

UNITED NATIONS



GENERAL
ASSEMBLY



SECURITY
COUNCIL

Distr.
GENERAL

A/34/219
S/13294
3 May 1979

ENGLISH
ORIGINAL: CHINESE/ENGLISH

GENERAL ASSEMBLY
Thirty-fourth session
Item 11 of the preliminary list*
REPORT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

SECURITY COUNCIL
Thirty-fourth year

Letter dated 3 May 1979 from the Chargé d'Affaires a.i. of
the Permanent Mission of China to the United Nations
addressed to the Secretary-General

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith the text of a speech made by Han Nianlong, Head of the Chinese Government delegation and Vice Minister for Foreign Affairs, at the second plenary meeting of the Sino-Vietnamese negotiations on 26 April 1979. I request that this speech be circulated as an official document of the General Assembly, under item 11 of the preliminary list, and of the Security Council.

(Signed) LAI Yali
Acting Permanent Representative of
the People's Republic of China to
the United Nations

* A/34/50.

ANNEX

Speech by Han Nianlong, Head of the Chinese Government delegation and
Vice Minister for Foreign Affairs, at the second plenary meeting of
the Sino-Vietnamese negotiations on 26 April 1979

Your Excellency Phan Hien, Head of the Government Delegation of the Socialist
Republic of Viet Nam, and

Colleagues on the Vietnamese Government Delegation:

We are holding today the second meeting of the negotiations between the Chinese and Vietnamese Governments. The Chinese Government delegation has long made it clear that we sincerely hope, through the current negotiations, to seek practical measures to settle the disputes and restore normal relations between the two countries so as to meet the ardent wishes of the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples and the people of all countries in this regard.

It is extremely regrettable that, when the negotiations got under way, the Vietnamese side proceeded unscrupulously, at the very first plenary meeting, to confound right and wrong, distort the facts and fabricate lies in a slanderous attack against the Chinese side and the Chinese leadership, and to blame China for impairing the friendly relations between the two countries and for the armed conflict along the border. The question of who is responsible for impairing the friendly relations between China and Viet Nam and for provoking the armed conflict along the border is an issue of major principle. Didn't Phan Hien, Head of your delegation, say in his speech that "there is reason why once again we want here to make clear who is the aggressor in this war"? In this speech, therefore, I want to deal especially with this subject and make clear who has upheld and who impaired the relations between China and Viet Nam and who was the provocator and who fought in self-defence.

The Sino-Vietnamese boundary was originally a boundary of peace and friendship. In their common struggle against imperialism, the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples supported each other and fought shoulder to shoulder, making use of the favourable geographical propinquity of their countries which were linked by common mountains and rivers. For decades, both during the wars waged by Viet Nam for national salvation against French occupation and United States aggression and in the post-war period of peace, China never failed to fulfil its internationalist obligations. Thousands of Chinese died as martyrs and shed their blood on Vietnamese soil. The sweat and toil of Chinese experts went into the building of hundreds of factories and other aid projects from China. Viet Nam is the biggest recipient of Chinese aid, having received from China aid valued at scores of billions of yuan RMB. China made itself available as a reliable rear area in supporting the Vietnamese wars of resistance and national construction, and the Chinese border inhabitants, in particular, made a special contribution. It was over the Chinese borders that large quantities of arms and ammunition, complete sets of equipment, machinery, vehicles, fuel, food grains, clothing, blankets and other supplies were transported in a steady

