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SECURITY COUNCIL
Thirty-fourth year

Letter dated 7 May 1979 from the Permanent Representative of Viet Nam
to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith, for your information, the text of the speech made by Mr. Phan Hien, Vice Minister for Foreign Affairs and Head of the Government delegation of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, at the third plenary meeting of the negotiations between the Vietnamese and Chinese delegations in Hanoi, on 4 May 1979, and request you to have this letter and its enclosure circulated as an official document of the General Assembly, under item 46 of the preliminary list, and of the Security Council.

(Signed) HA VAN LAU
Ambassador Extraordinary
and Plenipotentiary
Permanent Representative
to the United Nations

* A/34/50.

ANNEX

Speech by the Head of the delegation of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, Mr. Phan Hien, at the third plenary meeting of the negotiations between the Vietnamese delegation and the Chinese delegation on 4 May 1979 in Hanoi

The Vietnamese delegation has carefully studied the speech by the Head of the Chinese delegation, Han Nianlong, at the second plenary meeting on 26 April 1979 (A/34/219-S/13294, annex). Following are our views:

1. The Chinese delegation has again denied the facts, distorted history, slandered Viet Nam in an attempt to elude the responsibility of the Chinese side for the deterioration of the relations between the two countries, culminating in the war of aggression started by the Chinese authorities against the Vietnamese people on 17 February 1979. To our deep regret, the Chinese side still refuses to listen to reason. History has shown that those who have embarked on this path and are slow to recognize the truth, are bound to commit even greater mistakes and to suffer even greater defeats. Fair and honest public opinion in the world has clearly realized that the deep root and immediate cause of the aforesaid situation lie in the Chinese leaders' policy of big-nation expansionism and hegemonism, and their hostile policy towards the peoples of Viet Nam, Laos, Kampuchea and other South-East Asian countries.

The Chinese leaders' war of aggression against the Vietnamese people is obviously an extremely barbarous war of extermination which has aroused the indignation of the whole of mankind; the Chinese aggressor troops have mercilessly massacred civilians, mostly old folk, women and children, with methods even more atrocious than those used by the Hitlerite fascists, they have razed to the ground almost all provincial capitals and townships as well as many villages along the Vietnamese border with a degree of devastation surpassing by far that of the towns and villages destroyed by the United States imperialists' carpet-bombing with B-52 strategic bombers. They have destroyed not only human lives, but also all sources and conditions of life, and even the human environment. The culprits cannot evade their responsibility.

2. The eight-point proposal of the Chinese side (see A/34/213-S/13278, annex) is merely an attempt to use the negotiating table for the purpose of implementing the Chinese leaders' big-nation expansionist and hegemonistic policy towards Viet Nam, which they have failed to achieve despite the resort to one thousand and one tricks, including war waged by proxy and directly. In fact, as a Western journalist put it, "China wants to use the creation of tensions at the borders as a means of pressure to cause Viet Nam to change her policy" (AFP, 27 April 1979).

As a matter of fact, it is necessary to point out that, in putting forward its eight-point proposal, the Chinese side labels it a "proposal of principles for

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handling the relations between China and Viet Nam¹¹. However, apart from point 1 about restoring "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", it has raised issues going beyond bilateral relations, making an outstanding point of the so-called "struggle against hegemonism". It has raised the issues of "hegemonism" and "non-stationing of troops in other countries", thereby hinting that Viet Nam should withdraw its troops from Kampuchea and Laos; it has forgotten that through an exchange of notes, the two sides have agreed to discuss the restoration of normal relations between the two countries.

The Chinese side spoke a great deal about the struggle against hegemonism. But what about its deeds? Actually, it wants to establish China's world hegemony, it is concentrating all its efforts on a race for economic and military power, for the power of iron and steel, energy and nuclear weapons, so that China might become a first-class super-Power by the end of the twentieth century. It is hurriedly seeking an all-round alliance with imperialism - particularly with United States imperialism, calling itself an Eastern NATO Power, with a view to materializing their global strategy against the socialist countries, the national liberation movement, peace and progress in the world; it supports the fascist Pinochet clique, helps Mobutu and befriends the Shah of Iran ... To oppose the liberation movement of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, in 1962, China started a war of aggression against India; in 1969, it kindled a border war with the Soviet Union; in 1974, it occupied by force the Hoang Sa archipelago of Viet Nam and attempted to monopolize the Eastern Sea; in the meantime, it accepted the imperialist occupation of parts of the Chinese territory and welcomed the prolongation of that state of affairs. It supplied money and weapons, and used the organizations following its line and the large masses of Chinese nationals for manoeuvres to bring pressure to bear on and to subvert various administrations in South-East Asia which it considers their main sphere of influence. It tried to turn Kampuchea into a neo-colony moulded after a Peking model as a springboard for expansion in South-East Asia. It indulged in interventionist attempts and war threats against Laos. It calls for a United States military presence in South-East Asia. Meanwhile, it demands that Viet Nam withdraw its troops from Kampuchea and Laos. Over the past 30 years, the peoples of Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea have been constantly fighting shoulder to shoulder against the common enemy - the imperialist aggressors - and after victory, the troops of each country have withdrawn within their national borders; now, confronted with a danger of intervention, aggression and annexation created by Peking, the three peoples are further strengthening their solidarity and helping one another by every means, including military ones, to defend the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of their respective countries. This is a legitimate co-operation in keeping with the United Nations Charter, the objectives and principles of the non-aligned movement and the principles of the Bandung Conference. This is a question concerning the relations between two sovereign countries; nobody is allowed to interfere in it. The Chinese leaders are seeking a military alliance with the United States. They do not oppose the maintenance of United States

