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SECURITY COUNCIL
Thirty-fourth year

Letter dated 7 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 3rd plenary meeting of the Sino-Vietnamese negotiations on 4 May 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 Ya-li
Acting Permanent Representative of
the People's Republic of China to
the United Nations

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ANNEX

Speech by Vice Minister for Foreign Affairs Han Nianlong, Head
of the Chinese Government delegation, at the third plenary
meeting of the Sino-Vietnamese negotiations on 4 May 1979

Your Excellency Phan Hien, Head of the Government delegation of the
Socialist Republic of Viet Nam,
Colleagues on the Vietnamese Government delegation,

The Vietnamese side in its last statement repeated its anti-China platitudes. It not only again attempted to shift onto us the responsibility for undermining Sino-Vietnamese relations and creating armed border conflicts, but turned things upside down on the question of hegemonism and viciously attacked Chinese leaders as being "the most frenzied practitioners of an expansionist and hegemonist policy". This is a most serious slander against China. We cannot keep silent regarding such a slander, but must refute it and clarify the facts.

Supported and instigated by the Soviet Union, Viet Nam is carrying out expansionist nationalism and regional hegemonism. This is an important reason why the Vietnamese authorities pursue the policy of opposition and hostility to China. It is also the root cause of the present tension in Indo-China and South-East Asia. After the conclusion of the war of resistance against United States aggression, the Vietnamese authorities stepped up their activities for the creation of an "Indochinese Federation" and actively infiltrated and expanded into South-East Asia. In dealing with Sino-Vietnamese relations, they adopted the position of expansionist nationalism and regarded China, which is firmly opposed to expansionism and hegemonism, as the greatest obstacle to their aggressive and expansionist plan for establishing an "Indochinese Federation" and then proceeding to dominate South-East Asia. Therefore they treated China as their "number one enemy", intensified their hostile anti-China activities and caused the drastic deterioration of Sino-Vietnamese relations, leading finally to the grave armed conflict on the Sino-Vietnamese border. Only by thus exposing the essence of the problem can a correct way be found to restore normal relations between China and Viet Nam and to help to safeguard peace and stability in Indo-China and South-East Asia.

The Vietnamese authorities have always deemed it their "basic mission" to establish a so-called "Indochinese Federation". During the war of resistance against United States aggression, the Vietnamese leadership repeatedly suggested to Cambodia and Laos that the three Indochinese States should form a "union modelled after the USSR", that they should effect an "economic union" and that the armies of the three countries should be combined under a so-called "unified command" controlled by Viet Nam. After Viet Nam was unified in 1975, the Vietnamese authorities thought that with their large stores of United States and Soviet war matériel, Viet Nam was "the third-strongest military Power in the world". This swelled their ambitions, and they soon embarked on the militarist

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road of aggression and expansion. Their first victims were Laos and Kampuchea - the countries that had suffered imperialist enslavement along with Viet Nam, fought shoulder-to-shoulder with it and energetically supported it in the struggle for national independence. Under the euphemism of "special relationship", they pursued toward Laos and Kampuchea an unscrupulous policy of infiltration, control, subversion, aggression and annexation. Moreover, citing the Soviet military occupation of Czechoslovakia as a "precedent", they launched an aggression and put Kampuchea under their military occupation. This most clearly shows that, in pushing regional hegemonism, the Vietnamese authorities have indeed been imitating the Soviet social-imperialists.

In a few years, Viet Nam has brought Laos under its control politically, militarily, economically and in the field of foreign affairs. Vietnamese occupation troops, tens of thousands strong, are stationed on Lao soil. Vietnamese advisers of every rank and description supervise Lao institutions from national to the grass-roots level. In 1977, Viet Nam imposed upon the Lao people what they call a "Treaty of Friendship and Co-operation" and a boundary agreement, which legalized in treaty form its over-all control and military occupation of Laos and the annexation of Lao territory. The independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Laos were thus grossly violated. The foreign policy of Laos changed perceptibly under Vietnamese coercion. Relations between China and Laos - two countries which always lived in amity and never had any disputes - become overcast, because the Vietnamese authorities are doing their utmost to disrupt them. Recently, the Soviet Union and Viet Nam have concocted the lie that China was "massing troops" along the Sino-Lao border and have sought thereby to tighten their control over Laos and pressure it into serving their anti-China policy.

