the number of personnel required for any additional subcommissions, staff or teams it establishes, provided that each party shall designate one-fourth of the number of personnel required and that the total number of personnel for the four-party Joint Military Commission, to include its staffs, teams, and support personnel, shall not exceed 3,300.

"(g) The delegations of the two South Vietnamese parties may, by agreement, establish provisional subcommissions and joint military teams to carry out the tasks specifically assigned to them by Article 17 of the agreement. With respect to Article 7 of the agreement, the two South Vietnamese parties' delegations to the four-party Joint Military Commission shall establish joint military teams at the points of entry into South Vietnam used for replacement of armaments, munitions and war material which
are designated in accordance with Article 7 of this protocol. From the time the cease-fire comes into force to the time when the two-party Joint Military Commission becomes operational, the two South Vietnamese parties' delegation to the four-party Joint Military Commission shall form a provisional subcommission and provisional joint military teams to carry out its tasks concerning captured and detained Vietnamese civilian personnel. Where necessary for the above purpose, the two parties may agree to assign personnel additional to those assigned to the two South Vietnamese delegations to the four-party Joint Military Commission.

Article 12.

"(a) In accordance with Article 17 of the agreement... the two designated South Vietnamese parties' delegations to the two-party Joint Military Commission shall meet in Saigon so as to reach an agreement as soon as possible on organization and operations of the two-party Joint Military Commission, as well as the measures and organization aimed at enforcing the cease-fire and preserving peace in South Vietnam.

"(b) From the time the cease-fire comes into force to the time when the two-party Joint Military
Commission become operational, the two South Vietnamese parties' delegations to the four-party Joint Military Commission at all levels shall simultaneously assume the tasks of the two-party Joint Military Commission at all levels, in addition to their functions as delegations to the four-party Joint Military Commission.

"(c) If at the time the four-party Joint Military Commission ceases its operations...agreement has not been reached on organization of the two-party Joint Military Commission, the delegations of the two South Vietnamese parties serving with the four-party Joint Military Commission at all levels shall continue temporarily to work together as a provisional two-party Joint Military Commission..."

Article 13.

"In application of the principle of unanimity, the joint military commissions shall have no chairman, and meetings shall be convened at the request of any representative. The joint military commissions shall adopt working procedures appropriate for the effective discharge of their functions and responsibilities.

Article 14.

"The joint military commissions and the
International Commission of Control and Supervision shall closely co-ordinate with and assist each other in carrying out their respective functions. Each joint military commission shall inform the International Commission about the implementation of those provisions of the agreement for which that joint military commission has responsibility and which are within the competence of the International Commission. Each joint military commission may request the International Commission to carry out specific observation activities.

Article 15.

"The central four-party military commission shall begin operating 24 hours after the cease-fire comes into force. The regional four-party joint military commissions shall begin operating 48 hours after the cease-fire comes into force. The joint military teams based at the places listed in Article 11(c) of this protocol shall begin operating no later than 15 days after the cease-fire comes into force. The delegations of the two South Vietnamese parties shall simultaneously begin to assume the tasks of the two-party Joint Military Commission as provided in Article 12 of this protocol."
Article 16

"(a) The parties shall provide full protection and all necessary assistance and co-operation to the joint military commissions, at all levels, in the discharge of their tasks.

"(b) The joint military commissions and their personnel, while carrying out their task, shall enjoy privileges and immunities equivalent to those accorded diplomatic missions and diplomatic agents.

"(c) The personnel of the joint military commissions may carry pistols and wear special insignia decided upon by each central joint military commission. The personnel of each party while guarding commission installations or equipment may be authorized to carry other individual small arms, as determined by each central joint military commission.

Article 17.

"(a) The delegation of each party to the four-party Joint Military Commission and the two-party Joint Military Commission shall have its own offices, communication, logistics and transportation means, including aircraft when necessary.

"(b) Each party, in its areas of control, shall provided appropriate office and accommodation
facilities to the four-party Joint Military Commission and the two-party Joint Military Commission at all levels.

"(c) The parties shall endeavour to provide to the four-party Joint Military Commission and the two-party Joint Military Commission by means of loan, lease, or gift, the common means of operation, including aircraft when necessary....