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military bases in South-East Asia, in Asia and the Pacific; meanwhile, they have raised the so-called issue of "neither side joining any military blocs directed against the other, providing military bases to other countries", thereby hinting at Viet Nam's signing a treaty of friendship and co-operation with the Soviet Union. We have repeatedly made it clear that the Viet Nam-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Co-operation does not constitute a military alliance and is not directed at any third country. China has nothing to fear if it does not aggress Viet Nam. Viet Nam firmly opposes China's policy of colluding with the United States imperialists, but we do not demand that the Chinese side give up its relations with the United States as a pre-condition for a normalization of relations between Viet Nam and China.

It is noteworthy that the Chinese eight-point proposal is virtually a repetition, word for word, of the anti-hegemony provision in the 1972 Shanghai Joint Communiqué between China and the United States, the 1978 Sino-Japanese treaty and the 1978 China-United States Joint Communiqué. As is well known, over the recent years under the anti-hegemony signboard, China has attempted to set up with imperialism and other reactionary forces a front against the world revolutionary movement. Raising the anti-hegemony principle at the negotiations with Viet Nam, it wants to compel Viet Nam to give up its correct line of independence, sovereignty and international solidarity and align itself on its policy, and to abandon its lofty international duty, first of all to the peoples of Laos and Kampuchea, so that it might easily materialize its big-nation expansionism and hegemonism in this region.

The Chinese side has used the so-called struggle against hegemonism to conceal its own hegemonism, to sidetrack the world peoples' revolutionary struggle, and to divert the attention of public opinion which is condemning its war of aggression against the Vietnamese people. The question has often been asked as to why China is doing its utmost to publicize anti-hegemony contentions while it has given up the objectives of the world people's struggle, i.e., to oppose imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism, apartheid and zionism. In fact, it regards the revolutionary struggle of the peoples merely as a wrangle for influence among the big Powers. It does not allow the nations to decide themselves their own affairs, but adamantly tries to talk one country into adopting and to impose on another this pseudo-principle of anti-hegemonism. Obviously, only one question arises: the Peking leaders should give up their big-nation expansionism and hegemonism; only in this way will there be peace and stability in South-East Asia and the world. The peoples of the Indo-Chinese peninsula, South-East Asia and the world are determined to wage in unity a struggle against all manoeuvres and the collusion of the imperialist and international reactionary forces, for peace, national independence, democracy, and social progress.

3. The eight-point proposal of the Chinese side contains in addition extremely unreasonable and arrogant demands. It demands that Viet Nam relinquish its sovereignty over the Hoang Sa and Truong Sa Islands which have always been part of Vietnamese territory. While cynically occupying the Hoang Sa Islands, it brazenly demands that Viet Nam withdraw from the Truong Sa Islands. It has

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forgotten Chinese Vice-Premier Deng Xiaoping's words at the high-level talks between Viet Nam and China in September 1975 to the effect that "between the two sides, there is still a dispute on the question of the Xisha and Nansha Islands (that is, the Hoang Sa and Truong Sa Islands) ... Of course, this question may be discussed later between the two sides".

China also demands maintenance of the "status quo" of the land boundary and a "demarcation of zones" in the Bac Bo Gulf, which is at variance with its commitment to respect the historical borderline between the two countries, as delimited by the 1887 a/ and 1895 b/ Conventions and officially marked out by border-stones.

While it was the Chinese side which caused, through incitement or coercion, an exodus of hundreds of thousands of Hoa people to China in an attempt to create political, economic and social disturbances for Viet Nam and, more perfidious still, which used a number of such people as scouts or guides in the recent war of aggression against Viet Nam, it demands in its eight-point proposal that Viet Nam receive back these hundreds of thousands of Hoa people who are to serve as a fifth column for sabotaging Viet Nam from the inside. This is a very wicked trick which has aroused the highest vigilance of South-East Asian countries.

