

Joint Communiqué

Of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and the Government of the People's Republic of China, and the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam

AT the invitation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and the Government of the People's Republic of China, the Delegation of the Viet Nam Workers' Party and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam led by Comrade Pham Van Dong, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party and Premier of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, paid a friendly visit to the People's Republic of China from November 20 to 27, 1971.

During its visit in China, the Delegation of the Viet Nam Workers' Party and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam toured Peking, Shanghai and Canton, made extensive friendly contacts with workers, people's commune members and Liberation Army commanders and fighters and was accorded a most enthusiastic welcome and grand reception by the Communist Party of China, the Government of the People's Republic of China and the fraternal Chinese people. The Delegation of the Viet Nam Workers' Party and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam expresses its heartfelt thanks for this.

Comrade Mao Tsetung, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, met Premier Pham Van Dong and all the other comrades on the Vietnamese Delegation and had a most cordial and friendly conversation with them.

The Chinese and Vietnamese sides held talks on the strengthening of the friendly relations and co-operation between the two countries, the situation in Viet Nam and Indochina resulting from the U.S. imperialist aggression and questions of common interest to both sides.

Taking part in the talks on the Chinese side were: Chou En-lai, Member of the Standing Committee of the

Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China; Yeh Chien-ying, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Vice-Chairman of the Military Commission of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China; Li Hsien-nien, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Vice-Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China; Keng Piao, Member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Head of the International Liaison Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China; Han Nien-lung, Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs; Li Chiang, Member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Vice-Minister of Foreign Trade; Han Tsung-cheng, Vice-Minister of Economic Relations With Foreign Countries; Wang Yu-ping, Ambassador of the People's Republic of China to the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam; Yuan Hua-ping, Head of the Armament Department of the General Logistics of the Chinese People's Liberation Army; and Lu Wei-chao, Deputy Director of the Asian Affairs Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Taking part in the talks on the Vietnamese side were: Pham Van Dong, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party and Premier of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam; Nguyen Duy Trinh, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party and Vice-Premier of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam; Tran Quy Hai, Alternate Member of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party and Vice-Minister of National Defence; Ly Ban, Alternate Mem-

ber of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party and Vice-Minister of Foreign Trade; Ngo Thuyen, Alternate Member of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party and Ambassador of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam to the People's Republic of China; Nguyen Co Thach, Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs; Luu Van Loi, Head of the Administrative Office of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Hoang Bao Son, Director of the First Asian Affairs Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; and Hoang Quoc Dung, a Departmental Director in the Premier's Office.

The talks were held in a most cordial and friendly atmosphere, which fully manifested the fraternal friendship and militant unity between the peoples of China and Viet Nam.

The Chinese side highly praises the dauntless heroism and indomitable revolutionary spirit displayed by the fraternal Vietnamese people in their war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation and warmly congratulates the Vietnamese people on the great victories they have won, under the leadership of the Viet Nam Workers' Party, in their war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation and in their cause of socialist construction in the north.

Under the glorious banner 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, fearing no hardships and sacrifices and persevering in a people's war, have engaged in a fierce battle with U.S. imperialism and its lackeys, successively defeated the U.S. "special war" and "local war," and are frustrating the Nixon government's plan of "Vietnamizing" the war, inflicting disastrous defeats on the enemies and landing them in a dire predicament.

The people in north Viet Nam, showing a heroic, dauntless revolutionary spirit, relying on their own efforts, waging arduous struggles and carrying on the production and fighting simultaneously, have not only defeated the U.S. imperialist war of destruction, but also scored outstanding achievements in the cause of socialist construction, given powerful support and assistance to the struggle of their kinsmen in the south and fulfilled their internationalist duty to their Laotian and Cambodian comrades-in-arms.

The Vietnamese people's war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation is the fiercest and most protracted war against aggression since World War II. The victories of the Vietnamese people have greatly weakened the U.S. imperialist forces of aggression,

deepened the political, economic and social crises of the United States, forcefully supported and inspired all the oppressed nations and peoples and set a brilliant example for the people of the world.

The Chinese people are infinitely proud of having such heroic comrades-in-arms as the Vietnamese people. The Chinese people express high respect for the heroic Vietnamese people. The Chinese people will conscientiously learn from the Vietnamese people their revolutionary spirit and fighting experience.

