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SECURITY COUNCIL  
Thirty-sixth year

Letter dated 13 July 1981 from the Permanent Representative of  
China to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General

I have the honour to transmit herewith the text of a memorandum of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China on Sino-Vietnamese relations and request that this be circulated as an official document of the General Assembly, under item 11 of the preliminary list, and of the Security Council.

(Signed) LING Qing  
Permanent Representative of  
the People's Republic of China  
to the United Nations

\* A/36/50.

ANNEX

MEMORANDUM OF THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE  
PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA ON SINO-VIETNAMESE RELATIONS

13 July 1981

For some time the Vietnamese authorities have fabricated numerous lies and made unbridled slanderous attacks on China, attributing to China the cause of the seriously deteriorated Sino-Vietnamese relations and of the turbulence in Indochina and Southeast Asia, in an attempt to confuse the right and wrong and cover up their acts of aggression and expansion so as to invent excuses for their intensified pursuance of the policy of regional hegemonism. Therefore, the Chinese side deems it necessary to state the truth of the matter in order to set the record straight.

I. Why Sino-Vietnamese Relations Continue to Deteriorate

Since the end of Viet Nam's war of resistance against U.S. aggression, the Vietnamese authorities have taken a whole series of measures to worsen Sino-Vietnamese relations. At present, they are stepping up these anti-China activities. Their professed willingness to improve Sino-Vietnamese relations is a sheer gesture meant to deceive people.

The Fourth Plenum of the Fourth Central Committee of the Communist Party of Viet Nam held in 1978 and the subsequent meetings decided to set China as the "direct enemy of Viet Nam", adopt "an offensive strategy" towards China and regard it as a "national task" and "international obligation" to oppose China. At the end of 1980, the Seventh Session of the Sixth National Assembly of Viet Nam brazenly included in its new constitution the content of opposing China, thus defining its anti-China policy in the form of law. The Vietnamese authorities' anti-China activities have become more and more fanatic because they have persisted in making these

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activities a part of their basic national policy. They have deployed large numbers of troops in the areas along the Sino-Vietnamese border, carrying out frequent armed provocations against China and intrusions into Chinese border areas. In the period from early 1980 to the end of June 1981, the Vietnamese troops shelled and opened fire on Chinese territory and sent their units and armed special agents to intrude into Chinese territory for raids, harassment and sabotage on more than 2,670 occasions. Especially since last May, the Vietnamese troops have become more rampant in their provocations along the Sino-Vietnamese border. They have shelled Chinese territory almost daily and have repeatedly sent troops in company or battalion or even regiment strength to intrude into Ningming County of Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region and Malipo County of Yunnan Province, thus aggravating tension in the border areas. In order to establish a war system spearheaded against China, the Vietnamese authorities have marked off its northern provinces adjacent to China as the "north battlefield", where they have deployed 62 percent of the total strength of their army, 75 percent of their air force and a large number of warships. Along the Sino-Vietnamese border, the Vietnamese side continues to "purify the border", forcing border inhabitants to move away, constructing defence works, introducing more armaments and military supplies and carrying out frequent military manoeuvres. In addition, the Vietnamese authorities have been creating a war atmosphere at home. They are busy spreading all sorts of absurd rumours making a hullabaloo about "China's threat" to Viet Nam and attributing to the so-called "China's

psychological warfare" all such things as political unrest, economic depression and people's resentment, which are actually the result of the Vietnamese authorities' militaristic policy of aggression. Obviously, the vigorous incitement of hostile feelings against China has already become an important means of the Vietnamese authorities to divert the people's complaint and to maintain and strengthen their rule at home.

Facts show that in order to realize their regional hegemony and suit the needs of the global strategy of Soviet hegemonism, the Vietnamese authorities are pressing ahead with their policy of hostility against China in a deliberate attempt to further worsen the Sino-Vietnamese relations. This is the basic reason why these relations have failed to improve so far.

Of late, the Vietnamese side has put forward a number of so-called proposals, such as the conclusion of a "bilateral agreement on peaceful coexistence" and a "non-aggression treaty". It has done this not at all for the purpose of improving the relations between China and Viet Nam. It is not difficult to see the intention behind these proposals after they are analysed.