4. A salient feature is that the Chinese side's eight-point proposal has completely evaded the urgent measures aimed at ensuring peace and stability in the border areas of the two countries, which have been put forth by the Vietnamese side and recognized by broad sections of public opinion as urgent, realistic and fair measures which, after the war, the two sides should take in the first place in order to prevent a resumption of the hostilities. In point 1 of the Vietnamese three-point proposal (see A/34/201-S/13257, annex), we have suggested refraining from concentrating troops close to the borderline, separating the armed forces of the two sides, stopping all acts of war provocation and all forms of hostile activities, creating a demilitarized zone, etc. ...

It should be asked why the Chinese side failed to respond to our above-mentioned proposal while they themselves claim that "the Vietnamese side has concentrated troops and indulged in armed provocations against China". The answer will be clear enough when one knows that the Chinese side is massing more than half a million troops near the border, deploying over 10 divisions, thousands of artillery pieces and a great deal of war matériel close to the Vietnamese border, and indulging in daily armed provocations against Viet Nam on land, in the air and on the sea. At the same time, the Chinese leaders have unceasingly uttered war

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)).

b/ 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)). /...

threats against Viet Nam. Recently Chinese Vice-Premier Deng Xiaoping himself told a delegation of the commission of armed forces of the United States House of Representatives, and even United Nations Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim that "China would give Viet Nam another lesson". Thus only one conclusion is possible: the Chinese side wants to maintain a continuing tension in the border areas of the two countries so as to bring pressure to bear on Viet Nam and to seek a pretext for aggression against Viet Nam whenever it wants to.

Looking back at the history of border conflicts between China and some other countries, one sees that, in 1959 and 1962, the Chinese Government proposed to the Indian Government measures on a separation of the armed forces, a withdrawal of the troops of the two sides behind the line of actual control, and discussions between the two Governments on questions concerning the prevention of clashes and the ending of the armed conflict. It was the same case with the Soviet Union in 1969 and 1971; China proposed a separation of the armed forces of the two sides in order to avoid the danger of a resumption of hostilities.

The Chinese side once agreed with the proposal put forward by six countries at the Colombo Conference in late 1962 on the establishment of a demilitarized zone along the Sino-Indian border; then why does it not agree this time to the creation of a demilitarized zone along the Sino-Vietnamese border?

It is necessary to recall that, in its notes addressed to the Vietnamese side and dated 1 March 1979 (S/13129), 19 March 1979 (A/34/137-S/13200, annex), 31 March 1979 (A/34/157-S/13212, annex) and 6 April 1979 (A/34/167-S/13231, annex), the Chinese side proposed discussions between the two sides on "the practical measures to ensure peace and security in the border areas of the two countries". Why does it deliberately try to elude this question now? So its professions of goodwill and desire for peace are merely empty talks designed to mislead public opinion and to camouflage its new ventures.

The Chinese leaders should have drawn for themselves a necessary lesson from their defeat in the war of aggression against Viet Nam; nevertheless, the Chinese side has insisted in an unfounded way that its eight points constitute "the only correct way to solve the dispute between the two countries" and attempted to compel the Vietnamese side to align itself on the Chinese policy in order to have "a Chinese peace" which is even worse than the "pax americana" of the past. In their history, the Vietnamese people have gone through thousands of years of struggle against foreign invasion to defend their sacred fatherland in an effective way. In particular over the past 30 years, upholding the banner of national independence and socialism, the Vietnamese people have valiantly followed a revolutionary line, opposed the counter-revolutionary line, fought against the imperialists and the reactionary forces, and won great victories. Whoever wishes to make the Vietnamese people depart from this path will be merely daydreaming. The Chinese leaders have embarked on an aggression against Viet Nam, massacred Vietnamese people, devastated many areas in Viet Nam in an extremely barbarous way and are threatening to launch a second attack on Viet Nam. Yet the Chinese representatives at the conference table are attacking the Vietnamese

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people who are carrying out with all their forces the general mobilization order. It should be asserted that the Vietnamese people who, united as one man, are stepping up production while standing ready to fight, will resolutely strike back at the aggressors, should they be rash enough to launch another attack on Viet Nam.

The Vietnamese people and Government are resolved to defend the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of their fatherland; they will not get subdued under the pressure of any force whatsoever. At the same time, they entertain a constant desire to preserve good relations of friendship with the Chinese people and persistently stand for a negotiated settlement of the problems concerning the relations between the two sides. Viet Nam's three-point proposal on the "main principles and contents of a settlement of the problems concerning the relations between the two countries" has fully expressed the Vietnamese side's serious stand and goodwill.