The Chinese people are deeply convinced that following President Ho Chi Minh's great behests: **"To fight valiantly so that the Yankees quit and the puppets topple,"** and **"So long as a single aggressor remains on our land, we must fight on to sweep him away,"** the heroic Vietnamese people, continuing their triumphant advance, will surely defeat the U.S. imperialist aggression completely and attain their great goal of liberating the south, defending the north and proceeding to the peaceful reunification of their fatherland.

The Vietnamese side highly praises the fraternal Chinese people for the tremendous achievements they have scored in their glorious revolutionary cause under the leadership of the glorious Communist Party of China headed by their respected and beloved Chairman Mao Tsetung.

In the past 22 years, displaying the spirit of maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in their own hands, relying on their own efforts and waging an arduous struggle for the prosperity of their country, the great Chinese people have scored one brilliant achievement after another in their cause of socialist revolution and socialist construction. This is an eloquent proof of the superiority of the socialist system and the great creative ability of the heroic Chinese people who, armed with Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tsetung Thought, have taken their destiny into their own hands and are filled with revolutionary ardour and wisdom.

The growing strength of the People's Republic of China has made an important contribution to the continued change of the world balance of forces in favour of the revolutionary cause of the people of the world and greatly inspired the oppressed peoples and nations in Asia, Africa and Latin America in their struggles against imperialism headed by the United States.

In the international arena, the role played by the People's Republic of China is growing and her standing rising. The People's Republic of China has established diplomatic relations with many countries in the world.

The adoption by the United Nations General Assembly by an overwhelming majority of the resolution restoring to the People's Republic of China all her legitimate rights in the United Nations and expelling forthwith the representatives of the Chiang Kai-shek clique from the United Nations and all the organizations related to it is a new victory of the Chinese people and the result of their unremitting struggle as well as the active support of the people of the other socialist countries and progressive people all over the world.

The Vietnamese people are infinitely proud of having the great Chinese people as their close comrades-in-arms. The Vietnamese people highly rejoice at the great victories scored by the Chinese people and look upon them as a tremendous encouragement to their own revolutionary cause.

The Vietnamese people strongly condemn U.S. imperialism for occupying Taiwan Province, which is an inalienable part of the territory of the People's Republic of China, firmly support the Chinese people in their struggle for the recovery of Taiwan Province and believe that this just struggle will surely triumph.

The Vietnamese people sincerely wish that the Chinese people, who have been tempered in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, will win still greater victories, so that the People's Republic of China may advance with big strides on the broad road of building socialism and make due contributions to the struggle of the people of the world against imperialism headed by the United States and for the cause of peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

At present, the situation in Viet Nam and Indochina is excellent. In the face of the U.S. imperialist expansion of its war to the whole of Indochina, the Vietnamese people and the peoples of Laos and Cambodia have strengthened their unity and are firmly resolved to fight and defeat the U.S. imperialist aggressors and their lackeys. On the basis of the tremendous victories scored in the past few years, many new and comprehensive victories of strategic significance have been won since the beginning of this year on the different battlefields of Indochina in the struggle of the Vietnamese and Indochinese peoples against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. These victories of the Indochinese people have inflicted a serious defeat upon the policy of "Vietnamizing" the war and the "Nixon doctrine" pushed in Indochina, thus creating a new situation most favourable to the fight of the peoples of Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia.

Despite their disastrous defeats and strong condemnation by American and world public opinion, the U.S.

imperialist aggressors remain most obdurate and cunning; they still refuse to give up their aggressive designs against the Indochinese countries, and are wilfully trampling upon the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Indochina and the 1962 Geneva Agreements on Laos.