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stream to Viet Nam, by rail and road, through ports and airfields, via pipelines and narrow mountain trails. Chinese border inhabitants warmly received and harboured their Vietnamese brothers and sisters who crossed the border and sought refuge from imperialist bombings. When there was a shortage of food grains in Viet Nam, they preferred to eat coarse grains themselves so as to have a good supply of rice for the Vietnamese people. Hospitals in China's Yunnan Province and Guangxi Autonomous Region, as those in other parts of China, gave meticulous treatment and care to the Vietnamese sick and wounded. In these two places, the Vietnamese set up and long maintained hospitals and schools as well as bases for supporting the revolution in South Viet Nam. After Radio Hanoi was damaged by United States bombing, a radio station in China's Yunnan Province promptly undertook to relay its programmes, so that the voice of Viet Nam continued to be heard all over the world. The border inhabitants of our two countries are the best witnesses to our friendly relationship of sharing weal and woe. The Chinese people did their utmost to support and help the Vietnamese people resist imperialist aggression, defend national independence and reunite the two parts of the country. The Chinese people have never let the Vietnamese people down.

With the signing of the Paris agreement in 1973, the Vietnamese people subsequently won victory in their war of resistance against United States aggression and for national salvation. The Chinese people sincerely rejoiced in and congratulated the Vietnamese people on their victory, regarding it as their own. It never occurred to them that the Vietnamese authorities, pursuing expansionist goals they could not disclose, would unscrupulously and heartlessly antagonize their former friend and turn their guns on China. Through their actions from 1974 onwards, disputes occurred one after another and clashes increased day by day on the once tranquil and friendly Sino-Vietnamese border. In 1974, there were 100 or so border incidents. In 1975, the number increased to over 400, and the Vietnamese authorities flagrantly invaded and occupied some of China's Nansha Islands by force of arms. In 1976, the number of incidents increased to more than 900. In 1977, it was more than 700. In order to uphold the friendship and unity between the two peoples and maintain peace and tranquillity on the Sino-Vietnamese border, the Chinese side counselled the Vietnamese on many occasions and proposed that the two Governments hold boundary negotiations as soon as possible to try to settle the boundary question once and for all through friendly negotiations. However, the Vietnamese side not only procrastinated and tried to sabotage the negotiations, but redoubled its efforts to create incidents and kept expanding the scale of border clashes.

Early in 1977, when the Vietnamese authorities started a military build-up along the Sino-Vietnamese border in preparation for a war against China, they instituted measures to set up a cordon sanitaire, driving into Chinese territory large numbers of Chinese nationals and Vietnamese citizens who had lived in the border areas for generations. They later intensified their anti-Chinese activities throughout Viet Nam, regarded Chinese nationals as enemies even when the latter had over the years contributed positively to the revolutionary cause in Viet Nam, and cruelly persecuted and expelled them en masse. The Chinese side made great efforts

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to seek a reasonable settlement of the differences between the two countries on the question of Chinese residents and sent a government delegation to Hanoi in August and September last year for negotiations on this subject. But the negotiations were not fruitful, owing to sabotage and obstruction by the Vietnamese side. Subsequently, instead of showing restraint in its persecution and expulsion of Chinese nationals, the Vietnamese side resorted to even more sinister means. Around the time of our delegation's arrival in Hanoi for the negotiations, the Vietnamese authorities expelled more than 10,000 Chinese nationals and Vietnamese citizens across the border into China's Guangxi and Yunnan Provinces. Incomplete statistics show that the number of Chinese nationals and Vietnamese citizens driven by you into China has exceeded 200,000. The Vietnamese authorities must immediately stop their continued expulsion of Chinese nationals and Vietnamese citizens to Chinese territory. Moreover, it was reported that in South Viet Nam you had driven hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese of Chinese descent and Vietnamese citizens across the open sea to South-East Asian countries and quite a number of other countries and regions in the world, causing great difficulties to those countries. The Vietnamese authorities have been for some time strongly condemned by world opinion and by the countries concerned for their "exporting" refugees. Yet in its speech, the Vietnamese Government delegate has absurdly alleged that the massive expulsion of Chinese nationals and Vietnamese citizens to China was the result of Chinese incitement. This attempt to evade its culpability is entirely futile. People are bound to ask whether the expulsion of hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese refugees to South-East Asian and other countries was also the result of incitement by those countries? That the Vietnamese authorities should resort to such gross misrepresentation of facts is indeed shocking.