"(d) The facilities and equipment for common use mentioned above shall be returned to the parties when the joint military commissions had ended their activities.

Article 18.

"The common expenses of the four-party Joint Military Commission shall be borne equally by the four parties, and the common expenses of the two-party Joint Military Commission in South Vietnam shall be borne equally by these two parties."

The International Commission of Control and Supervision

Consisting of 17 Articles, the text of this protocol was as follows:

Article 1.

"The implementation of the agreement is the
responsibility of the parties signatory to the agreement.

"The functions of the International Commission are to control and supervise the implementation of the provisions mentioned in Article 18 of the agreement. In carrying out these functions, the International Commission shall:

"(a) Follow the implementation of the above-mentioned provisions of the agreement through communication with the parties and on-the-spot observation at the places where this is required;

"(b) investigate violations of the provisions which fall under the control and supervision of the Commission;

"(c) when necessary, co-operate with the joint military commissions in deterring and detecting violations of the above-mentioned provisions.

Article 2.

"The International Commission shall investigate violations of the provisions described in Article 18 of the agreement on the request of the four-party Joint Military Commission, or of the two-party Joint Military Commission, or of any party, or, with respect to Article 9(b) of the agreement on general elections, of the National
Council of National Reconciliation and Concord, or in any case where the International Commission has other adequate grounds for considering that, in carrying out this task, the International Commission shall function with the concerned parties' assistance and co-operation as required.

**Article 3.**

"(a) When the International Commission finds that there is a serious violation in the implementation of the agreement or a threat to peace against which the Commission can find no appropriate measure the Commission shall report this to the four parties to the agreement so that they can hold consultations to find a solution.

"(b) In accordance with Article 18(f) of the agreement, the International Commission's report shall be made with the unanimous agreement of the representatives of all the four members. In case no unanimity is reached, the Commission shall forward the different views to the four parties in accordance with Article 18(b) of the agreement, or to the two South Vietnamese parties in accordance with Article 18(c) of the agreement, but these shall not be considered as reports of the Commission."
Article 4.

"(a) The headquarters of the International shall be at Saigon.

"(b) There shall be seven regional teams... based at the following places: I, Hue; II, Da Nang; III, Pleiku; IV, Phan Thiet; V, Bien Hoa; VI, My Tho; VII, Can Tho.

"The International Commission shall designate three teams for the region of Saigon-Gia Dinh.

"(c) There shall be 26 teams... based at the following places in South Vietnam: Region I- Quang Tri, Phu Bai. Region II - Hoi An, Tam Ky, Chu Lap Region III - Kontum, Hau Bon, Phu Cat, Tuy An, Ninh Hoa, Ban Me Thuot. Region IV - Da Lat, Boa Loc, Phan Rang. Region V - An Loc, Xuan Loc, Ben Cat, Cu Chi, Tan An. Region VI - Mo Chau, Giong Trom. Region VII - Tri Ton, Vinh Long, Vi Thanh, Khanh Hung, Quan Long.

"(d) There shall be 12 teams... based at the following places: Gio Linh (to cover the area south of the provisional military demarcation line); Lao Bao; Ben Het; Duc Co; Chu Lap; Qui Nhon; Nha Trang; Vung Tau; Xa Mat; Bien Hoa airfield; Hong Ngu; Can Tho.

"(e) There shall be seven teams, six of which
shall be available for assignment to the points of entry which are not listed in paragraph (d) above and which the two South Vietnamese parties choose as points for legitimate entry to South Vietnam for replacement of armaments, munitions, and war material permitted by Article 7 of the agreement. Any team or teams not needed for the above-mentioned assignment shall be available for other tasks, in keeping with the Commission's responsibility for control and supervision.

"(f) There shall be seven teams to control and supervise the return of captured and detained personnel of the parties.

Article 5.

"(a) To carry out its tasks concerning the return of the captured military personnel and foreign civilians of the parties as stipulated by Article 8(a) of the agreement, the International Commission shall, during the time of such return, send one control and supervision team to each place in Vietnam where the captured persons are being returned, and to the last detention places from which these persons will be taken to the places of return."
"(b) To carry out its tasks concerning the return of the Vietnamese civilian personnel captured and detained in South Vietnam mentioned in Article 8(c) of the agreement, the International Commission shall, during the time of such return, send one control and supervision team to each place in South Vietnam where the above-mentioned captured and detained persons are being returned, and to the last detention places from which these persons shall be taken to the places of return.

