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QUESTION OF PEACE, STABILITY AND  
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OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY  
DEVELOPMENT AND STRENGTHENING OF  
GOOD-NEIGHBOURLINESS BETWEEN STATES

SECURITY COUNCIL  
Thirty-ninth year

Letter dated 4 June 1984 from the Permanent Representative of Viet Nam  
to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General

I have the honour to transmit herewith the text of the memorandum dated 4 June 1984 by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam on China's war escalation and aggravation of tension along the Viet Nam-China border.

It would be greatly appreciated if this note and its enclosure could be circulated as an official document of the General Assembly, under items 37, 68 and 124 of the preliminary list, and of the Security Council.

(Signed) HOANG BICH SON  
Permanent Representative

\* A/39/50.

ANNEX

MEMORANDUM  
of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the  
Socialist Republic of Viet Nam on China's  
war escalation and aggravation of tension  
along the Vietnam - China border

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Since early April, 1984 till now, the Chinese authorities have been launching a campaign of shelling and nibbling attacks on a large scale in the Northern border area of Viet Nam.

This is a new step of war escalation which was planned well in advance and is being carried out by the Chinese authorities on a scale unprecedented in the armed provocations and land-grabbing attacks over the past five years, since their war of aggression against Vietnam in February, 1979 which ended in defeat. This serious act of war has flagrantly violated the territorial sovereignty of Viet Nam, undermined the security and disrupted the normal working life of the Vietnamese people in border areas. It has all the more exposed the wicked attempt of aggression of the hegemonists and expansionists within the Beijing ruling circles, multiplied their crimes against the Vietnamese people. This also constitutes an insolent challenge to peace and justice-loving forces in the world.

The situation along the Sino-Vietnamese border is becoming very tense and in the danger of becoming more explosive. Beijing has ceaselessly been making slanders and distortions with a view to covering up the fact that they are escalating the war against the Vietnamese people.

I. FACTS

1. Making slanders and preparations for war escalation. To begin with a slander campaign against Vietnam, in February, 1984, in the border region of Quangxi, Hu Yaobang, Chinese party leader, said : "Our border is not yet

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tranquil and still subjected to serious provocations by Vietnam" and China "will resolutely strike back".

In tone with Hu Yaobang's allegations, the Chinese propaganda machine raised a hue and cry slanderously charging Vietnam with "building fortifications, laying barbed wires" and "seizing many points in Chinese territory"...

On April 26, in Guangzhou, Chinese air force commander Zhang Tingfa said "China is facing serious provocations by Vietnam's regional hegemonism". Recently, Chinese representative at the United Nations, Ling Qing, stated: "China reserves its right to teach Vietnam a second lesson".

The "Voice of America" on April 3, 1984 reported "China is using the same words as before February 17, 1979".

Parallel to acts of slanderous propaganda and threats, the Chinese authorities have frenziedly intensified their military forces in preparation for a new step of war escalation against Vietnam.

They have sent many more divisions of the strategic reserve force belonging to the two great military zones of Gangzhou and Kunming to areas bordering on Vietnam for reinforcement to the 15 divisions permanently stationed there.

They have transferred various types of long-range artillery, rockets, tanks and other sophisticated war means to key areas, heights and border gates opposite to the six northern border provinces of Vietnam. They have put the Chinese forces in the border areas, including air force units, in a "state of alert", and continually staged combined military exercises with the participation of different arms and services such as tanks, artillery, and the air force with a view to intimidating the security of Vietnam.

U.P.I, on May 1, 1984, revealed "Chinese forces along the Sino-Vietnamese border have been put on full alert of combat" and "China has sent fighter aircraft down to the southern area bordering on Vietnam to support its infantry forces".

## 2. Wanton shelling in initiation of a new step of war escalation.

Having suffered defeat in the war of aggression in February 1979, in pursuing a hostile policy against Vietnam, the Chinese authorities have frequently carried out armed provocations in Vietnam's border area, considering it the principal manoeuvre with a view to weakening Vietnam and thereby subjugating it.

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The Chinese authorities have over the past five years launched long bouts of shelling and bombardment, at scores of places along the Sino- Vietnamese border, each lasted days and for each thousands of mortar shells were fired. Typical are the following cases :

- In July, 1980, during two weeks, China fired more than 5,000 (five thousand) mortar shells on nearly ten points in Quang Ninh, Cao Bang, Ha Tuyen and Hoang Lien Son provinces.

- In May, 1981, during 10 days, China fired more than 4,000 mortar shells of various types on the Hill range 400, in Lang Son province.

- In April 1983, during two weeks, China fired more than 4,500 shells of various types on 13 points of 6 Vietnamese border provinces.