The essence of the policy of "Vietnamizing" the war pushed hard by U.S. imperialism in south Viet Nam is to continue its war of aggression, maintain its forcible occupation of south Viet Nam, practise neo-colonialism and divide Viet Nam permanently. It is making great efforts to strengthen the Saigon puppet troops by increasing its military aid and energetically arming and training them so as to use the puppet troops together with U.S. air and naval forces to prolong and intensify the war. It has employed most brutal means to step up the execution of the "pacification plan," throwing local inhabitants into strategic hamlets, subjecting them to persecution and control, and pressing men and extorting material for the service of the U.S. war of aggression. It has employed the means of persecution, suppression and the staging of an election farce to bolster the fascist Nguyen Van Thieu clique and used it as a tool for pushing its policy of "Vietnamizing" the war. At the Paris talks on the Viet Nam question, the United States still obdurately refuses to give a due reply to the 7-point solution put forward by the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam and tries to use negotiations as a cover for its scheme of "Vietnamizing" the war.

In north Viet Nam, the United States is still flagrantly using its air force to bomb many centres of inhabitation, and grossly violating the sovereignty and security of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam.

In Laos, it is intensifying its "special war," stepping up the use of aircraft, including B-52 bombers, for indiscriminate devastating bombings against the liberated areas in Laos, and sending reinforcements of Thailand troops to Laos for launching "encroachment" attacks in co-ordination with Vang Pao's "special forces" and the Rightist troops.

In Cambodia, it has brought in additional large numbers of U.S. and vassal advisers and military personnel and is continuing to use Saigon puppet troops to intensify its war of aggression against Cambodia with the support of U.S. air and naval forces.

In the U.S. war of aggression against Indochina, Thailand has become an air base for U.S. bombings against the Indochinese countries; under U.S. instructions, the reactionary Thai authorities are sending to Laos increasingly large numbers of Thailand troops.

U.S. imperialism is energetically pushing the "Nixon doctrine" in Indochina by talking about "reducing U.S. commitments" in Asia; this in essence is to prolong, intensify and expand its war of aggression against Indochina. Far from being reduced in scale, the war of aggression unleashed by the United States is becoming ever fiercer and most brutal.

President Nixon's speech of November 12, 1971 has further revealed the U.S. scheme to indefinitely prolong its military occupation of south Viet Nam and stubbornly employ traitor-lackeys in south Viet Nam and Cambodia and the Laotian Rightists as tools for prolonging and intensifying the U.S. war of aggression against Indochina. President Nixon and U.S. Defence Secretary Melvin Laird even blatantly threatened to use the air force to intensify the war against the Indochinese peoples.

However, these new acts of military adventure and threatening words on the part of the United States absolutely cannot avert the complete defeat of its policy of "Vietnamizing" the war and the "Nixon doctrine."

The Vietnamese side declares the following: In order to realize the testament of respected and beloved President Ho Chi Minh and develop the victories already won, the Vietnamese people are determined to overcome all difficulties and hardships, take the initiative to launch attacks, persevere in and promote the struggle on the military, political and diplomatic fronts, thoroughly defeat the U.S. imperialist scheme of "Vietnamizing" the war, liberate the south, defend and build up the socialist north and proceed to the peaceful reunification of their fatherland, and thereby to contribute to the defence of Asian and world peace. Loyal to the Joint Declaration of the Summit Conference of the Indochinese Peoples, the Vietnamese people will fight shoulder to shoulder with the Laotian and Cambodian peoples to firmly and thoroughly shatter the "Nixon doctrine" in Indochina.

The Chinese side reaffirms the following: To support and assist the Vietnamese and Indochinese peoples in their war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation is the unshakable established policy of the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese Government, and the unshirkable internationalist duty of the Chinese people. As long as the U.S. aggressors do not stop their interference and aggression against Indochina, as long as the three Indochinese peoples' sacred national rights are not realized, the Chinese people will go on performing their internationalist duty. The Vietnamese and Indochinese peoples are resolved to fight the war of

resistance to the end, the Chinese people are determined to support them to the end. In order to support and assist the Vietnamese and Indochinese peoples in their war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation, the Chinese people have long since made every preparation and will not flinch even from the greatest national sacrifices.