Article 6.

"To carry out its task regarding Article 9(b) of the agreement on the free and democratic general elections in South Vietnam, the International Commission shall organize additional teams, when necessary. The International Commission shall discuss this question in advance with the National Council of National Reconciliation and Concord. If additional teams are necessary for this purpose, they shall be formed 30 days before the general elections.

Article 7.

"The International Commission shall continually keep under review its size, and shall
reduce the number of its teams, its representatives or other personnel, or both, when those teams, representatives or personnel have accomplished the tasks assigned to them and are not required for other tasks. At the same time the expenditure of the International Commission shall be reduced correspondingly.

**Article 8.**

"Each member of the International Commission shall make available at all times the following numbers of qualified personnel:

"(a) One senior representative and 26 others for the headquarters staff.

"(b) Five for each of the seven regional teams.

"(c) Two for each of the other international control teams, except for the teams at Gio Linh and Vung Tau, each of which shall have three.

"(d) 116 for the purpose of providing support to the Commission headquarters and its teams.

**Article 9.**

"(a) The International Commission, and each of its teams, shall act as a single body comprising representatives of all four members."
"(b) Each member has the responsibility to ensure the presence of its representatives at all levels of the International Commission. In case a representative is absent, the member concerned shall immediately designate a replacement.

Article 10.

"(a) The parties shall afford full co-operation, assistance, and protection to the International Commission.

"(b) The parties shall at all times maintain regular and continuous liaison with the International Commission. During the existence of the four-party Joint Military Commission, the delegations of the parties to that commission shall also perform liaison functions with the International Commission. After the four-party Joint Military Commission has ended its activities, such liaison shall be maintained through the two-party Joint Military Commission, liaison missions or other adequate means.

"(c) The International Commission and the joint military commissions shall closely co-ordinate with and assist each other in carrying out their respective functions.
"(d) Wherever a team is stationed or operating, the concerned party shall designate a liaison officer to the team to co-operate with and assist it in carrying out without hindrance its task of control and supervision. When a team is carrying out an investigation, a liaison officer from each concerned party shall have the opportunity to accompany it, provided the investigation is not thereby delayed.

"(e) Each party shall give the International Commission reasonable advance notice of all proposed actions concerning those provisions of the agreement that are to be controlled and supervised by the International Commission.

"(f) The International Commission, including its teams, is allowed such movement for observation as is reasonably required for the proper exercise of its functions as stipulated in the agreement. In carrying out these functions, the International Commission, including its teams, shall enjoy all necessary assistance and co-operation from the parties concerned.

Article 11.

"In supervising the holding of the free and
democratic general elections described in Article 9(b) and 12(b) of the agreement in accordance with modalities to be agreed upon between the National Council of National Reconciliation and Concord and the International Commission, the latter shall receive full co-operation and assistance from the National Council.

**Article 12.**

"The International Commission and its personnel who have the nationality of a member State shall, while carrying out their tasks, enjoy privileges and immunities equivalent to those accorded to diplomatic commissions and diplomatic agents.

**Article 13.**

"The International Commission may use the means of communication and transport necessary to perform its functions. Each South Vietnamese party shall make available for rent to the International Commission appropriate office and accommodation facilities, and shall assist it in obtaining such facilities. The International Commission may receive from the parties, on mutually agreeable terms, the necessary means of communication and transport and may purchase from any source necessary equipment and services not obtained from the parties."
The International Commission shall possess these means.

**Article 14.**

"The expenses for the activities of the International Commission shall be borne by the parties and the members of the International Commission in accordance with the provisions of this article:

"(a) Each member country of the International Commission shall pay the salaries and allowances of its personnel.

"(b) All other expenses incurred by the International Commission shall be met from a fund to which each of the four parties shall contribute 23 per cent and to which each member of the International Commission shall contribute 2 per cent.

"(c) Within 30 days of the date of entry into force of this protocol, each of the four parties shall provide the International Commission with an initial sum equivalent to 4,500,000 French francs in convertible currency, which sum shall be credited against the amounts due from that party under the first budget.

