



UNITED NATIONS

GENERAL
ASSEMBLY



SECURITY
COUNCIL

Distr.
GENERAL

A/34/269

S/13339

21 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 21 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 fifth plenary meeting of the Sino-Vietnamese negotiations on 18 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 Yali
Acting Permanent Representative of
the People's Republic of China to
the United Nations

* A/34/50.

ANNEX

Speech made by Han Nianlong, Head of the Chinese Government
delegation and Vice Minister for Foreign Affairs, at the
fifth plenary meeting of the Sino-Vietnamese negotiations
on 18 May 1979

Five plenary meetings of the negotiations between the Chinese and Vietnamese Government delegations have been held as of today. It is most regrettable, however, that no progress has been made. The Chinese side has made unremitting efforts to advance the negotiations, and this is a plain fact. But in its statement at the last meeting, the Vietnamese side alleged that "the Chinese side must bear full responsibility for the lack of progress" in the negotiations (A/34/254-S/13328, annex II). This is distorting truth to evade the responsibility of the Vietnamese side in obstructing smooth progress in the negotiations. This attempt will never succeed.

Everyone knows that the Chinese Government delegation has come to Hanoi for negotiations with the Vietnamese Government delegation out of a sincere desire to restore normal state relations, uphold the traditional friendship between the two peoples and seek a peaceful settlement of the disputes between the two countries. In the past month, the Chinese Government delegation reviewed, in a matter of fact way, the stages through which Sino-Vietnamese relations have passed in recent years, made a clear and objective exposition of the major issues existing between the two countries and cited many indisputable facts showing the essential background of and the root cause for the drastic deterioration in Sino-Vietnamese relations and for the armed conflict along the border (see A/34/189-S/13255, appendix). At the second plenary meeting on 26 April, the Chinese Government delegation put forward an eight-point proposal on principles for handling the relations between China and Viet Nam (A/34/213-S/13278, annex). Our proposal covers every major aspect of the relations between the two countries and states the basic principles that should be underscored, above all, the principles that the two sides should abide by the five principles of peaceful coexistence and that neither should seek hegemony. This proposal corresponds to the actual state of Sino-Vietnamese relations and provides a correct orientation for these negotiations; it is wholly reasonable and feasible. If the two sides could agree on these basic principles, our negotiations would have the necessary guidelines for solving all the specific issues. This will lead to a fundamental solution of the disputes between China and Viet Nam and thus lay a solid foundation for the normalization of relations between the two countries. This important proposal submitted by the Chinese Government is in accord not only with the fundamental interests of the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples, but also with the strong desire of the Indo-Chinese and South-East Asian peoples for the maintenance of peace and stability in the region. Hence, it enjoys widespread sympathy and support among the people of all countries and just public opinion.

/...

In a spirit of negotiating on an equal footing, the Chinese side listened attentively to the views of the Vietnamese side at the meetings, carefully studied all its proposals and stated our realistic observations.