After cooking up the so-called "China threat", the Vietnamese authorities brazenly demand the inclusion into the "treaty" such content as putting an end to the non-existent Chinese "threat" and "invasion", and ask China to accept the charges imposed by them. What kind of logic is this? They are even more unreasonable in demanding that China stop its support to the patriotic Kampuchean armed forces and civilians in their resistance against Vietnamese aggressors and that this point be incorporated into the "treaty". Doesn't this mean that China should abandon its stand of upholding justice, condone the Vietnamese authorities' aggression and expansion and accept their occupation of Kampuchean territory as legitimate? The Chinese Government has never opposed the conclusion of bilateral agreements or treaties which are aimed at developing friendly relations and cooperation between states and at opposing hegemonism and safeguarding peace. However, we must firmly expose and denounce the Vietnamese authorities for playing tricks on the question of concluding an agreement, falsely accusing China and peddling their fallacy of "justified aggression" in their attempt to cover up their criminal aggression and expansion.

As is known to all, the Chinese Government has done its utmost to improve Sino-Vietnamese relations. It has proposed bilateral negotiations at the governmental level, put forward an eight-point proposal for handling the relations between the two countries and also expressed willingness to undertake, together with Viet Nam, not to seek hegemony but to contribute to peace in Southeast Asia. The Chinese side will continue its efforts to

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this end in the future. The door is always open for the normalization of our bilateral relations. Now it depends on the Vietnamese side whether these relations can be improved and whether a bilateral agreement or treaty can be concluded to ensure good-neighbourly and friendly relations and cooperation between the two countries in the interest of opposing hegemonism and safeguarding peace. It can be said that it is now high time for the Vietnamese side to take actions.

## II. The Root Cause of Tension in Indochina Lies in the Vietnamese Authorities' Attempt to Seek Regional Hegemony

The Vietnamese authorities assert that the present tension in Indochina is caused by the so-called "Chinese ambitions" rather than the policies of aggression and expansion they have pursued with the support of the Soviet Union. They even try to make people believe that the invasion and occupation of Kampuchea by 200,000 Vietnamese troops is for the purpose of dealing with "China threat". However, the deeds of the Vietnamese authorities have provided an explicit answer as to who has single-handedly created turbulence and disaster in this region.

After the unification of Viet Nam in 1976, the Vietnamese authorities went ahead with an ambitious plan in an attempt to establish their hegemonist rule in Indochina. After it succeeded in gradually bringing Laos under its total control, Viet Nam launched a large-scale war of aggression at the end of 1978, and occupied large parts of the Kampuchean territory and its capital -- Phnom Penh. At present, there are 50,000 - 60,000 Vietnamese troops and nearly 10,000 Vietnamese experts, advisers and secret police in Laos, controlling Laos' military, political, economic, cultural, propaganda, and external affairs. In Kampuchea, the Vietnamese authorities have propped up a puppet regime and established a military and colonial rule in the occupied areas of the country on the strength of their 200,000 aggressor troops. Over the past two years or more, they have frequently launched military offensives, frenziedly massacred Kampuchean patriotic soldiers and civilians, wantonly plundered its resources and wealth and destroyed its farmland and water conservancy projects. Moreover, they have driven hundreds of thousands of Kampucheans out of their homeland and emigrated large numbers of Vietnamese into Kampuchea, thus bringing havoc to the country and menacing its national survival. The Vietnamese authorities can never get away with this historical crime. The immediate aim of Viet Nam's annexation of Kampuchea and Laos is to set up an "Indochinese federation" with itself as the overlord. The Vietnamese authorities even assert that the three Indochinese states "must form an integral whole" and that the three countries "have already been integrated and one can call it whatever he wishes." They are even openly exerting pressure on the ASEAN

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countries to regard the "three Indochinese states" as a "bloc" and to enter into dialogue with it as such. Otherwise, they asserted, "there can be no peace and stability in Southeast Asia", etc. The Vietnamese authorities, whose deeds have laid bare their ambitions for Indochina, hope that people will believe that it is China and not the Vietnamese authorities that have expansionist ambitions in Indochina. This is just their wishful thinking.