Since April 2, 1984, on the whole range of the northern border of Vietnam, they have used big calibre artillery pieces and mortars of various types such as 130mm D74, 122 mm howitzers, H.12 rockets, wantonly firing more than 120,000 shells in total on more than 100 points in 26 districts of 6 provinces along the northern border of Vietnam. On April 2 and 3, 1984 they fired more than 10,000 shells on 50 points and on April 16 and 17, 1984 nearly 10,000 shells on more than 40 points. In some areas belonging to Ha Tuyen and Lang Son provinces, they have repeatedly carried out the shelling and bombardment with increasing density.

Hereafter are typical cases in a number of the provinces on the northern border of Vietnam :

In Ha Tuyen : from April 28 to May 1, 1984 the Chinese authorities fired 60,000 artillery and mortar shells on 28 out of 33 villages in 7 districts bordering on China, particularly on the areas of Vi Xuyen, Thanh Thuy, Yen Minh.

Most seriously, on May 22, 1984, the Chinese authorities wantonly fired on numerous residential quarters in Ha Giang township (formerly the provincial capital of Ha Giang) which is deep inside Vietnamese territory, nearly 20kms from the border-line.

In Quang Ninh : throughout 30 days and nights of April, 1984 the Chinese authorities fired 10,000 mortar shells of various types on many points belonging to 9 villages in the 3 districts of Hai Ninh, Quang Ha, and Binh Lieu bordering on Guang Xi province of China.

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In Cao Bang : from April 2 to May 15, 1984 the Chinese authorities carried out 266 artillery raids, firing more than 10,000 artillery and mortar shells of various types on 74 points in 34 villages, among which 31 are adjacent to the borderline and 3 deep inside the territory of 8 border districts.

In Lang Son : From April 1 to <sup>May</sup> 15, 1984 the Chinese authorities carried out the shelling and bombardment on the whole border region of Lang Son province, from Trang Dinh district to Dinh Lap district, they fired nearly 40,000 artillery shells on most of villages of 5 districts bordering on Guang Xi province in China, among which the districts of Trang Dinh, Cao Loc and Dinh Lap were most fiercely and protractedly bombarded.

The shelling and bombardment carried out by the Chinese authorities this time have inflicted numerous losses in lives and property to the people of the 6 provinces in the border region, disrupting their production and normal life, multiplying their crimes against the Vietnamese people. Chinese artillery shells have killed and injured a great number of civilians, including many old people, children, women, teachers and school-children, destroying hundreds of dwelling-houses, scores of stores of food, commodities, materials and a number of local factories. Hundreds of hectares of rice, maize, tobacco fields and tea plantations were destroyed and left uncultivated, and lots of precious timber forests and medicinal herb gardens levelled.

3. Carrying out land-grabbing attacks on Vietnamese territory, preparing for new steps of war escalation.

Having suffered defeat in the war of aggression in February, 1979, thus compelled to pull out their troops, the Chinese authorities continued their illegal occupation of scores of heights and groups of heights along the borderline, including more than 10 heights deep inside Vietnamese territory.

Since the war in February, 1979, with the motto "ride on the borderline, root out the heights", the Chinese authorities have seized an additional number of heights in the border region of Vietnam :

+ In 1980, a regiment-sized infantry force was used under artillery support to attack and seize height 1992, belonging to Xin Man district, Ha Tuyen province.

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+ In 1987, many infantry battalions were mobilized with artillery support to carry out the nibbling attacks on hill range 400 in Cao Loc district, Lang Son province and the heights 800A, 800B, 688 in Vi Xuyen district, Ha Tuyen province,

Since the end of April, 1984, within only one month, besides carrying out fierce artillery shelling on the border areas of Vietnam, the Chinese authorities have mobilised division-sized infantry forces to frenziedly and massively attack and seize a number of heights in Lang Son and Ha Tuyen provinces :

- On April 6, 1984 they massed several battalions to attack heights 820 and 636 in Trang Dinh district, Lang Son province. The local armed forces and people fought bravely, annihilating many enemy troops, pushing the rest back to the other side of the border.

On April 18, 1984, they used several infantry battalions to attack the area surrounding height 250 belonging to Yen Minh district, Ha Tuyen province. Suffering heavy losses, the Chinese troops had to pull back to their side of the border.

From April 28 to May 1, 1984, having suffered telling blows in the previous nibbling attacks, the Chinese rulers mobilised units, belonging to army corps 14 and independent divisions of Kunming great military zone under the support of scores of artillery positions on the Chinese side of the border to frantically and massively attack heights 1545, 1509, 772, 233 in Vi Xuyen district and height cluster 1250 in Yen Minh district, Ha Tuyen province, among them height 233 is more than 1,000 m inside Vietnamese territory.