It is regrettable that the attitude of the Vietnamese side in these negotiations was entirely different. Instead of making a positive response, it unjustly attacked China's constructive observations and proposals. At the very outset of the negotiations, the Vietnamese side, in its first statement on 18 April, wilfully distorted the facts and called black white by slanderously charging that China was to blame for the deterioration in our friendly bilateral relations and for provoking the armed border conflict. At each of the subsequent meetings, the Vietnamese side never failed to repeat such anti-China calumnies in increasing absurdity and abusiveness. It even launched vicious attacks against Chinese leaders and announced that it would "forever repeat" these calumnies. Spinning wild tales at will, the Vietnamese authorities alleged that China "warned South Viet Nam against waging armed struggle in the sixties", "undermined the unity of people in the three Indochinese states", "had been on the verge of recognizing the Lon Nol régime", "had formed a joint command for a South-East Asia liberation army" and so on and so forth. They have fabricated dozens of such lies and slanderous allegations. You even revived the lie, fabricated some time ago by the Vietnamese authorities and exploded right at that time by the international press, that China "was aiding Vang Pao in Laos" and used it to slander China in the negotiations. And this was said without a blush. China's all-out support to Viet Nam in its wars of resistance against France and the United States and especially her support to the South Vietnamese people in their struggle against aggression was known to the whole world. Until a few years ago, Vietnamese leaders told Chinese leaders on many occasions that Viet Nam could not have won victory without China's support and assistance. If the Vietnamese side were not so forgetful politically, it ought to remember the facts and not confound truth and falsehood. China's consistent support to the anti-imperialist struggle of the Kampuchean and Lao peoples is also common knowledge. No amount of lies can distort the facts. When China was giving the Kampuchean people energetic support in their just struggle against the Lon Nol clique, it was the Soviet Union, leader of your alliance, and not China, who kept its Embassy in Phnom Penh. This is a fact people still remember clearly. After their victory against imperialism, the people of the three Indo-Chinese States wanted to recuperate and rehabilitate and could have devoted themselves to building up their respective countries. But the Vietnamese authorities, prompted by growing ambitions to seek regional hegemony and set up an "Indochinese Federation", began by stationing large armies in Laos and exercising over-all control in that country. Then they flagrantly launched a massive armed aggression against Democratic Kampuchea, a country which refused to concede its sovereignty and be humiliated, and installed with their bayonets a puppet régime composed of Kampuchean traitors and their lackeys. The chief culprit responsible for wrecking the revolutionary cause of the Indo-Chinese peoples is none other than the Vietnamese authorities who plunged the Indo-Chinese people again into dire misery. The dozens of allegations with which the Vietnamese side sought to vilify and defame China were refuted by the Chinese side on the spot. But

/...

unashamed of its clumsy tricks, the Vietnamese side kept fraudulently alleging everywhere that there are dozens of its questions which China has "failed to answer", trying in this way to slander and defame China. But these allegations of yours can neither deceive the people of the three Indo-Chinese States and world opinion nor damage China's international prestige. They do, however, provide further proof that the Vietnamese authorities have become unscrupulous in their hostility against China because they are bent on achieving their aggressive and expansionist ambitions, and gladly play the role of "Cubans of Asia" in the southward drive in the Soviet Union's global policy. The actions of the Vietnamese side prove that your intention is to turn serious negotiations into a forum for vicious anti-China propaganda and that you do not intend to discuss and resolve the existing disputes in real earnest.

As to the "main principles and contents of a three-point settlement of the problems concerning the relations between the two countries" submitted by the Vietnamese side during the negotiations (A/34/201-S/13257, annex), we have carefully studied this proposal and checked it against your words and actions, and we cannot but point out that it is a hypocritical proposal. Your three-point proposal evades the crucial and substantive issues in Sino-Vietnamese relations and, in particular, shies away from the principle of not seeking hegemony. You fidget in your seats whenever there is mention of anti-hegemonism, and you rush out with objections such as it is tantamount to "interference in internal affairs" and it is "not within the scope of our bilateral relations" in a desperate attempt to obstruct China's just defence of the anti-hegemonist principle. This shows that your shunning this principle is because this is a sore point, and this fact inadvertently reveals your determination to pursue a policy of expansionist nationalism and regional hegemonism. It must be pointed out that concurrently with the Sino-Vietnamese negotiations the Vietnamese authorities have continued their military build-up along the Sino-Laotian border, stepped up their offensive against the patriotic Kampuchean army and people who are carrying on firm resistance to Vietnamese aggression, and used the puppet clique in Kampuchea and coerced the Laotians into joining in an anti-China campaign. Vietnamese aggression and expansion have developed to such a grave extent that armed provocations against Thailand have occurred from across the Kampuchean-Thai border and that spies have been sent into Thailand from Laos. Meanwhile, the Vietnamese authorities have made naval and air bases available to the Soviet Union and permitted the latter to build an electronic monitoring station in Cam Ranh Bay. Pursuance by the Vietnamese authorities of the policy of expansionist nationalism and regional hegemonism is an important reason for the worsening of Sino-Vietnamese relations and is the root cause for the deteriorating situation and tension in Indo-China and South-East Asia. The Vietnamese side cannot evade such a major question of principle as the opposition to hegemonism in the Sino-Vietnamese negotiations. At the same time, we give the Vietnamese side our sincere advice that it should not try to use the Sino-Vietnamese negotiations and its three-point proposal as a camouflage for its acts of aggression and expansion aimed at stamping out the armed resistance of the Kampuchean army and people to defend their motherland against Vietnamese aggression, tightening its all-round control in Laos and setting up an "Indochinese Federation".

