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SECURITY COUNCIL
Thirty-fourth year

Letter dated 18 July 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 8th plenary meeting of the Sino-Vietnamese negotiations on 18 July 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 8th
plenary meeting of the Sino-Vietnamese negotiations on
18 July 1979

We are holding today the 8th plenary meeting of the Sino-Vietnamese negotiations. The Chinese side is prepared to discuss the following question: is it necessary to discuss in earnest in the current negotiations what caused the deterioration of Sino-Vietnamese relations and to seek fundamental measures for the restoration of normal relations between the two countries? This is a question of extreme importance which will determine whether it is possible to break the stalemate in the negotiations and to achieve the normalization of relations between the two countries. It is also the focus of contention in our current negotiations.

At the last meeting, while making another arbitrary attempt to defend its hegemonist acts, the Vietnamese side viciously and slanderously attacked China, trying to attach to China the label of hegemonism. It even declared the occupation of Kampuchea and Laos by Vietnamese troops as "entirely justifiable" and "having nothing to do with other countries or with the Vietnamese-China negotiations". This is a fallacious and fantastic statement and out-and-out gangster logic. The Vietnamese authorities are pursuing regional hegemonism, carrying out aggression and expansion abroad, occupying Kampuchea by armed forces, controlling Laos, wantonly violating the sacred sovereign rights of Kampuchea and Laos, trampling on their national independence and attempting to turn the whole of Indo-China into an anti-China base, thus creating tension and unrest in Indo-China and South-East Asia and gravely menacing the security of many countries in this region. However, the Vietnamese side asserts that this has nothing to do with other countries and that it should not be discussed in the Sino-Vietnamese negotiations. May we ask what logic is this? The Chinese delegation solemnly pointed out long ago that the seriously damaged Sino-Vietnamese relations were in the main the outcome of the pursuance of regional hegemonism by the Vietnamese authorities and that, if normal relations between China and Viet Nam are to be restored and peace and tranquillity preserved in South-East Asia and Asia as a whole, we must proceed from the crux of the matter, that is, opposition to hegemonism. This is a conclusion drawn from the painful process of the deterioration of Sino-Vietnamese relations in the past few years and fully reflects the objective reality in its essence. It will be impossible to imagine that the relations between the two countries can be improved and restored to normal without resolving this important question of principle.

As everyone knows, the relations between China and Viet Nam had been good for decades. But, in the last few years, Sino-Vietnamese friendship and the relations between our two countries have suffered serious damage as a result of the perfidious acts of the Vietnamese authorities who, treating friend as foe, have frenziedly carried out a hostile anti-China policy and aggravated Sino-Vietnamese

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relations in an organized and planned way. The Vietnamese authorities have forcibly occupied many islands of China's Nansha Island group and made unreasonable claims to China's Xisha Islands and large sea areas in the Beibu Gulf, have continually made armed provocations and created incidents along the Sino-Vietnamese border, have nibbled at Chinese territory, kept driving refugees into China, thus making gun shots constantly heard in the erstwhile friendly and harmonious Sino-Vietnamese border areas and creating intranquillity for the people there. Paying no heed to the repeated exhortations of the Chinese side, the Vietnamese authorities have escalated their campaign to oppose and antagonize China. As a result, large-scale armed conflicts occurred in the border areas. The Chinese people have a direct experience of the harm done by the regional hegemonism of the Vietnamese authorities.

The Vietnamese policy of opposition and hostility to China is an organic part of its plan for external aggression and expansion. With the conclusion of the war to resist United States aggression, the Vietnamese authorities hastened to set up an "Indo-Chinese Federation" embracing Laos and Kampuchea, with Viet Nam as the overlord, so as to proceed to dominate the whole of South-East Asia. Their China policy is closely related with their wildly ambitious strategic plan. In forming an "Indo-Chinese Federation", they want to set up an anti-China base in the region adjacent to China's southern boundary, and co-ordinate with Soviet social-imperialism's global strategy and policy of southward drive for world hegemony so as to serve the needs of its anti-China plot, threaten China's security and jeopardize China's socialist modernization.