The Vietnamese authorities are now playing tricks to justify their refusal to pull out their troops from Kampuchea in defiance of the resolutions adopted on the Kampuchean question at the 34th and 35th Sessions of the U.N. General Assembly. They are vigorously peddling their scheme to convene a "regional meeting" between the "Indochinese bloc" and ASEAN, in an attempt to undermine the international conference on Kampuchea. This has met with wide opposition of world opinion. Using the fabricated "China threat" as its pretext for refusing to withdraw its troops from Kampuchea, Viet Nam at one moment says that its troops will pull out "only when China's threat is eliminated", and the next it claims that its withdrawal from Kampuchea must be conditioned upon China's giving up its just stand of supporting the Kampuchean patriotic forces' struggle against aggression and signing a "treaty of mutual non-aggression" with the so-called "three Indochinese states". Such absurd pretexts are being used by the Vietnamese authorities to divert the attention of world opinion from the Kampuchean question and evade condemnation by the international community.

Recently, the Vietnamese authorities, in referring to China's relations with Kampuchea and Laos, have urged China to sign what it calls a "bilateral agreement of peaceful coexistence" and a "treaty of mutual non-aggression" with these two countries respectively. It is nothing but another anti-China trick of theirs. At present, the Government of Democratic Kampuchea is the sole legal representative of Kampuchea recognized by the United Nations. The puppet regime fostered by the Vietnamese authorities has no right whatsoever to represent Kampuchea. After the complete withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea, China, naturally, will develop friendly relations and cooperation with an independent, neutral and non-aligned Kampuchea on the basis of complete equality and mutual benefit and in a manner satisfactory to both sides. As to Sino-Lao relations, over the years the two countries were on good terms, and it is due to the Vietnamese authorities' meddling and sabotage that there have been reverses in Sino-Lao relations in recent years. In 1979, the Vietnamese authorities, in collaboration with the Soviet Union, invented the lie about "China massing heavy troops along the Sino-Lao border" and coerced the Lao authorities into opposing China and suspending the cooperative relations between Laos and China in the economic and cultural fields. Since last May, the Vietnamese authorities, while aggravating tension along the Sino-Vietnamese border, have played the same old trick, fabricating

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the rumour that "China is threatening the Lao border", and they have even sent Vietnamese armed personnel in the guise of Lao soldiers to provoke incidents on the Sino-Lao border in an attempt to create confusion and whip up fresh anti-China clamours. The Vietnamese authorities not only oppose China themselves but also want to turn the whole of Indochina into an anti-China base for themselves and the Soviet Union. This is the root cause why Sino-Lao relations have been undermined. It will not be difficult to resume and continue to develop friendly relations and cooperation between China and Laos in the future so long as Laos' independence and sovereignty (including its right to make independent decisions in external affairs) are guaranteed. Viet Nam, posing as the spokesman of the three Indochinese states, is bound to fail in its attempts and schemes to make China recognize the Heng Samrin puppet regime, acknowledge the fait accompli of its occupation of Kampuchea and its control of Laos and accept Viet Nam as the overlord of Indochina.

### III. Increased Collusion Between the Soviet Union and Viet Nam Poses an Ever More Serious Threat to the Southeast Asian Region

With respect to the situation in Southeast Asia, the Vietnamese authorities have also been rehashing the hackneyed slander about the so-called "China threat" in an attempt to befuddle the people with distorted facts, cover up the expansionist acts of the Soviet Union and Viet Nam and sow discord between China and the countries concerned. However, lies are but lies. A brief review of the evolution of events in the past few years makes it clear that it is the Vietnamese authorities' act of annexing Indochina and their bigger ambitions to control the whole of Southeast Asia that have posed a direct threat to the security of Thailand and other Southeast Asian countries. Using Viet Nam and Indochina as its forward base and regarding Southeast Asia and the Asian-Pacific region as an important link in its hegemonistic global strategy, the Soviet Union, on its part, has visibly increased its military presence in the region, thus further complicating and aggravating the situation there.

