

UNITED NATIONS



GENERAL
ASSEMBLY



SECURITY
COUNCIL

Distr.
GENERAL

A/34/606
S/13583
22 October 1979

ORIGINAL: CHINESE/ENGLISH

GENERAL ASSEMBLY
Thirty-fourth session
Agenda item 11
REPORT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

SECURITY COUNCIL
Thirty-fourth year

Letter dated 19 October 1979 from the Permanent Representative 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-Foreign Minister, at the 13th plenary meeting of the Sino-Vietnamese negotiations on 19 October 1979.

I request that this speech be circulated as an official document of the General Assembly, under item 11 of the agenda, and of the Security Council.

(Signed) CHEN Chu
Permanent Representative
of the People's Republic of China
to the United Nations

ANNEX

Speech by Vice-Foreign Minister Han Nianlong, Head of the Chinese
Government delegation, at the 13th plenary meeting of the
Sino-Vietnamese negotiations on 19 October 1979

The Sino-Vietnamese negotiations have reached a stalemate and it is difficult to make any progress. This has caused general concern. The question of how to break the deadlock is one of immediate significance to which our two delegations should give serious consideration.

The deterioration of Sino-Vietnamese relations has deep-rooted causes and a complex background. The Chinese side has always held that if normal relations between the two countries are to be restored and all the disputes and problems between them to be resolved, it is necessary first of all to get to the root cause of the deterioration, i.e., the question of regional hegemonism. To this end the Chinese side has repeatedly proposed that the two sides begin by discussing the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and the principle of not seeking hegemony. This proposal is entirely fair and reasonable. The Vietnamese side has left nothing undone to evade the discussion of these principles; it has hurled attacks and abuses at China and resorted to all sorts of pretexts to obstruct progress in the negotiations, asserting that the invasion of Kampuchea and occupation of Laos by the Vietnamese armed forces "have nothing to do with the Vietnamese-Chinese negotiations" but "are concerns of third countries" and that to demand the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea is "to interfere in another country's internal affairs". These fallacies of the Vietnamese side are utterly untenable.

As is known to all, after the Vietnamese war of resistance against United States aggression, the Vietnamese authorities, backed by Soviet social-imperialism and relying on their military strength which had expanded during the war, began to indulge in wanton aggression and turn their guns at their comrades-in-arms and brothers, completely forgetting their past sufferings from aggression and oppression and ignoring the Vietnamese people's strong desire and need for recuperation and rehabilitation from the wounds of war. They brought Laos under their control and subjected Kampuchea to their aggression in order to knock together an "Indo-Chinese Federation". They mounted an anti-China campaign, occupied China's islands and encroached upon China's border areas. The Chinese side all along exercised restraint as the Vietnamese authorities pursued these policies of aggression and expansion, and repeatedly gave them well-meaning advice of serious warnings. At the same time, the Chinese side, upholding principles and justice, opposed the Vietnamese authorities' acts of aggression and expansion and firmly supported the Kampuchean people's just struggle against such aggression. Therefore, the Vietnamese authorities considered China a major obstacle to their pursuance of regional hegemonism and organized an even bigger hostile anti-China campaign. They kept stepping up their provocations and incursions into Chinese border areas and provoked grave armed conflicts along the border, thus rapidly worsening the relations between the two countries. These facts amply show that the Vietnamese

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authorities' policies of aggression, expansion and hegemonism are not only directed against Laos, Kampuchea and other South-East Asian countries but also directed against China. Control of Laos, aggression against Kampuchea and opposition and hostility towards China - these are the three aspects of their policy of regional hegemonism, and they also constitute the root cause of the deterioration of Sino-Vietnamese relations. In their emergence and development these aspects are closely interrelated and they have served to promote one another. If Viet Nam does not stop its aggression and expansion in Kampuchea and Laos and end its hostile anti-China policy, it will be difficult to re-establish the necessary mutual trust between China and Viet Nam: then how can Sino-Vietnamese relations be normalized?

The policies of opposition and hostility to China, of aggression and expansion and of regional hegemonism pursued by the Vietnamese authorities with Soviet instigation serve the interest of the Soviet policy of driving southward for world domination and are now the source of turbulence in Indo-China and South-East Asia. If such aggression and expansion were tolerated or allowed to escalate, the situation in South-East Asia would grow tenser and more intranquil, peace and security along China's southern frontier would be impossible, and China's socialist modernization programme would be obstructed. Things being such, how can the proposal to establish the principle of not seeking hegemony in Indo-China and South-East Asia and to check Vietnamese aggression and expansion there be described as "having nothing to do with the Sino-Vietnamese negotiations" or "the concerns of third countries"?