The local armed forces and people annihilated a large part of the invasion force capturing a number of enemy troops.

On May 15, while the Chinese premier was rhetorically speaking of "good - will for peace" at the Chinese National People's Congress session, the Chinese ruling circles mobilized one infantry regiment belonging to Kunming Military zone to attack and seize height 1030 in Vi Xuyen district, Ha Tuyen province.

The above-mentioned facts have demonstrated that since early April, 1984 till now, by carrying out fierce artillery shelling and nibbling attacks on an unprecedented scale, bombarding villages adjacent to the borderline and shelling on residential quarters deep inside Vietnamese territory, the Chinese authorities

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have taken new and serious steps of war escalation against Vietnam, committing numerous crimes against the Vietnamese people.

At present, there still exists tension along the Sino-Vietnamese border. The Chinese authorities are repeatedly and continuously firing artillery and mortar shells on Vietnamese territory. They are mobilizing more air and infantry forces to reinforce the 2 great military zones of Kunming and Guangzhou, intensifying the transportation of war materials to the border region, digging trenches, building fortifications... frenziedly preparing for new steps of war escalation.

## II/ BEIJING'S LONG-TERM SCHEME

1. The Chinese authorities' war-escalation against Vietnam which has been going on since April 2, 1984 is an early calculated act and is part of Beijing's scheme to wage an anti-Vietnamese multi-faceted war of sabotage aimed at "bleeding Vietnam" and conquering this country.

It is wellknown that having suffered the shameful defeat in their war of aggression in February, 1979, the rulers in Beijing still refuse to abandon their expansionist and hegemonist ambitions with regard to Vietnam. Beijing has ceaselessly used the ploy of military pressure on the northern border area of Vietnam, colluded with U.S. imperialism and other international reactionaries in the economic blockade and isolation of Vietnam, attempted to sabotage the peaceful construction of Vietnam after 30 continuous years of war, thus exerting multisided pressure on Vietnam, compelling it to deviate from its independent and sovereign line and eventually annexing it.

In order to realize this scheme, over the past 5 years, they have created a tense situation along the border between the 2 countries driving Vietnam into a permanent state of war, enjoying no peace and stability for national construction. The large-scale artillery shelling and land-grabbing attacks going on since April 2, 1984 constitute a more serious continuation of the armed provocations staged by Beijing throughout the past 5 years against Vietnam.

These new and serious steps of war escalation taken by the Beijing rulers are obviously aimed at realising their long-term scheme to nibble Vietnamese

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territory, change the historical borderline between the two countries, create military advantages for armed activities against Vietnam.

Just like before when the United States escalated its war of aggression, China only started the invasion of Vietnam after having held consultation between them in advance. In 1972, after Nixon visited China, the United States staged the blockade of Hai Phong harbour and resumed the bombing of Hanoi. In early 1979, Deng Xiaoping went to the United States to consult with U.S. President Carter on launching a war of aggression against Vietnam. This time, Beijing has chosen the time when it was receiving U.S. President Reagan to bring its landgrabbing operation against Vietnam to a culmination. In fact, Wu Xueqian has discussed the situation at the Sino-Vietnamese border with U.S. Secretary of State Shultz in order to seek U.S. support. Clearly, the recent Chinese war-escalation is a calculated act within the framework of its over-all strategy of maintaining collusion with the United States and other international reactionary forces against Vietnam and against the three Indochinese countries as a whole, causing tension in this region and in the rest of the world. Intensifying war escalation and causing explosive situation in the Sino-Vietnamese border area is also a way for Beijing to bolster the sagging morale of the Pol Pot remnants and their accomplices, flaunt its support to Thailand, undermine the tendency developing among the ASEAN countries to abandon Pol Pot and activate relations with Vietnam.

2. In order to cover up their schemes and acts of war-escalation against Vietnam and mislead world public opinion, the Chinese authorities have resorted to vicious means in their brazen slanders against Vietnam. While frenziedly preparing for a new military adventure against Vietnam, and threatening to invade Vietnam once again, they slanderously charged Vietnam with "increasing war activities and waiting for an opportunity to invade China". While encroaching upon Vietnamese territory and brazenly violating Vietnam's sovereignty, they made a hue and cry about Vietnam "building fortifications, seizing China's heights", thus "compelling China to put up self-defense retaliation". This is the familiar thief-shouting-stop-thief trick that Beijing has been playing for five years now whenever they pushed up armed provocations and encroachments upon Vietnamese territory.

Beijing's contention on the so-called "self-defense retaliation" cannot hold water. In February, 1979, Beijing spread the same argument when they mobilized six hundred thousand troops to invade Vietnam and during the past five years, they have ceaselessly repeated this old song.