The Vietnamese invasion of Kampuchea has brought Thailand under the direct threat of the Vietnamese expansionist forces. Over the past two years and more, the Vietnamese authorities have kept many divisions of their aggressor troops in Kampuchea and Laos on the border of Thailand and have stepped up the construction of fortifications, roads and airfields and concentrated large quantities of tanks, artillery pieces, aircraft and missiles in areas close to the Thai border. Since the beginning of 1980, the Vietnamese troops have carried out more frequent shellings, intrusions and raids from their bases in Kampuchea and Laos, directed against the territory of Thailand. On 23 June 1980, over two thousand

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Vietnamese troops flagrantly intruded into Thailand. Recently, a greater number of Vietnamese troops have appeared on the Kampuchean-Thai border. The Vietnamese authorities have kept on sending their men to sneak into Thailand for provocations, sabotage and other conspiratorial activities. A Vice Foreign Minister of Viet Nam went so far as to threaten that Viet Nam would "resort to all possible means" to deal with Thailand. The gravity of the dangerous situation along the Kampuchean-Thai border keeps increasing. A host of facts shows that the Vietnamese authorities' military action against Thailand is premeditated and carefully planned. Their purpose is to bring pressure to bear on Thailand in conjunction with their war of aggression in Kampuchea and force Thailand and other ASEAN countries to recognize the Heng Samrin clique and the fait accompli of Viet Nam's occupation of Kampuchea. What is more, they harbour more malicious designs. In recent years, Vietnamese leaders often claim the status of a "world military power" for their country and assert that "a strong Viet Nam will contribute to the deep-going changes on the political scene of Southeast Asia." It may be predicted that once the Vietnamese regional hegemonists obtain a firm foothold in Kampuchea, they will use Indochina as a base to press forward with their more ambitious expansionist plans. There has been growing concern about what may happen after Indochina. The Vietnamese authorities' threat to and raids against Thailand have already put this question in sharp focus.

The Vietnamese authorities are abetted and supported energetically by the Soviet Union in their aggression and expansion. Taking advantage of the Vietnamese authorities' wild ambitions for expansion and their dependence on the Soviet Union, the Soviet Union has been infiltrating deeper into Indochina and the Asian-Pacific region. It has gone further in this regard since 1980. It has dispatched an increasing number of personnel of all descriptions to the Indochinese states. It has obtained from Viet Nam the right to use Cam Ranh Bay, Da Nang, Kompong Som and other important ports. The Soviet Pacific fleet has multiplied its activities in South China Sea and the western Pacific and even reached the Gulf of Siam. Having pushed several thousand kilometres southward from Vladivostok, the Soviet military strength is posing a direct menace to the sea-lane linking the Pacific and Indian Oceans. In coordination with its moves in Afghanistan, the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf, the Soviet Union is opening up another route for pursuing its strategy of southward drive. The stark facts show that the Soviet-Vietnamese collaboration based on their common hegemonistic aspirations is the root cause of the turbulence in Southeast Asia and the Asian-Pacific region. Colluding with each other and each using the other for its own ends, they have intensified their expansion in Southeast Asia, thus disrupting the tranquility and stability of the region. This not only constitutes a real threat to the countries in the region but also forebodes greater danger. The Soviet and Vietnamese authorities are working closely together

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to peddle their fraudulent proposals for the so-called "confidence-building measures" and "group dialogue" in an attempt to lower people's vigilance and distract them from the danger they face. This is completely futile.

#### Conclusion

The evolution of events fully shows that the anti-China policy of the Vietnamese authorities is inseparable from the Soviet and Vietnamese moves in this region and that it is an important component of the Soviet and Vietnamese strategy for seeking hegemony. The general background and underlying cause for the turbulent situation in Indochina and Southeast Asia in recent years and the worsening relations between China and Viet Nam are the emergence of Vietnamese regional hegemonism and the Soviet hegemonist expansion in Southeast Asia.

In the view of the Chinese side, it serves the interest of all peoples, including that of the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples, to maintain peace, security and stability in Indochina and Southeast Asia and good-neighbourly relations, friendship and cooperation among all countries in the region. China will continue to make unremitting efforts to this end together with all justice-upholding and peace-loving countries and peoples. The Chinese side wishes to point out once again in all seriousness that the Vietnamese leaders should earnestly consider the strong demand of the international community, take into account the ardent desire of the Vietnamese people to recuperate and develop their national economy in a peaceful environment, abandon the policy of seeking regional hegemony, cease to serve as a tool and forward base for Soviet southward drive and withdraw all their troops from Kampuchea and Laos, halt their armed provocations against and intrusions into China, stop their raids and threats against Thailand, respect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of their neighbours, so as to ensure the peace and tranquility of the region. These are the most urgent things to be done in order to restore stability to Indochina and Southeast Asia, as well as the indispensable prerequisites for realizing the normalization of relations between China and Viet Nam. This is the only wise course of action for the Vietnamese authorities to take.

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