Concurrently with their large-scale anti-Chinese activities, the Vietnamese authorities started to mobilize the party, Government, and army for war and stepped up their military build-up along the Sino-Vietnamese border. In their directives to all lower-level organs, they openly referred to China as "the most immediate and dangerous enemy" and "their opponent in the next war", and issued the slogan "do everything for the sake of defeating China". They massed more than 200,000 troops in northern Viet Nam and stationed many regular troops along the Sino-Vietnamese border. In its "outline for education of the new situation and tasks", issued on 8 July 1978, the General Political Department of the Vietnamese People's army explicitly stipulated that "an offensive strategy" would be adopted against China, and that "a counter-attack and resolute offensive would be carried out both within and beyond the frontier". The Vietnamese authorities built a great many fortifications and other military facilities in the border areas and stored large quantities of war material while clamouring for turning the border areas into "positions" and "fortresses" of war against China. The erstwhile peaceful and friendly Sino-Vietnamese border was turned by the Vietnamese authorities into a springboard for invading China. The erstwhile staging posts for receiving Chinese aid supplies were turned into strongholds for aggression against China. The rice which the Chinese people saved up through frugality and sent as aid to the Vietnamese people became provisions for the Vietnamese armed forces in anti-China operations. The arms and ammunition China had given Viet Nam for fighting its

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anti-imperialist wars were laid up for massacring Chinese army-men and civilians. It was from these posts that the Vietnamese armed forces constantly intruded into Chinese territory, bombarded and harassed China's border areas and created more and more armed provocations and incidents of bloodshed. In 1978 the number of border incidents provoked by Viet Nam rose sharply to more than 1,100. In the period from 1 January to 16 February 1979 alone the number reached 129. From 1974 to the above-mentioned date, the Vietnamese authorities created a total of 3,535 border incidents. Vietnamese armed personnel frequently invaded and harassed our border villages, strafed and bombarded Chinese towns, schools, hospitals, dwellings, railway stations and trains, and killed Chinese border inhabitants and frontier personnel who had helped Viet Nam with blood and sweat in its anti-imperialist struggle. In the short space of six months prior to 16 February this year, they invaded the Chinese border at 162 places and killed and wounded over 300 Chinese personnel. The scourge did not pardon even such areas as Pingmeng of Napo county in Guangxi, which had close ties with the Vietnamese revolution and whose people more than 30 years ago protected President Ho Chi Minh at the risk of their lives and supported his revolutionary activities during his stay there. In Viet Nam's war of resistance against United States aggression, Pingmeng was one of the major channels through which large quantities of Chinese aid were funnelled into Viet Nam in support of its war effort. However, in the period since 1978 alone, the Vietnamese authorities have carried out more than 100 armed provocations in the Pingmeng area, occupied Chinese territory and brutally shot local inhabitants. People with any conscience at all would find it difficult to understand why you should so outrageously trample upon the profound friendship between the Vietnamese revolutionaries and the people of Pingmeng, a friendship cultivated personally by President Ho Chi Minh. Don't you in the least feel conscience stricken when you are returning evil for good and betraying Sino-Vietnamese friendship? In wilful violation of the Sino-French boundary accords and the principles affirmed in the letters exchanged between the Chinese and Vietnamese Parties in 1957-1958, the Vietnamese authorities upset the status quo on the border, intruding into and nibbling at Chinese territory. They built fortifications, laid mines, erected barbed-wire entanglements and planted sharpened bamboo spikes on Chinese soil. By these incursions and provocations, the Vietnamese authorities made it impossible for Chinese border inhabitants to carry on normal production and life and caused serious losses to their lives and property, threatened and impaired border security and grossly infringed on China's territorial integrity and sovereignty.