The two sides strongly condemn U.S. imperialism for prolonging, intensifying and expanding its war of aggression against Indochina and strongly condemn the U.S. aggressors for their most barbarous crimes in Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia. The two sides unanimously point out: The Indochina war was caused by U.S. aggression and it will end only with the United States stopping its aggression and all its interference in the Indochinese countries. The two sides firmly demand that U.S. imperialism immediately stop its war of aggression against Indochina, stop carrying out the "Nixon doctrine" there, withdraw totally and unconditionally the U.S. troops and vassal troops from Indochina, and immediately stop all its military activities against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and other Indochinese countries, that it must stop all its interference in the Indochinese countries, and that it must completely stop using its puppet cliques in south Viet Nam and Cambodia and the Rightists in Laos to oppose the Indochinese people, so that the peoples of the Indochinese countries may settle the affairs of their respective countries independently and free from foreign interference.

The two sides positively affirm that the 7-point solution put forward by the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam provides the correct basis for the peaceful settlement of the Viet Nam question. The two basic points in it are:

1. The U.S. Government must completely stop its aggressive war in Viet Nam, put a complete end to the "Vietnamization" policy, withdraw totally and without condition all troops, military advisers and personnel, weapons and war materials of the United States and of other foreign countries in the U.S. camp from south Viet Nam, liquidate all the U.S. military bases in south Viet Nam, put an end to all activities of U.S. air and naval forces and all other military acts against the people in both the southern and northern parts of Viet Nam;

2. The U.S. Government must respect the south Vietnamese people's right to self-determination, withdraw support from, and relinquish all its commitments to the fascist Nguyen Van Thieu clique, stop using this clique to oppose the south Vietnamese people, so as to

pave the way for the formation in Saigon of a new administration favouring peace, independence, neutrality and democracy and willing at all times to enter into serious talks with the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam with a view to establishing a broad national concord government in south Viet Nam.

The two sides fully support the just struggle waged by the Laotian people under the leadership of the Lao Patriotic Front with Prince Souphanouvong as its Chairman against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys and for the establishment of a peaceful, independent, neutral, democratic, unified and prosperous Laos; they fully support the 5-point political solution put forward by the Lao Patriotic Front for stopping the war, restoring peace and realizing national harmony in Laos, as well as its proposals of April 27 and June 22, 1971.

The two sides fully support the just struggle against the U.S. imperialist aggressors and their lackeys waged by the Cambodian people under the leadership of the National United Front with Head of State Samdech Norodom Sihanouk as its Chairman and the Royal Government of National Union with Samdech Penn Nouth as its Prime Minister and Mr. Khieu Samphan as its Deputy Prime Minister; they fully support the correct stand set forth in the declaration issued by Head of State Samdech Norodom Sihanouk on March 23, 1970 and the Political Programme of the National United Front of Cambodia, which are aimed at establishing an independent, peaceful, neutral, democratic and prosperous Cambodia.

The two sides firmly believe that the three Indochinese peoples, holding high the militant banner of unity against U.S. aggression of the Summit Conference of the Indochinese Peoples, closely co-ordinating with and supporting one another and persevering in struggle, will certainly defeat the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys. Victory surely belongs to the heroic peoples of Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia!

The two sides consider that the international situation is developing in a direction increasingly favourable to the struggle of the people of the world against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys. The aggression, subversion, interference, control and plunder perpetrated by U.S. imperialism in different parts of the world have stimulated the further awakening of the people of the world and roused more and more countries and peoples to resistance. U.S. imperialism, swelled as a result of the two world wars, has become beset with difficulties and riddled with crises. However, the nature of imperialism will never change. Though constantly altering its tactics

and methods, U.S. imperialism has not in the least changed its aggressive ambition. People of the world must continue to strengthen their unity, heighten their vigilance and persevere in struggle.

The two sides strongly condemn U.S. imperialism for reviving Japanese militarism in collusion with the Japanese reactionaries, with the design of opposing the revolutionary movements of the peoples in Asia and the Pacific region and threatening peace and security in this area. The two sides firmly support the 8-point programme put forward by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for the peaceful unification of the fatherland and firmly support the Korean people in their just struggle against U.S. imperialist aggression and for the unification of their fatherland. The two sides are determined, together with the peoples of Korea, Japan, other Asian countries and the whole world, to fight to the end against the revival of Japanese militarism by the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries.

The two sides firmly support the Cuban people in their struggle against U.S. imperialism and in defence of state security and sovereignty; and they firmly support the people of the German Democratic Republic in their struggle against West German revanchism and for safeguarding the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the German Democratic Republic.

