

EMBASSY OF THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM

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VIETNAM TO THE 39TH SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY
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We are all greatly concerned about the recent frenzied arms race and the danger of a nuclear war which would completely destroy life on this planet. Scientists unanimously agree on this. Who, then is responsible for this situation? Some people lay the blame on the Soviet Union, some others on the United States and still others point an accusing finger at both the United States and the Soviet Union. What is the truth?

It is well-known that immediately after the Second World War, while still maintaining a nuclear monopoly, the United States made a great fuss about the so-called danger of aggression from communists and the Soviet Union as a pretext for accelerating the arms race. Then in 1957 when the Soviet Union successfully launched the first satellite into outer space, the United States made a commotion about the so-called "missile gap" so as to further step up the arms race. And ever since 1978, the United States has again raised a hue and cry about the so-called "Soviet superiority in nuclear weapons" in order to accelerate the arms race to an extremely dangerous extent.

In fact, over the past more than 200 years since its birth, the United States has never been invaded. On the contrary, it has acted as an international policeman engaging in intervention and aggression everywhere, culminating in its aggression against Vietnam. During the past 60 years and more, since its establishment, the Soviet Union has twice been a victim of imperialist intervention and aggression. It suffered the worst destruction of the Second World War at the hand of Nazism, Soviet troops have never invaded the United States. But in the early days of Soviet power, the U.S. sent its troops to intervene in the Soviet Union, //security and territorial integrity. Over the last four decades the United States has forged various military alliances and established U.S. military bases throughout the world in an attempt to encircle and threaten the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union, for its part, has undertaken no such activities aimed at encircling and threatening U.S. territory.

Since the beginning of the Second World War, the United States with its absolute military and economic superiority has never concealed its ambition to impose on the world a U.S. order, a "Pax Americana", and to make this century the "U.S. century" to this era, the United States has used two familiar instruments: the stick and the carrot aimed at ensuring its lasting military and economic

//Since then, it has posed a constant threat to the Soviet Union's

superiority so as to threaten and subjugate other countries, and compel the Soviet Union to engage in a forced arms race resulting in its economic collapse. That is why, even in the 1950s when the United States' absolute military and economic superiority was greater than all the other powers combined it still accelerated the arms race, and adopted a policy of "massive retaliation" and "brinkmanship". Even though up to the present, the U.S. has remained the number one power in terms of strategic forces, it has continued ever since the early 60s to clamour about the so-called "missile gap".

The last decades have witnessed a struggle that changed the military and economic balance of force between the big powers in the world. In order to deal with the U.S. threat, the Soviet Union has endeavoured to narrow the economic gap between the United States and the Soviet Union, and at the same time, to catch up with the United States in terms of strategic weapons. Since the early 70s, as it was bogged down in and weakened by the Vietnam war, U.S. military and economic strength has not been what it was in the 50s. Still, no country was stronger than the U.S. in military and economic terms. Since the 70s, the world has witnessed the emergence of a rough balance in strategic weapons between the United States and the Soviet Union. This "rough balance" led to a period of detente between the United States and the Soviet Union, improved East-West relations and detente in Europe. But since the late 70s, the United States has considered detente and improved East-West relations are not conducive to the U.S. ambition of hegemony, that is why, it concocted the so-called Soviet military threat, causing tension in the world, undermining East-West relations, and accelerating the arms race, thereby bringing the world to the brink of world nuclear disaster. It is intended to threaten, and subjugate the world people and force the Soviet Union to engage in the arms race until economic exhaustion and collapse.

The realities of the last four decades give rise to a question in people of conscience : if the U.S. continued to maintain its monopoly of nuclear weapons what would be the fate of other nations today ?

It is still fresh in mankind's memory that the U.S. used the atomic bomb while it still maintained a nuclear monopoly. It has, thus far, refused to declare that it would not be the first to use nuclear weapons. It is obvious that Soviet attainment of parity in terms of strategic forces constitutes the firmest guarantee of world peace and independence for all nations.

Like all peace-loving nations, the Vietnamese people stand for the elimination of all types of weapons. Only this can ensure a peaceful life for all people. We therefore support the efforts made by the Soviet Union and other peace-loving forces to maintain the present strategic balance between East and West. We strongly support their initiatives aimed at disarmament and gradual elimination of the arms race.