In the case of Kampuchea, a country that has adamantly rejected the concept of an "Indochinese Federation", the Vietnamese authorities harboured the more vicious design of swallowing it in one gulp. Viet Nam occupied Kampuchea's Koh Way Island in 1975. Soon afterwards, it perfidiously put pressure on Kampuchea to let it annex the part of Kampuchean territory east of the Mekong River, which was made available as a "sanctuary" for Vietnamese resistance against United States aggression. The Vietnamese authorities tried on several occasions to subvert the Government of Democratic Kampuchea, because the latter upheld the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Kampuchea. Towards the end of 1977, from escalating border clashes Viet Nam went over to the dispatch of troops to invade Kampuchea. However, all of these attempts failed. So towards the end of 1978 Viet Nam threw in more than 100,000 troops and launched a war of aggression on a bigger scale. The Vietnamese authorities violated even the rudimentary principles of international relations. They set up a puppet régime at bayonet point. Then they signed with it a "Treaty of Friendship and Co-operation", which was tantamount to a contract indenturing Democratic Kampuchea to Viet Nam. They enforced an extremely ruthless Fascist-colonial rule in the areas they occupied. Pensovan, a chieftain of the Kampuchean puppet régime, admitted outright last March that "Kampuchea will

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undoubtedly join Viet Nam in an Indochinese Federation". This statement laid bare the truth that the armed invasion and occupation of Kampuchea and the installation of a puppet régime there were important steps taken by the Vietnamese authorities to set up their "Indochinese Federation".

The Vietnamese authorities have been strongly condemned by the peace-loving countries and people throughout the world for their naked armed aggression in Kampuchea. First the non-aligned countries and then the members of ASEAN submitted resolutions to the United Nations Security Council calling for the withdrawal of foreign troops from Kampuchea and of the troops of each side to its own country. And on both occasions these resolutions won the support of 13 out of the 15 member States of the Security Council. The Soviet Union had no alternative but to come forward itself and arbitrarily used its veto. But no one can veto the just position of the people of the world, who still urgently demand the immediate withdrawal of the Vietnamese aggressor troops from Kampuchea.

At present, Vietnamese aggressor troops are stepping up their large-scale offensive in Kampuchea in an attempt to wipe out before the onset of the rainy season the Kampuchean armed forces which are fighting valiantly in resistance. At the same time, they are tightening their control in Laos. However, the Kampuchean and Lao peoples, who have a glorious tradition of resisting foreign aggressor forces, will never submit to the colonial rule of a foreign nation. They enjoy the sympathy and support of the people of the whole world. The Vietnamese aggressors are doomed to utter defeat.

The Vietnamese authorities are highly embarrassed by the strong condemnation of their acts of aggression in Indo-China voiced by public opinion throughout the world. To get out of their awkward predicament, they recently went so far as to deny plain facts, asserting that "there isn't any so-called 'Kampuchea question' or so-called 'Indo-China question'" and truculently charging any one who demands the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea as acting in an "illegitimate fashion" and "interfering in the internal affairs of the Vietnamese and Kampuchean peoples". Unable to provide any sound legal basis in defence of their aggression in Kampuchea, they could only cite as so-called "legal basis" the "Viet Nam-Kampuchea Treaty", which they drew up single-handedly after they brought Kampuchea under their military occupation. The whole world knows that Viet Nam started its large-scale war of aggression in Kampuchea on 25 December 1978. It captured Phnom Penh on 7 January 1979. The puppet régime was formed hastily on the following day, and the "Viet Nam-Kampuchea Treaty" was concocted on 18 February. It may be asked: who was it that "asked" Vietnamese troops to invade Kampuchea prior to the setting up of the puppet régime? Since Vietnamese aggressor troops invaded Kampuchea nearly two months before the signing of the "Viet Nam-Kampuchea Treaty", how could the "treaty" serve as the "legal basis" for the entry of Vietnamese troops into Kampuchea? Dates cannot be reversed. Facts cannot be cooked up. Moreover, the puppet régime in Phnom Penh is solely the product of the Vietnamese authorities. The Kampuchean people have spurned it, and the overwhelming majority of countries in the world have refused to recognize it. This puppet régime itself is illegal,

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and the "Kampuchea-Viet Nam Treaty" is even more so. It absolutely cannot give "legal sanction" to Viet Nam's aggression and military occupation of Kampuchea. Facts fully show that Viet Nam's invasion of Kampuchea is an act of naked aggression against another sovereign State in violation of the elementary principles of international relations and the Charter of the United Nations. It constitutes a grave threat to peace and stability in South-East Asia. It is not at all somebody's "internal affair". It is perfectly legitimate and just for all peace-loving countries and people in the world to condemn Viet Nam's aggression and demand the immediate withdrawal of its aggressor troops from Kampuchea.

