

May 4/79 *D*

EMBASSY OF THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF VIET NAM
PRESS AND INFORMATION SECTION

12 Victoria Road - London W.8. Tel. 01-937 1912/8564

S P E E C H

by Vietnamese Vice Foreign Minister PHAN HIEN
at the 3rd session of the Vietnam-China
negotiation in Hanoi on May4,1979

The Vietnamese Delegation has carefully studied the speech by head of Delegation Han Nien Long at the second plenary meeting on April 26, 1979. Following are our views :

1- The Chinese delegation has again denied the facts, distorted history, slandered Vietnam, and attempted to elude the responsibility of the Chinese side for the deterioration of the relations between the two countries, culminating in the war of aggression started by the Chinese authorities against the Vietnamese people on February 17, 1979. To our deep regret, the Chinese side still refuses to listen to reason. History has shown that those who have embarked on this path and are slow to recognize the truth are bound to commit even greater mistakes and to suffer even greater defeats. Fair and honest public opinion in the world have clearly realized that the deep root and immediate cause of the aforesaid situation lie in the Chinese leaders' policy of big-nation expansionism and hegemonism, and their hostile policy towards the peoples of Vietnam, Laos, Kampuchea and other Southeast Asian countries.

The Chinese leaders' war of aggression against the Vietnamese people is obviously an extremely barbarous war of extermination which has aroused the indignation of the whole mankind. The Chinese aggressor troops have mercilessly massacred civilians, mostly old folk, women and children with methods even more atrocious than those used by the Hitlerite fascists. They have razed to the ground almost all provincial capitals and townships as well as many villages along the Vietnamese border with a degree of devastation surpassing by far that of the towns and villages destroyed by the U.S. imperialists' carpet-bombing with B.52 strategic bombers. They have destroyed not only human lives, but also all sources and conditions of life, and even the human environment. The culprits cannot evade their responsibility.

2- The eight-point proposal of the Chinese side is merely an attempt to use the negotiating table for the purpose of implementing the Chinese leaders' big nation expansionist and hegemonistic policy towards Vietnam, which they have failed to achieve despite the resort to one thousand and one tricks, including war waged by proxy and directly. In fact, as a western journalist put it, "China wants to use the creation of tensions at the borders as a means of pressure to cause Vietnam to change her policy"(AFP, April 27, 1979).

As a matter of fact, it is necessary to point out that, in putting forward its 8-point proposal, the Chinese side labels it "proposal of principle for handling the relations between China and Vietnam". However, apart from point 1 about "restoring friendly and good-neighbourly relations between China and Vietnam on the basis of the five principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit and peaceful coexistence", it has raised issues going beyond bilateral relations, making an outstanding point of the so-called "struggle against hegemonism", and "non-stationing of troops in other countries", thereby hinting that Vietnam should withdraw her troops from Kampuchea and Laos. It has forgotten that through an exchange of notes, the two sides have agreed to discuss the restoration of normal relations between the two countries.

The Chinese side spoke a great deal about the struggle against hegemonism. But what about its deeds? Actually, it wants to establish China's world hegemony; it is concentrating all its efforts on a race for economic and military power, for the power of iron and steel, energy and nuclear weapons, so that China might become a first-class superpower by the end of the 20th century. It is hurriedly seeking an all-round alliance with imperialism - particularly with U.S. imperialism calling itself an Eastern NATO power, with a view to materializing their global strategy against the socialist countries, the national liberation movement, peace and progress in the world. It supports the fascist Pinochet clique, helps Mobutu, and befriends the Shah of Iran ... to oppose the liberation movement of the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. In 1962, China started a war of aggression against India. In 1969, it kindled a border war with the Soviet Union. In 1974, it occupied by force the Hoang Sa (Paracels) archipelago of Vietnam and attempted to monopolize the Eastern Sea. In the meantime, it accepted the imperialist occupation of parts of the Chinese territory, and welcomed the prolongation of that state of affairs. It supplied money and weapons, and used the organizations following its line and the large masses of Chinese nationals for manoeuvres to bring pressure to bear on and to subvert various administrations in Southeast Asia which it considers their main sphere of influence, it tried to turn Kampuchea into a neo-colony moulded after a Peking model as a springboard for expansion in Southeast Asia; it indulged in interventionist attempts and war threats against Laos. It calls for a U.S. military presence in Southeast Asia, meanwhile, it demands, that Vietnam withdraw her troops from Kampuchea and Laos. Over the past 30 years, the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea have been constantly fighting shoulder to shoulder against the common enemy - the imperialist aggressors, and after victory, the troops of each country have withdrawn within their national border. Now, confronted with a danger of intervention, aggression and annexation created by Peking, the three peoples are further strengthening their solidarity and helping one another by every means, including military ones, to defend the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of their respective countries. This is a legitimate cooperation in keeping with the U.N. Charter, the objectives and principles of the non-aligned movement and the principles of the Bandung Conference. This is a question concerning the relations between two sovereign countries, nobody is allowed to interfere in it. The Chinese leaders are seeking a military alliance with the United States, they do not oppose the maintenance of U.S. military bases in Southeast Asia, in Asia and the Pacific, meanwhile, they have raised the so-called issue of "neither side joining any military blocs directed against the other, providing military bases to other countries", thereby