It is no isolated accident that the Vietnamese authorities have provoked incidents and aggravated tension on the Sino-Vietnamese border. These actions are a component part of their all-out anti-China drive. For a long time after the founding of the People's Republic of China and the independence of Viet Nam, our two countries were close and friendly neighbours. Sino-Vietnamese friendship was fostered personally by the late Chairman Mao Zedong and President Ho Chi Minh. The "comrades and brothers" relationship was acclaimed internationally. But after the end of Viet Nam's war of resistance against United States aggression, the Vietnamese authorities more and more evidently changed their policy towards China and instead pursued, step by step, a systematic policy of opposition and hostility to China with

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a set purpose. They proceeded from using the past to disparage the present to an all-out campaign to vilify China from innuendo to brazenly referring to China as "the most immediate and dangerous enemy"; from expulsion of border inhabitants to an anti-Chinese drive throughout the country. From recognition of China's sovereignty over the Xisha and Nansha Islands, they switched to occupying some islands in China's Nansha group and even laying territorial claim to China's Xisha and Nansha Islands and claiming as their own two thirds of the sea area in the Beibu Gulf. From territorial disputes over small areas, they advanced to armed incursions into Chinese territory and provoking armed clashes in the border areas. In short, their campaign of opposition and hostility to China kept escalating and get from bad to worse. Their bullying became simply intolerable.

In spite of all this, the Chinese side long exercised restraint and forbearance in the face of the Vietnamese practice of worsening Sino-Vietnamese relations and showed the utmost sincerity in safeguarding the friendly relations between China and Viet Nam and the traditional friendship between the two peoples. Through repeated advice, admonition and warnings, we expressed the hope that the Vietnamese side would set store by Sino-Vietnamese friendship and stop its armed provocations before it was too late. Meanwhile, our frontier troops and militiamen, acting on the orders of the Chinese Government, refrained from hitting back at the Vietnamese side so as to avoid armed clashes even when the Vietnamese side fired their guns and caused heavy casualties to the Chinese side. We have always held that to maintain and consolidate the friendship forged between the two peoples over long years of revolutionary struggle accords with the fundamental interests of our two countries and the common desire of our two peoples. Though there are serious differences of principle between our two sides on a number of issues, this should not affect the friendly relations long existing between our two countries. The Chinese side never tried to impose its views and line on the Vietnamese side. Our leaders told Vietnamese leaders on several occasions that there was no intention on the Chinese side of asking anyone to concur with our views, and that there was no need to feel concern over the fact that the two sides differed on some issues. It was natural that you say things your way and we say things our way, each side sticking to its own viewpoint. Sino-Vietnamese friendship could have been maintained and continued to develop if both sides had the genuine desire of upholding our friendship and solidarity and acted accordingly. It was with this desire that the Chinese leaders on many occasions in recent years talked sincerely and frankly with Vietnamese leaders and put forward many fair and reasonable proposals for improving Sino-Vietnamese relations and resolving disputes. Our late Premier Zhou Enlai exchanged views more than once with Vietnamese leaders. In September 1975 Vice-Premier Deng Xiaoping talked on this matter with Le Duan, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party. In June 1977, during his meeting with Premier Pham Van Dong, Vice-Premier Li Xiannian talked frankly on a number of important problems in our relations. Again, in November 1977, Chairman Hua Guofeng had a talk with General Secretary Le Duan and expressed the earnest hope that the two sides exchange views and make joint efforts to prevent problems existing between China and Viet Nam from continuing to impair our friendship. But regrettably, the Vietnamese side paid no heed at all to the