"(d) The International Commission shall
prepare its own budgets. After the International Commission approves a budget, it shall transmit it to all parties signatory to the agreement for their approval. Only after the budgets have been approved by the four parties to the agreement shall they be obliged to make their contributions. However, in case the parties to the agreement do not agree on a new budget, the International Commission shall temporarily base its expenditure for installation or for the acquisition of equipment, and the parties shall continue to make their contributions on that basis until a new budget is approved.

Article 15.

"(a) The headquarters shall be operational and in place within 24 hours after the cease-fire.

"(b) The regional teams shall be operational and in place, and three teams for supervision and control of the return of the captured and detained personnel shall be operational and ready for dispatch within 48 hours after the cease-fire.

"(c) Other teams shall be operational and in place within 15 to 30 days after the cease-fire.
Article 16.

"Meetings shall be convened at the call of the chairman. The International Commission shall adopt other working procedures appropriate for the effective discharge of its functions and consistent with respect for the sovereignty of South Vietnam.

Article 17.

"The members of the International Commission may accept the obligations of this protocol by sending Notes of acceptance to the four parties signatory to the agreement. Should a member of the International Commission decide to withdraw from the International Commission, it may do so by giving three months' notice by means of Notes to the four parties to the agreement, in which case those four parties shall consult among themselves for the purpose of agreeing upon a replacement member."

The Return of Prisoners

This protocol contained 13 Articles as follows:

Article 1.

"The parties signatory to the agreement shall
return the captured military personnel of the parties mentioned in Article 8(a) of the agreement as follows:

"All captured military personnel of the United States and those of the other foreign countries mentioned in Article 3(a) of the agreement shall be returned to the U.S. authorities.

"All captured Vietnamese military personnel, whether belonging to regular or irregular armed forces, shall be returned to the two South Vietnamese parties; they shall be returned to that South Vietnamese party under whose command they served.

Article 2.

"All captured civilians who are nationals of the United States or of any other foreign countries mentioned in Article 3(a) of the agreement shall be returned to the U.S. authorities. All other captured foreign civilians shall be returned to authorities of their country of nationality by any one of the parties willing and able to do so.

Article 3.

"The parties shall today exchange complete
lists of captured persons mentioned in Article 1 and 2 of this protocol.

**Article 4.**

"(a) The return of all captured persons mentioned in Articles 1 and 2 of this protocol shall be completed within 60 days of the signing of the agreement at a rate no slower than the rate of withdrawal from South Vietnam of U.S. forces and those of the other foreign countries mentioned in Article 5 of the agreement.

"(b) Persons who are seriously ill, wounded or maimed, old persons and women shall be returned first. The remainder shall be returned either by returning all from one detention place after another or in order of their dates of capture, beginning with those who have been held the longest.

**Article 5.**

"The return and reception of the persons mentioned in Articles 1 and 2 of this protocol shall be carried out at places convenient to the concerned parties. Places of return shall be agreed upon by the four-party Joint Military Commission. The parties shall ensure the safety of personnel engaged in the return and reception of those persons."
Article 6.

"Each party shall return all captured persons mentioned in Articles 1 and 2 of this protocol without delay and shall facilitate their return and reception. The detaining parties shall not deny or delay their return for any reason, including the fact that captured persons may, on any grounds, have been prosecuted or sentenced.

Article 7.

"(a) The question of the return of Vietnamese civilian personnel captured and detained in South Vietnam will be resolved by the two South Vietnamese parties on the basis of the principles of Article 11(b) of the agreement on the cessation of hostilities in Vietnam of July 20, 1954, which reads as follows: 'The term "civilian internees" is understood to mean all persons who, having in any way contributed to the political and armed struggle between the two parties, have been arrested for that reason and have been kept in detention by either party during the period of hostilities.'

"(b) The two South Vietnamese parties will do so in a spirit of national reconciliation and concord with a view to ending hatred and enmity in order to ease suffering and to reunite families."
The two South Vietnamese parties will do their utmost to resolve this question within 90 days after the cease-fire comes into effect.

"(e) Within 15 days after the cease-fire comes into effect, the two South Vietnamese parties shall exchange lists of the Vietnamese civilian personnel captured and detailed by each party and lists of the places at which they are held.