The Vietnamese war against Kampuchea has brought one to see clearly how the Vietnamese authorities' hegemonist action has drastically disrupted the normal relations between China and Viet Nam, while creating tension in Indo-China and South-East Asia. Towards the end of 1977, having failed to subjugate Kampuchea through political pressure, internal subversion and border provocations, the Vietnamese authorities brazenly launched a large-scale war of aggression against Kampuchea. China's opposition to Vietnamese aggression and its support for the Kampuchean people's defensive war has incurred the hostility of the Vietnamese authorities. At the very time when the Vietnamese authorities were launching the war of aggression against Kampuchea, they had the impudence to ask China to exercise its "influence" to force Kampuchea to submit to the force of the Vietnamese aggressors. These despicable and treacherous acts of theirs were, of course, severely condemned by the Chinese side. In order to oppose China and escape the world people's condemnation of their war of aggression against Kampuchea and divert the attention of public opinion, the Vietnamese authorities began to "purify the frontier" in areas close to the border between China and Viet Nam, deployed massive troops, built defence works, carried out repeated armed provocations and incursions and large-scale persecution and expulsion of Chinese residents, Vietnamese of Chinese descent and other Vietnamese citizens to create tension between China and Viet Nam. Moreover, after the 4th plenary meeting of the Vietnamese Party, the Vietnamese authorities whipped up another sinister anti-China wave while stepping up their preparations for a second invasion of

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Kampuchea. This meeting decided, on the one hand, "to make rapid seizure of political and military victories on the south-west frontier an important task throughout the period" and declared explicitly that China was Viet Nam's "direct target for combat", on the other hand, clamouring that Viet Nam must rely on the "combined strength" of Vietnamese military strength and experience and Soviet assistance "to prepare the whole nation for a resolute attack as well as counter-attack (against China) within our territory and outside, on land, in the air and sea ...", so as to "accomplish successfully the mission of defeating the Maoist clique". Some of the Vietnamese leaders went again and again to the military commands and provinces near the Sino-Vietnamese border for anti-Chinese war mobilization. These were the circumstances in which the situation on the Sino-Vietnamese border became increasingly tense and Sino-Vietnamese relations drastically deteriorated.

It should also be pointed out that, in the last few years, the Vietnamese authorities have tried hard to sow dissension between China and Laos and sabotage their hitherto friendly relations by fabricating and spreading fantastic rumours and creating tension between them. The sudden deterioration in Sino-Laotian relations was entirely caused by the Vietnamese authorities. In a message to the Chinese Government in the latter half of 1978, the Laotian leaders still said,

"Throughout these far-reaching revolutionary transformations we have always received multifarious support and assistance from the People's Republic of China. In particular, Chinese aid in road-building in northern Laos has made an exceedingly important contribution to our victory."

And yet the Vietnamese authorities have the impudence to declare that China has given no aid to Laos other than the road-building project and that even this has been used to control Laos, build hide-outs and smuggle arms for the Laotian reactionaries etc. The Vietnamese authorities sank to a new low earlier this year when they ganged up with the Soviets to concoct and disseminate the shameful lie about "the concentration of many divisions of Chinese troops on the Sino-Laotian border" and to force this nonsense on Laos in a deliberate attempt to whip up tension on the Sino-Laotian border. Sowing dissension between China and Laos as they did, the Vietnamese authorities are obviously aiming to tighten their control and enslavement of Laos, tying it to the Vietnamese chariot and forcing it to join the Vietnamese in pursuing the policy of opposition and hostility to China so as to threaten the security of China's southern border.