Another burning issue which requires solution is the economic situation of the developing countries. The serious economic difficulties that Asian, African, and Latin American peoples are facing are, first of all, due to the consequences of the age-old rule of colonialism and imperialism exploitation and injustice. These difficulties have been further aggravated in the past 10 years by the burdens imposed by the arms race and by the economic crises of the imperialist powers. The gap between the Western and the developing countries has increasingly widened. That is why the struggle for the establishment of the new international economic order, and a gradual improvement of the economic situation of the developing countries as called for by the 7th Summit of the Non-Aligned countries is imperative.

The struggle of the developing countries for an independent economy and for a new international economic order is indeed a protracted struggle full of hardships and difficulties.

The global negotiations and North-South dialogue in the last few years testify to the fact that we cannot expect much goodwill from the Western countries. This is naturally so, for after they have been forced to grant political independence to the Asian, African and Latin American countries, the Western countries attempt to use the economic weapon to preserve their influence and domination over these countries.

In Vietnam, after their failure to subjugate our people by sheer force of arms, the imperialist elements and international reactionaries have tried by hook or by crook to destabilize Vietnam through an economic blockade.

They have carried out acts of sabotage in order to bleed Vietnam white "they want to drain Vietnam economically so that they can teach Asian, African and Latin American countries a lesson that they can win their struggle for national liberation but will fail in their efforts to build their economies. Still we have step by step realized some achievements. In spite of numerous difficulties, Vietnam's economy has not collapsed as some had hoped, instead it has overcome the most difficult years and is now gradually and steadily improving. We have some problems in our balance of payments, yet our debt is neither substantial nor significant. In our case we must mobilize our own efforts and also rely on the assistance and cooperation of the socialist and Non-Aligned nations and other countries. The friendly cooperation between Vietnam and India in the last few years has brought about some positive results of particular importance. The visit by the General Secretary of the Communist Party of Vietnam to India has opened up new possibilities for cooperation between the two countries in many fields. India is a great country, with rich experience in building an independent economy, a national culture and in improving its people's life. The cooperation between Vietnam and India, imbued with the spirit of equality, friendship and mutual interest is a good example of economic cooperation between the two Non-Aligned countries as well as of South-South cooperation.

Since the Second World War, the United States has become the international policeman and it has carried out intervention and aggression throughout the world. To do this, the United States always raises the slogan of opposing communism and the Soviet Union, it slanders the victims of aggression as communist agents, as instruments of the Soviet Union and it declares one part of the world after another as vital to the United States' national security. But what is the true story? almost all of approximately 100 interventions and aggressions that the United States has carried out in the last four decades have been directed against the national independent countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America. In the past, as a pretext for its aggression against Vietnam the United States slandered Vietnam as the Soviet Union's and China's agent, as an instrument of international communism, it considered Southeast Asia an area of its "vital national interest". But it is well-known that the struggle of the Vietnamese people is a struggle against the U.S. aggression and for national independence. Now similar slanders are being raised against Cuba, Nicaragua, Grenada, Lebanon, Syria and Libya... So as to justify the U.S. intervention and aggression in Central America, in the Middle-East and in other parts of the world.

The present anti-communist, anti-Soviet policies of the United States remind us of the Monroe doctrine advocated by the U.S. expansionist elements in the last century. The difference is that the United States previously applied the Monroe doctrine only in Latin America while it is now imposing it on the entire world and considering this the vital to the security of the U.S. Just as in the past, when the Latin American peoples united to wage the struggle that frustrated the Monroe doctrine, now the world people certainly will defeat the new Monroe doctrine. The world people showed their solidarity with the Vietnamese people to defeat the United States in its war of aggression against Vietnam, they must now express their solidarity with the Vietnamese people to defeat the United States in its war of aggression against Vietnam, they must now express

their solidarity with the peoples of Central America, the Middle-East and other parts of the world in order to stop the U.S. policy of intervention and aggression.

The Vietnamese people have consistently sided with the fraternal peoples of Cuba and Nicaragua in their just struggle against the U.S. intervention, aggression and threats of aggression. We condemn in the strongest terms the U.S. aggression against Grenada. We fully support the peoples of El Salvador, Puerto Rico and other Latin American countries in their struggle for peace, independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. We whole-heartedly support the struggle of Arab peoples, especially that of the Palestinian people under the leadership of the PLO against the Israeli aggressors, and for the establishment of a Palestinian state with the PLO as its legal and legitimate representative. We fully support the important initiative of the Soviet Union to convene an international conference on the Middle East. We fully support the Sahrawi Democratic Arab Republic in its struggle for the exercise of the right to self-determination. We resolutely support the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya in its struggle against U.S. threats of aggression.