In an attempt to confound right and wrong and divert public attention, the Vietnamese side has time and again hurled calumnies at China in the negotiations and, in regard to the questions of Laos and Kampuchea, brazenly declared: "I would advise you to go to Laos and Kampuchea to discuss these questions. We won't do it here." In the negotiations, the Vietnamese side stopped at nothing in maligning China on the questions of Laos and Kampuchea, yet it forbade China to make a reply to clarify right and wrong. Is there anything on earth more unreasonable than this? Such arrogance and hegemonic attitudes are indeed seldom seen. Viet Nam is the culprit of aggression against Kampuchea and Laos and the source of tension in Indo-China. It stands to reason that these questions should be discussed here. This insolent attitude of the Vietnamese authorities can in no way prevent the people of China and the rest of the world, who resolutely oppose the Vietnamese aggression and support the Kampuchean and Lao people in their struggle to safeguard their independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity from upholding justice.

To form an "Indochinese Federation" is an important step preparatory to Viet Nam's further expansion in South-East Asia, and an important part of the Soviet social-imperialist policy of a southward drive and its scheme of rigging up an "Asian collective security system". Singing in duet, the Soviet Union and the Vietnamese authorities had all along been hostile to ASEAN and assailed it as a "tool of imperialism". But they changed their tactics towards it in 1977 around the time of Viet Nam's intensified armed aggression against Kampuchea. Resorting to a so-called "smiling" diplomacy, the Vietnamese authorities professed a willingness to develop bilateral and multilateral ties with the ASEAN countries, and called on ASEAN to break down its "narrow walls", expand its scope and "build a regional organization on a new basis". They tried in this way to squeeze into ASEAN and change its character. Viet Nam's proposal to establish what it called "a zone of peace, genuine independence and neutrality in South-East Asia" was an attempt to replace ASEAN by a variant of the "Asian collective security system". The ASEAN countries queried the meaning of the term "genuine independence". The Vietnamese authorities could only give an ambiguous and vague answer. But in one of your restricted "propaganda outlines", it was asserted unequivocally that "this organization (ASEAN) is actually a lackey of United States imperialism; it is in alliance with the United States against Viet Nam", and that now "the political line of this organization is in fact still dominated by United States imperialism,

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therefore, the independence of its members is a fake". This is a gross slander and insult against the independent and sovereign ASEAN countries. To uphold justice and preserve peace and security in the region, South-East Asian opinion repeatedly called on Viet Nam to withdraw its troops from Kampuchea. So the Vietnamese authorities openly threatened the ASEAN countries with the warning that they "mustn't repeat the same mistake". They even threatened the ASEAN countries by demanding that they repay a "debt". The facts eloquently show that this conspiracy on the part of the Soviet Union and Viet Nam to commit aggression and expansion in South-East Asia has become a growing threat to peace and security in South-East Asia and in Asia as a whole and is a dangerous source of current tensions in South-East Asia.

Viet Nam's expansionist policy has the vigorous backing of the Soviet Union because it suits the needs of Soviet social-imperialism's global strategy. Sharing a mutual need, the big Soviet hegemonists and the small Vietnamese hegemonists work in close co-ordination. Viet Nam needs Soviet support for realizing its ambition to form an "Indochinese Federation" and dominate South-East Asia. The Soviet Union needs Viet Nam as its "reliable outpost" and "strategic base" in the South-East Asian and Pacific region to implement its southward drive, which is part of its global strategy, from which to further control the sea lanes from the Western Pacific to the Indian Ocean and link up its strategic deployments in these two oceans. Exploiting the opportunity, which appeared not long ago, of a tense situation along the Sino-Vietnamese border, the Soviet Union sent its warships into Da Nang and Cam Ranh Bay. Lately Soviet military aircraft have used the air base at Da Nang. All this has aroused grave concern among countries in the Asian and Pacific region. The Soviet Union has for a number of years progressively extended its influence in Viet Nam and brought the latter step-by-step into the orbit of its hegemonist global strategy. Viet Nam joined "COMECOM" in 1978 and, immediately thereafter, it signed with the Soviet Union a "Treaty of Friendship and Co-operation", which had the character of a military alliance. Viet Nam has become the agent of Soviet super-Power hegemonism in Asia. It is universally acknowledged to be the "Cuba of Asia". The Vietnamese authorities themselves consider Viet Nam and Cuba to be "twins". The facts have proved that Viet Nam and Cuba are a pair of Soviet instruments for seeking world hegemony.