In its eight-point proposal the Chinese delegation clearly stated in the second point:

"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 above principles have nothing to do with the internal affairs of Kampuchea and Laos, but rather, they suggest some basic measures against hegemonism, and they are also important principles indispensable for restoring the normal relations between China and Viet Nam. At present, many countries and peoples in the world strongly demand that Viet Nam withdraws its aggressor troops from Kampuchea and Laos so that the Kampuchean and Lao people may determine the future of their own countries and solve their own problems free from any outside interference and pressure. This demand is reasonable and is made to uphold the elementary principles in international relations. Yet the Vietnamese side has chosen to misinterpret this just demand as "interfering in the internal affairs of other countries" and so has

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obstinately refused to discuss it. This only shows that the Vietnamese authorities cling to their course of action, adhere to their hegemonist policies of opposition and hostility to China and of aggression and expansion, and persist in their attempt to continue their aggression in Kampuchea and control over Laos. No other explanation is possible. If the Vietnamese authorities are really willing to observe the principles of peaceful coexistence and have no intention to dominate Indo-China and South-East Asia as they declare, then why have they refused to withdraw their troops from Kampuchea and Laos? Without troops withdrawals from Kampuchea and Laos, how can they prove that they have no hegemonist ambitions? Without troops withdrawals, how can they claim that they are willing to maintain peace and stability in Indo-China and South-East Asia and covet no territories of their neighbours? How can the Vietnamese side claim to have sincere desire for restoring normal relations with China if it does not want to commit itself to the principle of not seeking hegemony but even tries to evade discussing this question?

Now, with the dry season setting in in Indo-China, the Vietnamese authorities are busily manoeuvring their troops and intensifying their preparations for a new offensive of aggression against the patriotic Kampuchean armed forces and people. Soviet military matériel is being steadily transported to Viet Nam and Kampuchea by plane and by ship. In some parts of Kampuchea the Vietnamese dry-season offensive has already begun. In areas under the occupation of the Vietnamese aggressor troops, over a million Kampucheans are on the verge of starvation and death. The Vietnamese aggressors even shelled places inside Thai territory, seriously infringing on the sovereignty of Thailand. The Vietnamese authorities' acts of aggression have incurred strong condemnation by many countries in the world and aroused brave resistance from the Kampuchean people. Where there is oppression, there is resistance and struggle. We believe that the Kampuchean people, with their glorious tradition of combating foreign aggression, will never allow themselves to be trampled upon by the Vietnamese aggressors, and no justice-upholding country and people in the world will tolerate the armed aggression and military occupation of Kampuchea by Viet Nam. Deep in the quagmire of aggression against Kampuchea, the Vietnamese authorities have imposed heavy war burdens on the Vietnamese people and subjected them to untold misery. If the Vietnamese authorities do not withdraw in good time, they will surely sink deeper and deeper and, like all aggressors in history, come to no good end.

While obstinately obstructing the progress of Sino-Vietnamese negotiations, the Vietnamese authorities have recently stirred up again a vicious campaign of opposition and hostility against China, hurling at it slanders and vilifications. The white-paper they published in early October on the so-called "truth about Viet Nam-China relations over the last thirty years" is full of lies, confounding right and wrong, completely distorting the history of Sino-Vietnamese relations over the past few decades and even flagrantly misrepresenting and fabricating statements of Chinese leaders, in a vain attempt to stick the labels of "expansionism" and "hegemonism" on China. In so doing, you obviously want to deceive the Vietnamese people, divert the attention of world opinion, extricate yourselves from isolation, cover up your criminal acts of pushing for regional hegemony and put up a smokescreen over your new military offensive against Kampuchea. The Vietnamese

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authorities have long been held in contempt by the international community for their intrigues to return evil for good and spread rumours to confuse the public. Whatever tricks you may play will only serve to further reveal your faithlessness. Now when it becomes pressing to break the deadlock in the negotiations between the Chinese and Vietnamese Government delegations, the Vietnamese authorities have engaged in frantic anti-China propaganda in a deliberate attempt to poison the atmosphere of the negotiations. This shows all the more clearly that your so-called sincere desire for a negotiated settlement of problems and of restoring normal relations between the two countries is sheer empty talk to deceive people.

The Chinese side would like to reiterate that, in order to seek a fundamental solution to the issues between the two countries and restore normal relations, it is essential for the two delegations to discuss first the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and the principle of not seeking hegemony. If the two sides can reach agreement on the basic principles governing the relations between the two countries, then there will be something to go by in negotiating for settlement of specific issues. This is the only way to break the deadlock and make progress in our negotiations. We hope that the Vietnamese side will give serious consideration to the reasonable proposal of the Chinese side.