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expressions of sincere desire and positive proposals of the Chinese side and persisted in its old ways. The Vietnamese leaders avowed to the Chinese leaders that Viet Nam "will do nothing to harm the friendship between our two Parties and two countries or injure China", and asserted that "there is not much difference between Viet Nam and China on important issues". But actually the Vietnamese authorities kept intensifying their opposition and hostility to China, creating disputes, widening the differences and aggravating tension. In these circumstances, the Chinese side repeatedly made solemn representations over Vietnamese provocations and warned that they should stop before it was too late, for otherwise they would have to bear the responsibility for all the consequences. However, the Vietnamese side mistook China's forbearance for a sign of weakness. Turning a deaf ear to China's well-meaning admonitions and warnings, it became more unscrupulous and continued to escalate its armed provocations and incursions. It was only when things became absolutely intolerable that Chinese frontier troops exercised their right to self-defence and made the necessary counter-attack against the Vietnamese aggressors. How could it be helped when the Vietnamese authorities compelled us to do what we did not wish to? It must be noted that the responsibility for the all-round aggravation of Sino-Vietnamese relations in recent years and its rapid development into open armed conflict lies entirely with the Vietnamese side.

China has always stood for the peaceful settlement of disputes between our two countries, and it was the Chinese Government that repeatedly proposed this round of negotiations and made efforts to bring it about. China's positive efforts to ensure peace and stability along the Sino-Vietnamese border and restore normal relations between the two countries have won the sympathy and support of all peace-loving and justice-upholding countries and people of the world. China is open and above-board in word as well as in deed. China's counter-attack in self-defence was a just action, and it was a heavy blow to the hegemonist policies of aggression and expansion and helped to promote security and stability in the Asia-Pacific region.

The Vietnamese authorities are still obstinately pursuing a policy of anti-China hostility and deliberately keeping up tension along the Sino-Vietnamese border. Confounding right and wrong and calling black white, they slanderously label China's just action of counter-attacking in self-defence an act of "aggression" and "expansion" aimed at "annexing Viet Nam", etc. These charges are all unfounded. Even after all Chinese frontier troops had completed their withdrawal to Chinese territory by 16 March, the Vietnamese authorities still fabricated the lie that Chinese troops remained in a number of places on Vietnamese territory. But this lie is self-contradictory and full of loopholes. The Vietnamese authorities used this lie to set a pre-condition for the holding of Sino-Vietnamese negotiations, hoping in this way to delay the start of these negotiations. It was only after this lie had been exposed and was condemned by world opinion that they were compelled to give up this unreasonable pre-condition. But you have turned again to this lie at the beginning of this round of negotiations to obstruct the negotiations. Your tactics are bound to make people doubt the sincerity of the Vietnamese side in respect of the negotiations. The Vietnamese authorities have even viciously made slanderous charges against the Chinese frontier troops and resorted to sensationalism at this negotiating table in concocting the

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so-called "crimes" committed by Chinese soldiers. These fabrications will not deceive the people of the world, but will only serve to point up the astonishingly base tricks played by the Vietnamese side.

China has always abided by the five principles of peaceful coexistence and opposed the hegemonist and imperialist policies of aggression and expansion. Currently engaged in a programme of socialist modernization, China needs a peaceful and tranquil border and a peaceful international environment. China struck back at the Vietnamese aggressors precisely because it wanted to ensure peace and tranquillity on its border, enable the Chinese people to live and work in peace and carry on the programme to modernize the socialist motherland. China does not want an inch of Vietnamese territory, nor is it stationing a single soldier on Vietnamese soil. China has lived up to its word, so what "aggression" and "expansion" is there to speak of? It is in the interest of both the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples to have a peaceful and tranquil border. China's efforts to restore peace and tranquillity along the border are its contribution to the cause of upholding the traditional friendship between the two peoples. It is the Vietnamese authorities, and not China, who have committed aggression and expansion and betrayed Sino-Vietnamese friendship. Can you deny the facts which are more eloquent than rhetoric?