**Article 8.**

"(a) All captured military personnel of the parties and captured foreign civilians of the parties shall be treated humanely at all times, and in accordance with international practice.

"They shall be protected against all violence to life and person, in particular against murder in any form, mutilation, torture and cruel treatment, and outrages upon personal dignity. These persons shall not be forced to join the armed forces of the detaining party.

"They shall be given adequate food, clothing, shelter, and the medical attention required for their state of health. They shall be allowed to exchange postcards and letters with their families
and to receive parcels.

"(b) All Vietnamese civilian personnel captured and detained in South Vietnam shall be treated humanely at all times, and in accordance with international practice."

(This article contained guarantees similar to those in Article 8(a), and also provided that the "detaining parties shall not deny or delay their return for any reason, including the fact that captured persons may, on any grounds, have been prosecuted or sentenced").

**Article 9.**

"(a) To contribute to improving the living conditions of the captured military personnel of the parties and foreign civilians of the parties, the parties shall, within 15 days after the cease-fire comes into effect, agree upon the designation of two or more national Red Cross societies to visit all places where captured military personnel and foreign civilians are held."

(Paragraph (b) of this article contained similar guarantee for captured and detained Vietnamese civilian personnel.)

**Article 10.**

"(a) The four-party Joint Military Commission
shall ensure joint action by the parties in implementing Article 8(b) of the agreement. When the four-party Joint Military Commission has ended its activities, a four-party joint military team shall be maintained to carry on this task.

"(b) With regard to Vietnamese civilian personnel dead or missing in South Vietnam, the two South Vietnamese parties shall help each other to obtain information about missing persons, determine the location and take care of the graves of the dead....

Article 11.

"(a) The four-party and two-party joint military commissions will have the responsibility of determining immediately the modalities of implementing the provisions of this protocol consistent with their respective responsibilities under Articles 16(a) and 17(a) of the agreement. In case the joint military commissions...cannot reach agreement on a matter pertaining to the return of captured personnel, they shall refer to the International Commission for its assistance.

"(b) The four-party Joint Military Commission shall form, in addition to the teams established by the protocol concerning the cease-fire in South Vietnam and the joint military commissions, a
subcommission on captured persons and, as required, joint military teams on captured persons to assist the commission in its tasks.

"(c) From the time the cease-fire comes into force to the time when the two-party Joint Military Commission becomes operational, the two South Vietnamese parties' delegations to the four-party Joint Military Commission shall form a provisional subcommission and provisional joint military teams to carry out its tasks concerning captured and detained Vietnamese civilian personnel.

"(d) The four-party Joint Military Commission shall send joint military teams to observe the return of the persons mentioned in Article 1 and 2 of this protocol at each place in Vietnam where such persons are being returned, and at the last detention-place from which these persons will be taken to the places of return. The two-party Joint Military Commission shall send joint military teams to observe the return of Vietnamese civilian personnel captured and detained at each place in South Vietnam where such persons are being returned, and at the last detention-place from which the persons will be taken to the places of return.
Article 12.

"In implementation of Article 18(b) and 18(c) of the agreement, the International Commission of Control and Supervision shall have the responsibility to control and supervise the observances of Article 1 through 7 of this protocol through observation of the return of captured military personnel, foreign civilians, and captured and detained Vietnamese civilian personnel at each place in Vietnam where these persons are being returned, and at the last detention-places from which these persons will be taken to the place of return, the examination of lists, and the investigation of violations of provisions of the above-mentioned articles.

Article 13.

"Within five days after signature of this protocol, each party shall publish the text of the protocol and communicate it to all the captured persons covered by the protocol and being detained by that party."

The Removal of Mines.

The protocol on the removal of mines contained seven Articles, worded as follows:
**Article 1.**

"The United States shall clear all the mines it has placed in the territorial waters, ports, harbours, and waterways of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. This mine-clearing operation shall be accomplished by rendering the mines harmless through removal, permanent deactivation or destruction.

**Article 2.**

"With a view to ensuring lasting safety for the movement of people and watercraft and the protection of important installations, mines shall, on the request of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, be removed or destroyed in the indicated areas; and whenever their removal or destruction is impossible, mines shall be permanently deactivated and the emplacement clearly marked.