Even in the midst of their aggression and expansion against Laos and Kampuchea, the Vietnamese authorities have not ceased for a moment their attempt to sow discord between South-East Asian countries and China. They have cooked up many lies vilifying China for alleged "big-Power hegemonist ambitions" towards South-East Asia. Of late, the Vietnamese authorities have been strongly censured by the international community for continuing to create great numbers of refugees and to dump them abroad. And yet they try to shift the blame on China, declaring that the refugee problem has been created by China. The Vietnamese authorities

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calculate that their policies of hysterical opposition and hostility towards China would advance their expansionist ambitions towards the South-East Asian countries. However, the South-East Asian countries know only too well from where the menace comes. Thailand is now in full alert, ready to repulse any invasion by Vietnamese aggressor troops. The South-East Asian countries are closing their ranks in the face of the Vietnamese menace. They have joined in the denunciation of the Vietnamese military build-up on the Thai-Kampuchean border as "a grave threat to the neutrality of Thailand". The ASEAN foreign ministers' meeting unanimously demanded that Viet Nam promptly withdraw all its troops from the Thai-Kampuchean border and from Kampuchean territory. The meeting also called for a stop to the exodus of refugees and urged the world community to apply sanctions to the Vietnamese authorities for their criminal act of dumping refugees abroad. All this reflects the urgent and just demands of the peoples of South-East Asia.

Many facts amply show that the Vietnamese authorities' frenzied pursuance of regional hegemonism in Indo-China and South-East Asia is by no means an "internal affair" of Viet Nam, but a grave issue bearing vitally on China, Laos, Kampuchea, Thailand and the other South-East Asian countries. Suffering greatly from Vietnamese regional hegemonism and witnessing the serious damage to Sino-Vietnamese relations and the threat to its peace and security, China has every reason and right to demand that Viet Nam stop its pursuance of regional hegemonism. Only by starting with the question of opposing hegemonism in our negotiations can we get to the crux of the matter. Otherwise, the restoration of normal relations between China and Viet Nam and the preservation of peace and stability in Indo-China and South-East Asia will remain empty talk. If this question of principle is not discussed, the Sino-Vietnamese negotiations can only serve to cover up Vietnamese hegemonism and even meet its needs. Under no circumstances will the Chinese side agree to this.

It is regrettable that at our previous meetings, the Vietnamese side tried its utmost to exclude this crucial question of anti-hegemonism from the negotiations. At the last meeting, on the one hand, you spared no effort to oppose the discussion of this basic question in our bilateral relations, but, on the other other hand, you talked at great length about China's so-called "hegemonism" viciously and slanderously and set forth the so-called five points on anti-hegemonism. This is illogical and self-contradictory. It must be pointed out that your five points totally evade the basic content of not seeking hegemonism, namely, 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, join any military bloc directed against the other, provide military bases to other countries or threaten, subvert or commit armed aggression against the other side or against any other countries. And this only indicates that the Vietnamese authorities are bent on keeping to the road of hegemonism and have no sincerity whatsoever towards the negotiations.

The Chinese side has repeatedly proposed the discussion, first of all, of the five principles of peaceful coexistence and the anti-hegemonist principle.

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The Vietnamese side, on its part, has said time and again that it does not practise hegemonism. Since it is so, why can't the two sides discuss in depth the question of the anti-hegemonist principle so as to facilitate the progress of the negotiations? Of course, anti-hegemonism has its concrete content and allows of no wilful distortion. Genuine anti-hegemonism must be proved by deeds. We reiterate that the Chinese Government is ready to undertake not to seek hegemony in any form. If the Vietnamese authorities indeed have the sincerity and determination to oppose hegemonism, they, too, should commit themselves to the anti-hegemonist principle and prove their sincerity and determination in deeds by immediately stopping their provocations against and incursions into China's border areas, withdrawing their aggressor troops from Kampuchea and Laos and putting an end to their policy of exporting refugees, which is liable to cause turmoil in the neighbouring countries. We are willing to listen to any constructive opinions of the Vietnamese side and, still more, to see concrete actions taken by it.