Such unrestrained anti-China hostility on the part of the Vietnamese authorities stems from a spasmodic case of expansionist nationalism, and to realize this wild ambition they have tried to capitalize on the victory of the war against United States aggression. Meanwhile, serving as the "reliable outpost" of Soviet social-imperialism in South-East Asia, they work in the interest of its southward drive, in order to gain its support for their anti-China action and expansion in South-East Asia. At the last meeting, the Vietnamese side stated that "Viet Nam has not any reason or interest to provoke a tense situation with its neighbour, the People's Republic of China". Actually, it is quite clear that in the above lie the "reason" and the "interest". The Vietnamese authorities pride themselves on the large quantities of captured United States arms and ammunition and on Soviet-supplied planes, tanks and artillery and claim to be the "third strongest military Power in the world" and "the strongest military Power in South-East Asia". Brandishing its might, Viet Nam has carried out aggression and expansion and done harm to its neighbouring countries. The Vietnamese authorities not only harbour the ambition to annex Chinese territory, but cannot wait to set up their long-dreamed "Indochinese federation" as soon as the war ended and then proceed to dominate the whole of South-East Asia. Toward this aim, they first brought Laos under their complete control, and then at the end of 1978 they brazenly launched the massive armed aggression against Democratic Kampuchea and put it under their military occupation. They have met with strong international condemnation for these acts of aggression in gross violation of the principles guiding international relations and of the Charter of the United Nations and infringing on the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of neighbouring countries. They are universally regarded as out-and-out aggressors and regional hegemonists. In the United Nations Security Council, overwhelming majority support was given

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first to the draft resolution sponsored by seven non-aligned countries (S/13027) calling for the withdrawal of foreign troops from Kampuchea and later to the one on the situation in South-East Asia tabled by the five ASEAN countries (S/13162), when these were submitted for the Council's consideration. This fully shows that the Soviet Union and Viet Nam are very isolated and unpopular internationally because of their aggression and expansion.

Firmly adhering to the just stand of opposing imperialism and hegemonism, China resolutely supports the people of all countries, including Kampuchea and Laos, in their just struggles to defend national independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and, working together with all peace-loving countries and people, plays its part in safeguarding peace, security and stability in South-East Asia and the Asia-Pacific region. That is why China is regarded by the Vietnamese authorities as the primary obstacle in the way of their pursuance of a policy of regional hegemonism and as their "number 1 enemy". They ally themselves with the Soviet Union to oppose China in an attempt to remove this obstacle so that they may freely carry out aggression and expansion in Indo-China and South-East Asia and sabotage China's drive for socialist modernization. This attempt will of course prove futile.

All peace-loving countries and people strongly demand the withdrawal from Kampuchea of Vietnamese aggressor troops who not only still hang on there, but have tried to step up their offensive against the patriotic Kampuchean army and people before the end of the dry season. The Vietnamese authorities brazenly assail the ASEAN countries by name for their just stand of calling for Viet Nam's withdrawal from Kampuchea, and even label "all calls for the withdrawal of foreign troops from Kampuchea" as "deceitful" and "cunning" propositions whose advocates are "devils, imperialists and reactionaries" and "opportunists". They even blame China as the source of all such "evils". What absurd logic! To curse China for calling on Viet Nam to pull its troops out of Kampuchea is the best proof that China stands on the same position as all the countries and people who love peace and uphold justice. Whereas the Vietnamese authorities' attempt to castigate one and all is sure proof that they pose themselves as the antagonist of the people of the world. Your anti-China position is unpopular, and your expansionist nationalism is already a target of public censure.

After many long years of war, the Vietnamese people ought to have had a chance for rehabilitation. They longed to reunite with members of their family, rebuild their homes, restore and develop their production and improve their living conditions. But after the end of the war, the Vietnamese authorities contravened this strong desire of the Vietnamese people. Relying on the support of Soviet social-imperialism, they practised militarism and expansionist nationalism and committed aggression against neighbouring countries. Of course they couldn't get popular support for this course of action, and so under these circumstances, they did not scruple to undermine Sino-Vietnamese friendship, perfidiously pushed the policy of opposition and hostility to China, so as to divert the attention of the Vietnamese people, put the country on a military footing and repress popular discontent. Now they look upon China not only as their "number 1 enemy" but as a

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"traditional enemy". But no matter how hard they may try to incite hostile feelings against China, no force on earth can obliterate the traditional friendship between the peoples of China and Viet Nam. The two peoples have been friends for many generations, and they will definitely continue to be friends from generation to generation.