/...

During the negotiations, the Vietnamese authorities launched a co-ordinated campaign, inside and outside the conference room, to whip up an anti-China hysteria, aggravate tensions along the border and poison the atmosphere of the negotiations. You suggested in the three-point proposal that the two sides should stop all acts of war provocations and all forms of hostile activities and restore normal relations between the two countries on the basis of the principle of peaceful coexistence. But you have, in actual practice, intensified your military build-up in the border areas, continued to bombard Chinese territory and send armed troops and commandos across the border on harassment missions, thus seriously disturbing the peace and tranquillity of China's border areas and disrupting our production and construction in those areas. From 17 March to early May, there have been nearly 400 cases of Vietnamese armed provocation and incursion resulting in dozens of casualties among Chinese frontier guards and border inhabitants. Moreover, the Vietnamese authorities have continued to drive Vietnamese citizens and Chinese nationals into China both across the land border and via the sea. More than 20,000 were expelled in the month of April alone. Meanwhile, the Vietnamese authorities have continued to incite anti-China sentiments through a massive anti-China campaign in all forms of their media - newspapers, television and radio - and clamoured incessantly for war so as to create tension. An anti-China war atmosphere prevails in every corner of Viet Nam. Under those circumstances, the Vietnamese side, instead of immediately stopping its hostile activities against China and adopting fundamental measures to secure peace and stability along the border, has kept on stressing the "urgency" of the first point in its three-point proposal, that is, the one on "urgent measures", and insisted that this be made the first item on the agenda. This cannot but make people wonder about the motivation of the Vietnamese side. Your endless prating about this proposal reminds one of the fact that in the wake of its first large-scale armed aggression in Kampuchea, the Vietnamese authorities also put forward a three-point proposal in February 1978 allegedly for settling issues in the relations between Viet Nam and Kampuchea. That three-point proposal included such points as a five-kilometre withdrawal by the armed forces of each side, non-aggression and the cessation of subversive activities. However, it was under cover of this "peace proposal" that the Vietnamese authorities stepped up their deployment for war, and intensified their acts of subversion and started a surprise attack on a more massive scale toward the end of that year to invade and occupy Kampuchea by force of arms. This lesson of history shall not be forgotten. We must check people's words against their deeds. We hope the Vietnamese side will prove its sincerity for peace by its deeds.

The Vietnamese side crudely accused the Chinese side of "setting pre-conditions for the negotiations". This is a sheer distortion of facts. I said at the negotiations that "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" (A/34/222-S/13299, annex). This is most practical and is aimed at a fundamental solution of the issues between China and Viet Nam and truly restoring normal relations between the two countries. If the Vietnamese authorities persist in an attitude of anti-China

/...

hostility and continue to push the policy of expansionist nationalism and regional hegemonism, how can Sino-Vietnamese relations be normalized? How can the traditional friendship between the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples be preserved intact? How can peace and tranquillity on the Sino-Vietnamese border be secured? How can peace and stability in Indo-China and South-East Asia be maintained? The Chinese side has urged Viet Nam to stop its anti-China hostility and abandon its policy of expansionist nationalism and regional hegemonism, and it has justly called on Viet Nam to withdraw its troops from Kampuchea. In describing this just Chinese position as "setting pre-conditions for the negotiations" and "wanting Viet Nam to change its line of independence and international solidarity", the Vietnamese side is itself equating anti-China hostility, the pushing of a policy of expansionist nationalism and regional hegemonism and the military occupation of Kampuchea with its "line of independence and international solidarity". Your accusation that China wants to "impose its views" on you can only draw public laughter and will not serve to conceal the truth that you pursue policies of opposition and hostility to China and of aggression and expansion. The Vietnamese authorities have imposed a military occupation and colonial rule on the peoples of Kampuchea and Laos, but this you claim to be Viet Nam's "lofty internationalist duty" and a form of legitimate co-operation in keeping with the Charter of the United Nations, the objectives and principles of the non-aligned movement and the principles of the Bandung Conference. This attitude is pure hegemonism and a gross distortion and violation of the United Nations Charter and the principles of the non-aligned movement and the Bandung Conference. It is absolutely unacceptable to the people of Kampuchea, Laos and the rest of the world, and will not be tolerated by them.