**Article 3.**

"The mine-clearing operation shall begin at 24:00 hours GMT on Jan. 27, 1973. The representatives of the two parties shall immediately consult on relevant factors and agree upon the earliest possible target date for the completion of the work."
Article 4.

"The mine-clearing operation shall be conducted in accordance with priorities and timing agreed upon by the two parties. For this purpose, representatives of the two parties shall meet at an early date to reach agreement on a programme and a plan of implementation. To this end:

"(a) The United States shall provide its plan for mine-clearing operations, including maps of the mine-fields and information concerning the types, numbers and properties of the mines.

"(b) The Democratic Republic of Vietnam shall provide all available maps and hydrographic charts and indicate the mined places and all other potential hazards to the mine-clearing operations that the Democratic Republic of Vietnam is aware of.

"(c) The two parties shall agree on the timing of implementation of each segment of the plan and provide timely notice to the public at least 48 hours in advance of the beginning of mine-clearing operations for that segment.

Article 5.

"The United States shall be responsible for
the mines clearance on inland waterways of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. The Democratic Republic of Vietnam shall... actively participate in the mine clearance with the means of surveying, removal and destruction and technical advice supplied by the United States.

**Article 6.**

"With a view to ensuring the safe movement of people and watercraft on waterways and at sea, the United States shall in the mine-clearing process supply timely information about the progress of mine-clearing in each area, and about the remaining mines to be destroyed. The United States shall issue a communique when the operations have been concluded.

**Article 7.**

"In conducting mine-clearing operations, the U.S. personnel engaged in these operations shall respect the sovereignty of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and shall engage in no activities inconsistent with the agreement on ending the war and restoring peace in Vietnam and (with) this protocol. The U.S. personnel engaged in the mine-clearing operations shall be immune from the jurisdiction of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam
for the duration of the mine-clearing operations.

"The Democratic Republic of Vietnam shall ensure the safety of the U.S. personnel for the duration of their mine-clearing activities on the territory of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and shall provide this personnel with all possible assistance and the means needed in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam that have been agreed upon by the two parties."

As the South Vietnamese Government and the PRG did not recognize each other's existence, the peace agreement and the first three protocols were drafted in two different versions. The "four-party version" of the preamble and the final article of each, which would be signed by the Foreign Ministers of all four Governments, referred only to "the parties participating in the Paris conference on Vietnam", whilst the "two-party version", which would be signed by the U.S. Secretary of State and the North Vietnamese Foreign Minister, used the phrases "the Government of the United States of America, with the conference of the Government of the Republic of Vietnam" and "the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, with the concurrence of the Provisional Revolu-
tionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam". As the protocol on the removal of mines was a bilateral agreement between the United States and North Vietnam, however, only one version was necessary.

**President Thieu's Broadcast**

In a broadcast on Jan. 24 President Thieu claimed that the agreement represented a victory for South Vietnam, but gave warning that a dangerous political struggle was inevitable.

"After 18 years of savage fighting," said President Thieu, "the Communists have been forced to stop the conflict, because they cannot beat us by force or by violence. Our people have destroyed the Communist troops that have come from the North and we have valiantly fought the forces that are in the South. Vietnam will remain two zones, and will be reunified through peaceful means... The Communists have been made to recognize the sovereignty of South Vietnam and that the South Vietnamese people will decide their own fate by elections and through negotiations with the Liberation Front... The participation of members of the National Liberation Front in the Government of Vietnam will be discussed and negotiated between the South Vietnamese Govern-
"The signing of the agreement means the beginning of peace, but it does not mean peace.... Another phase will now come, and it is going to be a political phase. This political struggle is inevitable. The political struggle phase, although not as bloody, will be as tough and dangerous as the military struggle phase. On the threshold of a new era of peace I would like to warn everyone, both military and civilians, to be careful, to be vigilant and to be on the lookout for Communist treason. Our military and political cadres must actively and positively participate in the struggle against the Communists in this new phase..."
APPENDIX III
APPENDIX - III

Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation between the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, 3 November 1978

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam,

Proceeding from the close fraternal relations of all-round cooperation existing between them and from their unbreakable friendship and solidarity based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism;

Firmly believing that the all-out strengthening of unity and friendship between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam is in the vital interests of the peoples of the two countries and serves the cause of further strengthening the fraternal cohesion and unity of the countries of the socialist community.