To sum up, the Chinese Government delegation has factually reviewed the problems existing in our relations in recent years, and particularly that of the armed border conflict, giving the true story and expounding its views. Facts show conclusively that the grave deterioration of Sino-Vietnamese relations is wholly the making of the Vietnamese authorities; it is the result of their pursuance of expansionist nationalism and a hostile anti-China policy with Soviet instigation and support. It has caused the Chinese Government and people great pain and sorrow.

The Chinese Government delegation has come to Hanoi, bringing with it the friendship and sincere hopes of the Chinese people. As always, we will take a positive attitude and work for the normalization of our relations. At the same time, we feel it necessary to point out that the Vietnamese authorities have not only made slanderous charges against China at the very beginning of the negotiations, but have continued to mass troops along the Sino-Vietnamese border, bombard Chinese border areas and dispatch armed personnel and commandos to carry out military provocations, killing, wounding and kidnapping Chinese border inhabitants, and they have instituted a general mobilization for war throughout the country. In the last few days, they have churned out a host of anti-China propaganda through the mass media to put pressure on the Chinese Government delegation and even make personal attacks against its members. In what direction are the Vietnamese authorities trying to lead the negotiations? We cannot but call in all seriousness their attention to these developments. We hold that all this can only jeopardize progress in these negotiations. Yet both the Chinese and the Vietnamese peoples want their Government delegations to try hard and overcome difficulties so that the negotiations may yield good results. Therefore, we hope that the Vietnamese side will show good faith by deeds, remove all elements that hinder the smooth proceeding of the negotiations and create a favourable atmosphere. The Vietnamese authorities should set store by the traditional friendship and fundamental interests of the two peoples, abandon their policy of opposition and hostility to China, and discontinue their armed incursions into China's border areas and their creation of tension, so as to bring about conditions for restoring normal State relations, ensuring peace and tranquillity along the border and paving the way for the success of the negotiations.

We hold that, if these negotiations are to be productive and settle some practical questions, our two sides should adopt a serious and earnest attitude and seek practical and basic solutions suited to the actual situation in the present relations between China and Viet Nam and directed at the root cause of the deterioration of our relations.

With a view to upholding the traditional friendship between the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples, and acting in the common interest of China and Viet Nam and of

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the two peoples, as well as for the furtherance of peace and stability in Indo-China, South-East Asia and the Asia-Pacific region, the Chinese Government delegation, animated by the sincere desire to settle the questions, puts forward the following proposal of principles for handling the relations between China and Viet Nam.

1. The two sides shall restore friendly and good-neighbourly relations between China and Viet Nam on the basis of the five principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit and peaceful coexistence. They shall seek a reasonable solution of the disputes and issues in the relations between the two countries through peaceful negotiations.

2. Neither side should seek hegemony in Indo-China, South-East Asia or any other part of the world, and each is opposed to efforts by any other country or group of countries to establish such hegemony. Neither side shall station troops in other countries, and those already stationed abroad must be withdrawn to their own country. Neither side shall join any military blocs directed against the other, provide military bases to other countries, or use the territory and bases of other countries to threaten, subvert or commit armed aggression against the other side or against any other countries.

3. The two sides respect the Sino-Vietnamese boundary line as delimited in the Sino-French boundary accords a/ which shall serve as the basis for a negotiated settlement of their boundary and territorial disputes. Pending a settlement of the boundary question, each side shall strictly maintain the status quo of the boundary at the time when the Central Committees of the Chinese and Vietnamese Parties exchanged letters in 1957-1958, and will not attempt to alter unilaterally and forcibly the actual extent of its jurisdiction along the border in any form or on any pretext.