In order to cover up their regional hegemonism and create confusion, the Vietnamese authorities levelled the countercharge that China was a "big hegemonist power" seeking "expansion" in Indo-China and South-East Asia. There is not much of an audience for this kind of nonsense. Facts are more eloquent than words. The Vietnamese authorities are wasting their energies if they think they can draw a red herring across the track and sow dissension to undermine the friendly relations between China and the South-East Asian countries. It is China's consistent policy and stand never to seek hegemony. China has declared time and again that it does not seek hegemony, nor will it do so when China becomes a strong and prosperous socialist country. China is opposed to the attempt of any country or group of countries to seek hegemony in any part of the world. China has stood in unity with all peace-loving countries and peoples of the world and

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made unremitting efforts together with them to combat imperialism and hegemonism. China is currently shifting the focus of its work to socialist modernization. China needs a peaceful international environment and needs, in particular, to maintain relations of peace and friendship with its neighbours. China has always valued its friendly relations with the three Indochinese States and gave them big support and assistance both in their wars of resistance against United States aggression and in their economic construction. China has consistently respected their independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. This is obvious to all. China does not want even an inch of Vietnamese territory and does not station a single Chinese soldier on Vietnamese soil. Nor has China occupied even an inch of territory belonging to Kampuchea, Laos or any other country in the world, or stationed a single Chinese soldier on the soil of any other country. On the other hand, Viet Nam has been condemned by world opinion for its military occupation of Kampuchea, all-round control of Laos and attempt to form an "Indochinese Federation". With a total of 200,000 soldiers stationed in Kampuchea and Laos, Viet Nam indeed deserves to be called "the Power that ranks third in the world". If you are not after regional hegemony, you should proclaim to the world your decision to withdraw forthwith your armed forces from Kampuchea and Laos.

China's friendly and co-operative relations with South-East Asian countries, based on the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, have continued to grow in strength and to develop. China has always viewed with favour and supported the proposal of the ASEAN countries to declare South-East Asia a zone of peace and neutrality and their opposition to the Soviet scheme of setting up an "Asian collective security system" to further their control and domination in the Asia-Pacific region. I have earlier described how the Vietnamese authorities, joining forces with the Soviet Union, are trying by all possible means to infiltrate and expand in South-East Asia. Since their armed aggression in Kampuchea and their attempt to form an "Indochinese Federation" constitute a prelude to Vietnamese aggression and expansion in South-East Asia, it is quite natural that the South-East Asian countries are deeply disturbed. If Viet Nam's extended military occupation of Kampuchea were condoned, this would mean that the principles of international relations could be violated at will. It would also mean that peace and security in South-East Asia would be faced with a greater threat, and that the South-East Asian countries would be the next in line to bear the brunt of Vietnamese aggression. Recently the Vietnamese aggressor forces have been making constant provocations against Thailand on the Thai-Kampuchean border. Public opinion in South-East Asia strongly demands a Vietnamese withdrawal from Kampuchea and opposes the designs of the big and small hegemonists to dominate South-East Asia. Facts prove that it is the Vietnamese regional hegemonists and the Soviet super-Power hegemonists, and not anyone else, who are waging a war of aggression and practising infiltration and expansion in Indo-China and South-East Asia. So how can the Vietnamese authorities expect anyone to be taken in by their lies and slanderous charges about China "pursuing an expansionist policy" towards Indo-China and South-East Asia? The Vietnamese side claimed over and over that Viet Nam "pursues a consistent policy of peace and friendship" towards its neighbouring

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countries. But in actual deed, you not only adopt a policy of hostility to China, but subject Kampuchea to your armed aggression or military occupation and Laos to your all-round control. Your deed does not square with your word. Your self-contradictory and perfidious attitude shows that you are out-and-out hypocrites. You have lost your credibility before the whole world.