Guided by the principles and objectives of a socialist foreign policy and by the striving to ensure the most favorable international conditions for building socialism and communism;

Affirming that the two sides regard as their internationalist duty the rendering of assistance to each other in consolidating and defending the socialist gains achieved at the cost of heroic efforts and self-
less labour by their peoples;

Standing firmly for the unit of all forces struggling for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress;

Expressing the firm resolve to promote stronger peace in Asia and throughout the world and to make their contribution to the development of good relations and mutually advantageous cooperation between states with different social systems;

Striving to continue the development and improvement of all-round cooperation between the two countries;

And attaching great importance to the further development and strengthening of the contractual and legal foundation of the relations between them;

In accordance with the objectives and principles of the Charter of the United Nations;

Have resolved to conclude this Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation and have agreed the following:

Article I

In accordance with the principles of socialist internationalism, the high contracting parties will continue to strengthen relations of unbreakable
friendship, solidarity and fraternal mutual aid. They will steadfastly develop political relations and deepen all-round cooperation and will give each other all-out support based on mutual respect for state sovereignty and independence, equality and non-interference in each other's internal affairs.

**Article II**

The high contracting parties will combine efforts for strengthening and expanding mutually-advantageous economic, scientific and technical cooperation with the purpose of accelerating socialist and communist construction and steadily raising the material, cultural and living standards of the peoples of their countries.

The two sides will continue long-term coordination of their national economic plans, will coordinate forward-looking measures for the development of crucial branches of the economy, science and engineering and will exchange knowledge and experience accumulated in socialist and communist construction.

**Article III**

The high contracting parties will facilitate cooperation between organs of state power and public organizations, will promote broad contacts in the
spheres of science and culture, education, literature and the arts, the press, radio and television, public health, environmental protection, tourism, physical culture and sports and in other fields. They will stimulate the development of contacts between working people of the two countries.

**Article IV**

The high contracting parties will wage an all-out and consistent struggle for the further strengthening of fraternal relations and of unity and solidarity among socialist countries on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism. They will make every effort to strengthen the world socialist system and will make a vigorous contribution to the development and protection of socialist gains.

**Article V**

The high contracting parties will continue to make every effort to protect international peace and the security of the peoples, will vigorously counteract all the schemes and machinations of imperialism and reactionary forces, will support the just struggle for the final eradication of colonialism.
and racialism in all its forms and manifestations, will support the struggles of the non-aligned countries and the struggles of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America against imperialism colonialism and neo-colonialism, for strengthening independence, in defence of sovereignty, for the right to dispose freely of their natural resources and for the establishment of new international economic relations free from inequality, diktat and exploitation, and will support the striving of the peoples of South-East Asia for peace, independence and cooperation.

They will unswervingly come out for the development of relations between countries with different social systems on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence, for expanding and deepening the process of detente in international relations and for the final exclusion of aggression and annexationist wars from the life of the peoples, for the sake of peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

**Article VI**

The high contracting parties will consult each other on all important international issues affecting the interests of the two countries. In the event of
one of the parties becoming the object of attack or of threats of attack, the high contracting parties will immediately begin mutual consultations for the purpose of removing that threat and taking appropriate effective measures to ensure the peace and security of their countries.

**Article VII**

The present treaty does not affect the rights and obligations of the parties under bilateral and multilateral agreements now in force which have been concluded with their participation, nor is it directed against any third country.

**Article VIII**

The present treaty is subject to ratification and will come into force on the date of exchange of the instruments of ratification, which shall take place in the city of Hanoi at the earliest possible date.

**Article IX**

The present treaty is concluded for a period of 25 years and shall be automatically prolonged every time for another ten-year period, unless either of the high contracting parties gives notice of its wish
to terminate it twelve months before the expiration of the respective period.

Done in the city of the Moscow this third day of November, 1978, in duplicate, each copy in the Russian and Vietnamese languages, both texts being equally authentic.

On behalf of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam
Le Duan
Pham Van Dong

On behalf of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
Lenoid Brezhnev
Alexei Kosygin