4. Each side shall respect the other side's sovereignty over its 12 nautical-mile territorial sea, and the two sides shall demarcate their respective economic zones and continental shelves in the Beibu Gulf and other sea areas in a fair and reasonable way in accordance with the relevant principles of present-day international law of the sea.

5. The Xisha and Nansha Islands have always been an inalienable part of China's territory. The Vietnamese side shall revert to its previous position of

a/ Convention entre la France et la Chine, relative à la Délimitation de la Frontière entre la Chine et le Tonkin (British and Foreign State Papers, 1892-1893, vol. LXXXV, p. 748 (London, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1899)) and Convention entre la France et la Chine, complémentaire de la Convention de Délimitation de la Frontière entre le Tonkin et la Chine du 26 Juin 1887 (ibid., 1894-1895, vol. LXXXVII, p. 523 (London, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1900)).

recognizing this fact and respect China's sovereignty over these two island groups and withdraw all its personnel from those islands in the Nansha group which it has occupied.

6. Nationals of one country residing in the other country shall respect the laws of that country and the ways and customs of the local people and shall endeavour to do their part for the economic and cultural development of that country. The Government of the country of residence shall guarantee their proper rights and interests in regard to residence, travel, making a living and employment and safeguard their personal safety and lawfully acquired properties in that country. Each side shall treat all the nationals of the other side residing in its country in a friendly manner and must not persecute or illegally expel them.

7. In response to the legitimate wish for repatriation on the part of the Vietnamese citizens forcibly driven by the Vietnamese authorities into Chinese territory, the Vietnamese Government should receive them back into the country and resettle them in a proper manner as soon as possible. The Chinese Government is ready to facilitate their early return in every way.

8. The restoration of railway traffic, trade, civil aviation, postal and telecommunication services and other bilateral ties shall be dealt with by the departments concerned of the two countries through consultations.

The above eight-point proposal put forward by us consists of fundamental principles for improving relations between China and Viet Nam and for dealing with the relevant disputes. It is reasonable and practical, and it accords with the fundamental interests of the two peoples and meets with the wishes of the people of South-East Asia and the world. If this proposal can be put into effect, it will remove the tension on the Sino-Vietnamese border, restore normal relations between the two countries, consolidate the traditional friendship between the two peoples and make a contribution to the maintenance of peace, security and stability in Indo-China, South-East Asia and the world.

As to the repatriation of Chinese and Vietnamese personnel captured during the armed border conflict, the Chinese side for humanitarian reasons released on-the-spot a large number of captured Vietnamese armed personnel in the course of our counter-attack in self-defence. We hope that the two sides will repatriate captured personnel at an early date, and we suggest that this work be left specifically to the Red Cross Societies of the two countries to be handled through negotiations.

We have studied the "three-point proposal" for "the settlement of the issues in the relations between the two countries" put forward by the Vietnamese side at the first plenary meeting of the Sino-Vietnamese negotiations (A/34/201-S/13257, annex). It should be pointed out, however, that your proposal evades the crucial and substantive issues in the relations between the two countries, so how can it lead to a real solution? Additionally, we cannot help pointing out that while the Vietnamese authorities called in their proposal for both sides to stop all acts of war provocations and all forms of hostile activities, they have never ceased their

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armed provocations and incursions in the Sino-Vietnamese border areas in a deliberate attempt to maintain and increase tensions. In these days when you have submitted the "three-point proposal", you were all the time intensifying your anti-China propaganda and clamours for war, thus poisoning the atmosphere of these negotiations. Therefore, one cannot but wonder whether your "three-point proposal" was submitted for the sake of seeking a real solution or rather for propaganda purposes?

We hope the Vietnamese side will carefully consider the constructive proposal of the Chinese side and respond to it in a positive way.