This is a complete and comprehensive proposal aimed at resolving both the urgent questions arising from the recent war and the basic questions concerning the relations between the two sides. It meets the desire of the Vietnamese and Chinese people to see an early restoration of peace and their traditional friendship, and the desire for peace and stability of the peoples in South-East Asia and the world. The principles laid down in Viet Nam's three-point proposal are fully consistent with the United Nations Charter, the principles of international law and the spirit of the Bandung Conference.

Broad sections of world public opinion have welcomed and appreciated Viet Nam's three-point stand and regarded it as a constructive and realistic proposal; it suffices to be animated with goodwill and a sincere desire to settle the problems to be fully in a position to reach an agreement and to implement it.

Viet Nam's three-point proposal is an expression of her just stand to defend independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and of her goodwill and desire for peace and friendship; it has been put forward at the negotiating table in a bid to reach a fair, satisfactory and mutually beneficial settlement. But to our deep regret, the Chinese side has not seriously studied this proposal of ours. It groundlessly claims that Viet Nam's proposal fails to deal with "basic and substantial" issues. We propose that you reconsider the question. Apart from point 1 about "urgent measures to ensure peace and stability in the border areas of the two countries and to ensure an early reunion of the people captured during the war with their families", what is point 2 about? It is about "restoration of the normal relations between the two countries on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence: respect for independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity; non-aggression, refraining from the use of force or the threat of use of force; non-interference in the internal affairs of the other side; settlement through negotiations of disputes and differences in the relations between the two sides; development of economic and cultural relations in a spirit of mutual respect and mutual benefit".

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On that basis, to restore railway, civil aviation, postal, etc., relations.

To resolve the question of the aftermath of the war, point 3 in Viet Nam's three-point proposal deals with the "settlement of border and territorial problems between the two countries on the principle of respect for the status quo of the borderline left by history and delineated by the 1887 and 1895 Conventions signed between the French Government and the Ch'ing Government, as agreed upon between the Vietnamese and the Chinese sides; respect for independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity".

We hope that the Chinese side will study our proposal seriously, calmly and with goodwill, and give it a positive response.

The current situation is very serious. A heavy responsibility is incumbent on our two delegations. Our two peoples are looking forward to an early outcome of the negotiations and the peoples in South-East Asia and the world are following with deep interest these talks. Let our two delegations remove all obstacles to make the negotiations progress. It is advisable to follow these points in the course of the talks:

- (a) To discuss and resolve only problems concerning the relations between the two countries;
- (b) Equality, mutual respect;
- (c) To find together a fair, reasonable and mutually satisfactory settlement;
- (d) Neither side shall impose its policy on the other side;
- (e) To reach agreement on the immediate settlement of those questions which can be settled, to set aside for future negotiations those which cannot be settled at once.

To show our goodwill and to ensure progress for the negotiations, we would like to put forward today the following proposals:

1. Our side has mentioned in point 1: "Urgent measures aimed at ensuring peace and stability in the border areas of the two countries and an early reunion of the people captured during the war with their families".

Point 1 of the Chinese side reads: "The two sides shall restore friendly and good-neighbourly relations between China and Viet Nam on the basis of the five principles".

Let us discuss these two questions by devoting alternately a meeting to each. More precisely speaking, at the next meeting, i.e., the fourth plenary meeting, we shall discuss the question "Urgent measures aimed at

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ensuring peace and stability in the border areas of the two countries and an early reunion of the people captured during the war with their families". At the fifth plenary meeting, we shall discuss the question of "Restoration of friendly and good-neighbourly relations between the two countries on the basis of the five principles". We shall continue to do so till the questions are settled.

2. In its notes dated 1 March, 19 March, 31 March and 6 April 1979 addressed to the Vietnamese side, the Chinese side suggested that the two sides "march forward to a settlement of border and territory disputes, and of other outstanding disputes between the two countries". We respect this view of the Chinese side and agree accordingly that these problems will be discussed later.

3. We have proposed that the two delegations shall exchange lists of people captured during the war so that their return may be effected as soon as possible: at this meeting, we are ready to hand the Chinese delegation a list of Chinese captured during the war and we propose that the Chinese side also hand us a list of Vietnamese captured during the war. We have always entertained the hope that the people of the two sides captured during the war may return within their families at an early date. For the sake of humanity, we expect a response on your part.

Our above-mentioned proposal is very fair, reasonable and practical; let the Chinese side give it a positive response so that these negotiations may progress favourably and bring about the results which everybody is awaiting.