We resolutely demand that South Africa immediately grant independence to Namibia. We express our full solidarity with the struggle of the Namibian people under the leadership of SWAPO, of the South African people under the guidance of ANC and of other peoples in Southern Africa for national independence and social progress. We are of the view that it is very important to further promote solidarity and assistance among African countries.

We completely support the Afghan people in their struggle to defend and consolidate their fruits of the April Revolution. We support the position of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea regarding tripartite talks and calling for the complete withdrawal of U.S. troops from South Korea and for peaceful reunification of their country. We support the Cypriot people in their struggle for the restoration of their sovereignty and territorial integrity. We support the right to self-determination of the peoples of East Timor and Micronesia.

Although Europe was the battleground of the two world wars and is currently the site of the biggest arsenal in the world, it has been the only region without a local war for 40 years. In sharp contrast, Asia and the Pacific has been the single region devastated by the three biggest and longest local wars, i.e. the Korean war and the two Indochinese wars. This is not counting the other wars unleashed by China against most of her neighbours. After the formation in Europe of NATO - the largest military bloc ever and a product of the U.S., the United States set up the greatest number of military alliances. However, all the efforts of imperialist and reactionary forces have met with one setback after another and Asia is the continent that has experienced the deepest changes in the world during the last four decades.

Despite repeated failures, imperialist and reactionary forces have not yet reconciled themselves to abandoning their scheme of hegemony and aggression against the Asian peoples, the United States is actively proceeding with the creation of a military alliance with Japan and South Korea. Japan is becoming an "unsinkable aircraft carrier" of the United States in Asia. The people living in the Asia-Pacific region are gravely concerned about the increasing collusion between the United States and China, and between Japan and China which is directed against the peace and independence of the nations in the region. What Washington has never concealed its intention of forming a NATO bloc in Asia.

Such a situation demands that the peoples of Asia heighten their vigilance and their solidarity in the common struggle for a lasting peace in Asia. We welcome efforts by any countries towards this end. In this context, we highly appreciate the initiative of the People's Republic of Mongolia in signing a convention of non-aggression and non-use of force in the relations among countries of Asia and the Pacific.

The fierce struggle and profound changes in Asia have found their most vivid expression in the three Indochinese countries. The current so-called "Kampuchean problem" is simply a continuation of the situation which has developed in Indochina over the last four decades. In order to find a just solution to the so-called "Kampuchean problem", one has to proceed from the very nature of the situation in Indochina and Asia, which can be summarized as follows :

1- During the last 40 years, Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea have been the only countries of the world ravaged by uninterrupted wars with the quantity of bombs and ammunition over five times greater than the amount used in the Second World War.

2. The three Indochinese countries have been the main victims of aggression at the hand of the United States, China, Great Britain and France, all of whom are permanent members of the UN Security Council - an organization whose primary responsibility is to maintain world peace and to safeguard the sovereignty and independence of nations. But to find a pretext for their aggression, the imperialist and reactionary forces have used the ploy of "thief crying stolen thief" accusing the three Indochinese countries of being a tool of communist expansion and of threatening their neighbouring countries.

3. The three Indochinese peoples are victims of a common enemy, i.e. the imperialist and reactionary forces. The aggressors have waged wars of aggression simultaneously on the territories of the three Indochinese countries with the aim of imposing their domination on them. This explains why solidarity in fighting against the common enemy has become a necessity for the three peoples. The armed forces of the three countries have always fought side by side for their respective independence and the independence of the three countries. Their armed forces have never gone beyond their border just as their solidarity has never infringed upon the interests of the neighbouring countries, this solidarity is of vital importance to the three countries, as is true of the solidarity among Arab nations, among African countries and among the front line states in Southern Africa. Imperialist and hegemonist forces have acted in collusion, using the ASEAN countries and their territories (with the exception of Indonesia) to oppose the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea. They have tried to split the three countries, using the fiction of an "Indochinese federation" which was abandoned by the three Indochinese countries following the dissolution of "French Indochina".