The two sides firmly support the Palestinian and other Arab peoples in their just struggle against the U.S.-Israeli aggressors.

The two sides firmly support the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America in their struggles against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism headed by the United States and for winning and defending national independence and building their respective countries into prosperous states. They firmly support the world people's revolutionary struggles for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

The two sides note with satisfaction that the great friendship and militant unity between the Parties, Governments and peoples of China and Viet Nam have continuously been consolidated and developed on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. In the course of their revolutionary struggles to oppose imperialism, win national independence and build socialism, which were fraught with sacrifices and hardships and yet were most glorious, our two peoples have fought shoulder to shoulder, gone through thick and thin together and encouraged and supported each other. This intimate and solid friendship and unity of "both comrades and brothers," which have been con-

stantly cared for and nurtured by respected and beloved President Ho Chi Minh and the Viet Nam Workers' Party and by respected and beloved Chairman Mao Tsetung and the Chinese Communist Party, are binding ever more closely the Parties and peoples of China and Viet Nam.

The Viet Nam Workers' Party and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam will never forget that the Vietnamese people's victorious fight against the enemy is inseparable from the sincere and powerful support and the great, many-sided and effective aid of the Chinese Communist Party, the Chinese Government and the fraternal Chinese people.

In recent years, under the circumstances in which U.S. imperialism has been intensifying and expanding its war of aggression against Viet Nam, the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese Government and people have repeatedly expressed their determination to carry out their respected and beloved Chairman Mao Tsetung's teaching: **"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."** The powerful political support and the great military and economic aid given by the Chinese Communist Party, the Chinese Government and the Chinese people are a brilliant embodiment of the Chinese people's militant solidarity and lofty internationalist sentiments for the Vietnamese people; they have made important contributions to the strengthening of the Vietnamese people's defence capability and economic strength and given great inspiration and impetus to the Vietnamese people in fighting and defeating the U.S. imperialist aggressors.

On behalf of the Viet Nam Workers' Party, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the Vietnamese people, the Vietnamese Party and Government Delegation expresses its heartfelt and deep thanks to respected and beloved Chairman Mao Tsetung, the Chinese Communist Party, the Chinese Government and the fraternal Chinese people for their most precious support and assistance.

The Vietnamese people's perseverance in the protracted war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation is a powerful support and encouragement to the Chinese people in their socialist revolution and socialist construction. The Chinese people will never forget and are most grateful for this.

The Chinese side expresses its heartfelt thanks to the Viet Nam Workers' Party, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the fraternal

Vietnamese people for their support to the Chinese people's struggle to liberate their sacred territory Taiwan Province, and sincerely points out that the restoration of the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations is the result of the common struggle waged inside and outside the United Nations by all the countries and peoples that uphold justice and the result of the long struggle of the people of the whole world against U.S. imperialism and it is especially inseparable from the great victories won by the Vietnamese and Indochinese peoples in their war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation.

In the interests of the two peoples, of socialism and of the common revolutionary cause of the people of the whole world, the two sides resolve to continue to make all efforts for the further strengthening of this revolutionary friendship based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

Both sides point out that the exchange of delegations between the two Parties and two countries for friendly visits and the exchange of views between leaders of the two countries on questions of common interest are of great importance to the advancement of the friendship and unity between the two Parties, the two Governments and the two peoples and to the struggle against the common enemy, U.S. imperialism and its lackeys.

The two sides believe that like the visit to the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam made last March by the Delegation of the Communist Party of China and the Government of the People's Republic of China led by Premier Chou En-lai, the present visit to the People's Republic of China paid by the Delegation of the Viet Nam Workers' Party and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam led by Premier Pham Van Dong will make a new contribution to the further consolidation and strengthening of the great friendship and militant unity between the two Parties, the two Governments and the two peoples.

(Signed) **Chou En-lai**

Member of the Standing
Committee of the Political
Bureau of the Central
Bureau of the Central
Committee of the Com-
munist Party of China and
Premier of the State
Council of the People's Re-
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(Signed) **Pham Van Dong**

Member of the Political
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Premier of the Govern-
ment of the Democratic
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Peking, November 25, 1971