At the last few meetings, the Vietnamese side kept raising the issue of "how" to conduct future discussions. We have already stated explicitly that no matter how you change the way discussions are conducted, your purpose will always be to evade the crucial and substantive issues in Sino-Vietnamese relations, and to avoid discussion on the principle of not seeking hegemony. The way you want the discussions conducted is not desirable because it will not facilitate progress in the negotiations or help the normalization of bilateral relations but will only lead the negotiations astray. We hold that in order to enable the negotiations to yield real results and re-establish normal relations between China and Viet Nam, it is necessary to start with the fundamental issues. Firstly, the five principles of peaceful coexistence and the principle of not seeking hegemony must be adhered to, for these are the basic principles that will re-establish normal relations between the two countries and safeguard the traditional friendship between the two peoples.

In order to repatriate as soon as possible all the Chinese and Vietnamese captives in the armed border conflict, the Chinese Government delegation has repeatedly proposed at the negotiations that the two sides reach an agreement in principle on this matter and leave the details and execution to the Red Cross Societies of the two countries. The Vietnamese side kept saying that the repatriation of captured personnel is an "urgent" matter requiring the adoption of

/...

"urgent measures", but it has failed to respond to China's reasonable proposal. So, to facilitate the earlier reunion of the Vietnamese captives with their families, the Chinese Government announced its decision on 11 May to release and repatriate some captured Vietnamese armed personnel in the near future and proposed once again that the Red Cross Societies of China and Viet Nam meet as soon as possible to discuss and execute the repatriation of all captives on both sides. It was only then that the Head of the Vietnamese Government delegation issued a statement on 12 May (A/34/254-S/13328, annex I) expressing agreement at last with the Chinese proposal. Yet at the same time, it arbitrarily and unjustifiably levelled charges against this Chinese action, which is an expression of revolutionary humanitarianism.

To sum up, this round of negotiations amply shows that the Chinese side has made great efforts in order to make the negotiations yield results. But regrettably, the reasonable proposals of the Chinese side have failed to get a positive response from the Vietnamese side. On the contrary, the Vietnamese side resorted to all kinds of clumsy tricks to evade the fundamental issues in Sino-Vietnamese relations, distorted the facts and fabricated a host of fantastic charges and allegations to tie down the negotiations and obstruct their smooth progress. Facts prove that the failure to achieve progress in the negotiations has resulted from the lack of good faith on the part of the Vietnamese side, which must bear full responsibility. The Chinese and Vietnamese peoples and the people in South-East Asia and the rest of the world all entertain the wish that progress may be made in the Sino-Vietnamese negotiations. We hope that the Vietnamese side will not disappoint them.

In the five plenary meetings of the Sino-Vietnamese negotiations, each side has put forward its proposals, elucidated its views and made clear its position. In keeping with the agreement between the Chinese and Vietnamese sides that the negotiations be held alternately in Hanoi and Beijing, we suggest that the present round of negotiations in Hanoi be concluded with this session and that the next round be held in Beijing. Matters concerning concrete arrangements may be discussed and decided upon by the two sides through diplomatic channels. The Chinese Government delegation will soon leave Hanoi for home. We look forward to the Vietnamese Government delegation coming to Beijing for further negotiations. In spite of major differences of principle between the Chinese and Vietnamese sides, the Chinese side will, as always, continue to surmount obstacles and difficulties, work hard for the success of the negotiations and play an active part in trying to restore normal relations between China and Viet Nam, consolidate the traditional friendship between our two peoples, secure peace and tranquillity along the Sino-Vietnamese border and safeguard peace and stability in Indo-China, South-East Asia and the world as a whole. At the same time, we sincerely hope that the Vietnamese side will give up its peremptory attitude and show good faith in the negotiations. We hope that the Vietnamese side will consider China's eight-point proposal earnestly, seriously and realistically and make due efforts for progress in the negotiations.