4. The three Indochinese peoples' aspiration for independence has crystalized into an invincible strength. For the last four decades, fierce and uninterrupted wars as well as sustained economic embargoes and political isolation have all failed to subjugate the three countries. In the end the aggressors were compelled to agree to international conferences to end the wars and to recognize the independence and sovereignty of the three Indochinese countries. Ours has been the only region of the world where three such international conferences have been convened, involving five major powers which are currently permanent members of the UN Security Council and resulting in the only international accords which recognize the national rights of the three Indochinese countries.

5. The struggle in Southeast Asia during the last four decades has resulted in the formation of two groups of countries-ASEAN and Indochinese with differing political and social systems. Carrying out their "divide and rule" policy, imperialist and reactionary forces have pitted the ASEAN against the Indochinese countries.

therefore, peace and stability in Southeast Asia requires both peaceful coexistence between the two groups of countries and an end to all forms of outside interference.

6. In the last four decades, the majority at the United Nations has kept silent in the face of the longest and most brutal wars of aggression waged against the three Indochinese countries. Today, at the UN, the majority is again taking sides with the expansionist forces by recognizing the genocidal Pol Pot criminals, who have massacred three million Kampucheans and who are trying to impede the Kampuchean people's rebirth. It is due to this state of affairs that solutions to the most protracted and bloodiest Indochinese wars were found outside the framework of the United Nations.

If the so-called "Kampuchea problems" has dragged on for six years without being resolved, it is because of an unwillingness to address the real nature of the issue : the struggle of the three Indochinese peoples for the defence of their independence and sovereignty against their northern neighbour's hegemonism and expansionism. Some have deliberately supported the actions of aggressors against their victims just as they have thrown their support behind the Pol Pot clique, which massacred three million Kampucheans, launched wars of aggression against neighbouring countries and which is trying to impede the recovery of the Kampuchean people.

During the last six years, the People's Republic of Kampuchea has become an undeniable reality. From the mass graves of the genocidal Pol Pot regime, the Kampuchean people have returned to life and have restored national unity and concord. They have exercised and are exercising their right to self-determination, for their self-determination is first and foremost the right to live free from the genocidal Pol Pot clique. However, under the pretext of defending the right to self-determination of the Kampuchean people, imperialist and reactionary forces have been trying to bring this genocidal clique back to power in Kampuchea.

Vietnamese volunteer forces have, on three occasions, gone to Kampuchea to fight side by side with the Kampuchean people against a common enemy. Twice they have withdrawn from this country : the first time in 1954 when the French colonialist's war was terminated and the second time in 1975 after the end of American war. They will withdraw for the third time once China has ceased its threat. The People's Republic of Kampuchea and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam categorically reject the demand for a unilateral withdrawal of Vietnamese volunteers, and demand designed to bring Pol Pot either openly or in disguise back to Kampuchea. The Kampuchean People's recovery has made possible a gradual withdrawal of Vietnamese volunteers from Kampuchea each year, starting in 1982. This has frustrated the design of those who would like either to demand the immediate and complete withdrawal of Vietnamese volunteers, opening the way for the Pol Pot clique to return to power in Kampuchea or to keep these forces bogged down in Kampuchea unable to withdraw.

All the military, political, economic and diplomatic measures that China and ASEAN have taken against the three Indochinese peoples during the last six years have failed. All attempts to impose a unilateral solution on Kampuchea have come to naught. Now there is only one alternative : to engage in a dialogue, to jointly consider the proposals of both parties and to start negotiations on the basis of equality and mutual respect for each other's interests. We are of the view that if the parties concerned sincerely wish to settle their differences, the opportunity for doing so has presented itself. Such a development will conform to the interests of all parties in Southeast Asia and to the resolutions on Southeast Asia adopted by the Seventh Summit Conference of the Non-aligned countries held in New Delhi in 1983 : resolutions accepted by both the ASEAN and Indochina groups.

We welcome all initiatives by other countries to facilitate negotiations between the two groups of Southeast Asian countries to find a solution that ensures

respects for each other's independence and sovereignty that guarantees peace and security in Southeast Asia.

Attempts to impose a solution aimed at thwarting the rebirth of Kampuchea, which would result in the return of the Pol Pot genocidal clique and which threaten Laos and Vietnam should be given up otherwise peace and stability in Southeast Asia will continue to be undermined. In this context, with the growing strength of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, the Vietnamese volunteers will continue their annual withdrawals from Kampuchea. Within five to ten years, when most of the Vietnamese volunteers will be withdrawn from Kampuchea, the People's Republic of Kampuchea will be able to shoulder its own defence, and the question of Kampuchea will thus resolve itself.