China is firmly opposed to hegemonism in all its forms. China is committed to safeguarding peace, security and stability in Asia and the world. China has always insisted that international justice be upheld. Our firm, open and righteous stand represents a major obstacle to the unscrupulous aggression and expansion of the hegemonists, big and small, and is bound to be hated and opposed by them. China adhered to its principled stand when the Vietnamese authorities started their armed aggression in Kampuchea towards the end of 1977. China called on Viet Nam to pull its troops out of Kampuchea and settle their disputes through negotiations. This added to the resentment of the Vietnamese authorities against China and was immediately followed by a drastic escalation in their anti-China and anti-Chinese activities.

When the Vietnamese authorities launched their massive armed aggression against Kampuchea towards the end of 1978, China unequivocally opposed this act of Vietnamese aggression and supported the just struggle of Democratic Kampuchea. Thereupon the hostile anti-China activities of the Vietnamese authorities, aided and abetted by the Soviet Union, reached staggering proportions. As the big and small hegemonists saw it, if they were to have a free hand in pursuing their hegemonist designs in South-East Asia, they had to clear away the obstacle represented by China and sabotage China's programme of socialist modernization. They were afraid that the appearance in the East of a modernized socialist China, strong and prosperous, would be a mighty force working against hegemonism and for the maintenance of peace and stability in Asia and the world. There even appeared public statements in Viet Nam to the effect that a war between China and Viet Nam "would turn China's hopes for modernization into a bubble". Such statements clearly reveal the insidious motives of the Vietnamese authorities in deliberately provoking a large-scale armed conflict and sabotaging China's modernization programme. The major reason why the Vietnamese authorities have been so unbridled in their hostile anti-China campaign and in their impairment of the relations between China and Viet Nam is that they want to play the overlord in Indo-China and South-East Asia with the backing of the Soviet Union. On the other hand, China, upholding justice, has opposed Viet Nam's regional hegemonism and supported the people of all countries in this region in their struggle to defend national independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. So the Vietnamese authorities consider China their "number one enemy". Hence, if relations between China and Viet Nam are to be normalized, the Vietnamese authorities must stop their anti-China hostility and abandon their policy of expansionist nationalism and regional hegemonism.

In the present-day world, to practise hegemonism runs counter to the trend of history. It is extremely dangerous for the Vietnamese authorities, with Soviet backing and encouragement, to continue on the course of aggression and expansion

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in striving for regional hegemony. If the Vietnamese authorities are indeed desirous of "contributing to peace in South-East Asia and the world", as they have claimed, they should respond to the demand of the people the world over, and first of all stop their war of aggression in Kampuchea and withdraw all their aggressor forces to their own territory. We solemnly declare that China will adhere unswervingly to its stand of combating imperialism and hegemonism and of supporting all peace-loving countries and peoples in their anti-imperialist and anti-hegemonist struggle. We mean what we say. Since the Vietnamese authorities flatly deny that they practise expansionist nationalism and regional hegemonism, they should prove by deeds that they are consistent in word and action.

With a view to solving fundamentally the problems in Sino-Vietnamese relations and contributing to peace, security and stability in Indo-China, South-East Asia and the whole world, the Chinese Government delegation has already put forward its proposal of principles for handling Sino-Vietnamese relations, including a point against hegemonism. The Chinese side has solemnly suggested in its proposal that:

"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."

The Chinese eight-point proposal of principles conforms not only to the fundamental interests of China and Viet Nam and those of our two peoples, but also to the desire of the people of the world in opposing hegemonism. It is well received and supported by the peace-loving countries and people in Indo-China, South-East Asia and the whole world. Hegemonism is the root cause impairing Sino-Vietnamese relations and vitiating the situation in Indo-China and South-East Asia. In order to solve fundamentally the problem of Sino-Vietnamese relations, it is necessary to oppose hegemonism. This is the crux of the matter. However, the Vietnamese three-point proposal does not touch on anti-hegemonism at all. How can such a proposal be termed "all-round and comprehensive"? To oppose the big and small hegemonists is the unanimous demand and strong desire of the people of all countries in Indo-China, South-East Asia and the whole world. We hope the Vietnamese side will not evade the major and substantive issues or use these negotiations as a forum for anti-China propaganda, but will seriously study the Chinese Government delegation's eight-point proposal of principles and do some useful and practical work to ensure peace and tranquillity on the Sino-Vietnamese border and secure early restoration of normal relations between our two countries and peace and stability in South-East Asia and the world.