Beijing repeatedly said that "after February, 1979, Vietnam used its troops to seize many of China's heights", thus "compelling China to retaliate in defense of its territory"... This deceitful Chinese contention has been exposed by public opinion. Even American analysts really believe that the four heights attacked by China are on Vietnamese territory (FEER, - May, 1984). American public opinion also acknowledged that China seized Vietnam's heights and shelled on Vietnamese territory even when the situation on the Kampuchean-Thai border had returned to tranquillity (Times, May, 1984).

Parallel to spreading the above-mentioned tricky contention, Beijing has been doing its best to embellish an extremely "moderate" face, repeatedly saying that "China does not want to get involved in military conflicts", "China needs a peaceful international background to fulfil its four modernisations"... and uttering time and again the same old words which it has been using for a long time now : "if you do not touch me, I will not touch you; if you touch me, I will inevitably touch you".

Beijing even shamelessly said that "China is sincerely desirous to improve its relation with Vietnam" and that "if Vietnam ceases its armed provocations, the Sino-Vietnamese border will return to tranquillity", etc.

The whole world knows clearly that during the past 40 years China has always used the deceitful "peace" and "self-defense" signboards to conceal their acts of aggressive war against neighbouring countries. They did the same thing when launching the border war against India in 1962 occupying 370,000 square kilometres of Indian territory. They resorted to the same pretext when starting the border conflict with the Soviet Union in April, 1969 and when staging the war of aggression against Vietnam in February, 1979. The policy followed by the Beijing rulers during the last decades is one of pitting countries against each other and seeking every possible way to create "great chaos" in other countries, especially in its neighbours, in order to weaken and then to conquer or to rival with them for influence. The February 1979 invasion of Vietnam and the land-grabbing campaign against Vietnam which has been going on since early April till now are conspicuous manifestations of this vicious Chinese policy. What should also be pointed out is that during the past five years, the Chinese authorities have rejected all constructive and reasonable proposals put forth by Vietnam on ceasing acts of armed conflict along the border between the two countries, on resuming negotiations as well as on signing treaties of peaceful co-existence and non-aggression respectively

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between China and Vietnam and between China and the other Indochinese countries.

The above-mentioned developments prove that Beijing's rhetorical words on the so-called China's "goodwill" or its "sincere desire" to improve relations with Vietnam are but empty words aimed at misleading world public opinion. The truth is that Beijing wants to avoid being tied up by peace agreements with Vietnam so that it can have a free hand to create tension along the border and bestow itself the right to "teach a second lesson" to Vietnam, at the same time to check Vietnam from retaliating its acts of aggression.

More than anyone else, having gone through thirty years of war, Vietnam is earnest of peace. While pointing to Vietnam's desire to preserve peace and stability along the border these abovementioned facts prove that Beijing considers it a need to cause tension along the border between the two countries to maintain a state of war, thus compelling Vietnam to cope with it in the long run.

Vietnam and China are neighbouring countries sharing a common border line. The peoples of the two countries enjoy age-old friendly relations. The worsening of the Sino-Vietnamese relations to the present level is completely due to the Chinese authorities' hegemonist and expansionist policy against Vietnam.

The recent grave war-escalation by the Chinese authorities shows that they have not resigned themselves to defeat and that they have not given up the scheme of subjugating Vietnam.

The Government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam sternly denounces to public opinion the Chinese authorities' criminal acts and brazen stand ; it calls upon the peace and justice-loving people in the world to strongly condemn the Chinese authorities' criminal acts against the Vietnamese people and demand that they put an end to them.

The Government and people of Vietnam call upon the people of China to put up a vigorous struggle demanding the Chinese authorities to give up their hostile policy against Vietnam so that the blood of the Chinese people's sons will stop shedding while committing crimes in service to the Chinese authorities' hegemonist and expansionist scheme.

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The Government and people of Vietnam are always sincerely desirous to solve, through peaceful negotiations, the problems existing between Vietnam and China, thus proceeding to the normalization of relations between the two countries on the basis of mutual respect for each other's independence and sovereignty, in the interest of the Vietnamese people, of the peoples of other countries in the region, and of the Chinese people themselves ; but at the same time, they have great enough a determination to defend and to build their fatherland, resolutely punishing the crimes committed by the Chinese hegemonists and expansionists, against the Vietnamese people.

The Chinese authorities must immediately put an end to all acts of war aimed at seizing Vietnamese territory and to threats against Vietnam, withdraw their armed forces from Vietnam's heights that they have seized, respect Vietnam's sovereignty and territorial integrity.

The Chinese authorities must bear full responsibility for the consequences of their adventurcous military acts against Vietnam.

Hanoi, June 4 , 1984

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