As a people who have endured centuries of foreign domination and half a century of wartime destruction, the Vietnamese people long for a life of peace more ardently than any other people. We wish to entertain friendly relations with all countries and especially with neighbouring states. We are ready to let bygones be bygones and to look to the future in our relations with those countries who have caused and are still causing so much suffering to our people.

A stable situation in Southeast Asia depends first and foremost on the relations between the two main groups of countries, i.e. ASEAN and Indochina. There is no alternative to these groups settling their differences through negotiations on the basis of equality and mutual respect, free from outside interference. The peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea always respect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Thailand and wish to develop neighbourly relations with its people. However, it should be pointed out that the main obstacles are the hostile policies pursued by the Thai authorities in collusion with the foreign reactionaries by using the Pol Pot clique to oppose the rebirth of the Kampuchean people, supporting acts of subversion against Laos, especially continuing their occupation of the three Lao villages as well as their hostile policies towards Vietnam. We hope that the Thai authorities will soon realize this, for their national interest and for the sake of peace, stability and peaceful co-existence in Southeast Asia. We demand that the Thai authorities put an end to their interference in the internal affairs of the Kampuchean people. Thailand must immediately withdraw its troops from the three Lao villages it has illegally occupied since June 6, 1984, return the villagers they kidnapped, compensate the people for the loss of lives and property they inflicted and allow the three villages to return to their normal way of life before invasion.

The occupation by Thailand of the three villages - at a time when the differences between ASEAN and the Indochinese country, having dragged on for six years, have not yet been settled and may or may not soon be settled - further points to the urgency of reaching some agreement on peaceful co-existence between ASEAN and Indochina in order to defuse the explosive tensions which threaten to get out of control.

While constantly promoting and consolidating the friendly relationship and comprehensive cooperation with the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries, we always wish to restore traditional friendly relations with the Chinese people. It is our view that the normalisation of Sino-Vietnamese relations and the restoration of mutual friendship are beneficial to both peoples and at the same time constitute a very important factor for peace and security in Southeast Asia.

Even though the consequences of the war conducted by Johnson and Nixon against our people will take us a long time to overcome, the people of Vietnam always consider the American people as their friends, the peoples of the two countries being twin victims of that war. If the United States government really wishes to contribute to peace and stability in Southeast Asia, their efforts will be welcomed, we once again affirm our willingness to settle

with the United States all problems that concern our countries including the questions of MIAs, Amerasians and criminals in re-education camps, etc...

The relationship between Vietnam and the Soviet Union and other socialist countries is one of enduring fraternal trusts that has stood the test of time. The Soviet Union is the only permanent member of the security council that has shown respect for Vietnam's independence and whole-heartedly supported its struggle for independence. Thanks to the valuable assistance of the Soviet Union, Vietnam has been able to overcome the most serious obstacles in defending and building the country. The United States, China, Japan and ASEAN are now raising a question about the so-called "Soviet military base" in Cam Ranh. I should make it clear that, at present, there is no such Soviet military base, but our country has the right to let Soviet aircraft and vessels call at its ports in Vietnam. Soviet aircraft and vessels calling at the Vietnamese ports do not pose a threat to any country. The only real threat to all Asian countries is posed by China with the largest armed forces of the world, as well as by the colossal U.S. military bases in the Philippines, in Thailand and in Okinawa and particularly by Japan's position as the U.S.'s "unsinkable aircraft carrier". This fact can be underscored by the use of these territories and bases in the U.S. war of aggression against Vietnam and the other Indochinese countries. The outcry by China, the United States and ASEAN about the purported "Soviet military base in Vietnam" is simply aimed at obscuring the grave threat posed by China's gigantic military machine and by the colossal U.S. military bases in Asia. If they are really worried about Soviet aircraft and vessels in Vietnam, why then do they reject the resolutions adopted by 1983 Seventh Summit Conference of the Non-Aligned Movement calling for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from the Southeast Asian region? Why then do they refuse to accept the concept of a zone of peace and neutrality in Asia (ZOPFAN) proposed since 1971 by ASEAN itself? Vietnam favours the idea of turning Southeast Asia into a zone of peace and neutrality as called for in the Seventh Summit resolutions and as proposed by ASEAN countries.

THE END.