hinting at Vietnam's signing a Treaty of Friendship And Cooperation with the Soviet Union. We have repeatedly made it clear that the Vietnam-Soviet Treaty of friendship and cooperation does not constitute a military alliance, and is not directed at any third country. China has nothing to fear if it does not aggress Vietnam. Vietnam firmly opposes China's policy of colluding with the U.S. imperialists, but we do not demand that the Chinese side give up its relations with the United States as a precondition for a normalization of relations between Vietnam and China.

It is noteworthy that the Chinese eight-point proposal is virtually a repetition word for word of the anti-hegemony provision in the 1972 Shanghai Joint Communiqué between China and the United States, the 1978 Sino-Japanese Treaty and the 1978 China-U.S. Joint Communiqué. As is well-known, over the recent years under the anti-hegemony signboard, China has attempted to set up with imperialism and other reactionary forces a front against the world revolutionary movement. Raising the anti-hegemony principle at the negotiations with Vietnam, it wants to compel Vietnam to give up her correct line of independence, sovereignty and international solidarity and align herself on its policy, and to abandon her lofty international duty first of all to the people of Laos and Kampuchea, so that it might easily materialize its big-nation expansionism and hegemonism in this region.

The Chinese side has used the so-called struggle against hegemonism to conceal its own hegemonism, to side-track the world peoples' revolutionary struggle, and to divert the attention of public opinion which is condemning its war of aggression against the Vietnamese people. The question has often been asked as to why China is doing its utmost to publicize anti-hegemony contentions while it has given up the objectives of the world people's struggle i.e. to oppose imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism, apartheid, zionism. In fact, it regards the revolutionary struggle of the people merely as a wrangle for influence among the big powers. It does not allow the nations to decide themselves their own affairs, but adamantly tries to talk one country into adopting, and to impose on another this pseudo-principle of anti-hegemonism. Obviously, only one question arises: the Peking leaders should give up their big-nation expansionism and hegemonism, only in this way will there be peace and stability in Southeast Asia and the world. The peoples of the Indochinese Peninsula, Southeast Asia, and the world are determined to wage in unity a struggle against all manoeuvres and the collusion of the imperialist and international reactionary forces, for peace, national independence, democracy, and social progress.

3- The eight-point proposal of the Chinese side contains in addition extremely unreasonable and arrogant demands. It demands that Vietnam relinquish her sovereignty over the Hoang Sa (Paracels) islands and Truong Sa (Spratleys) islands which have always been part of Vietnamese territory; while cynically occupying the Hoang Sa islands, it brazenly demands that Vietnam withdraw from the Truong Sa islands. It has forgotten Chinese Vice-Premier Deng Xiaoping's words at the high-level talks between Vietnam and China in September 1975 to the effect that "between the two sides, there is still a dispute on the question of the Xisha and Nansha islands (that is the Hoang Sa and Truong Sa islands)... of course, this question may be discussed later between the two sides".

China also demands maintenance of the "status quo" of the land boundary and a "demarcation of zones in the Bac Bo gulf, which is at variance with its commitments to respect the historical border-line between the two countries, as delimited by the 1887 and 1895 Conventions and officially marked out by border-stones.

While it was the Chinese side which caused through incitement or coercion an exodus of hundreds of thousands of Hoa people to China in an attempt to create political, economic and social disturbances for Vietnam, and more perfidious still, which used a number of such people as scouts or guides in the recent war of aggression against Vietnam, it demands in its eight-point proposal that Vietnam receive back these hundreds of thousands of Hoa people who are to serve as a fifth column for sabotaging Vietnam from the inside. This is a very wicked trick which has aroused the highest vigilance of Southeast Asian countries.

4- A salient feature is that the Chinese side's eight-point proposal has completely evaded the urgent measures aimed at ensuring peace and stability in the border areas of the two countries, which have been put forth by the Vietnamese side and recognized by broad sections of public opinion as urgent, realistic, and fair measures which after the war, the two sides should take in the first place in order to prevent a resumption of the hostilities. In point 1 of the Vietnamese three-point proposal, we have suggested to refrain from concentrating troops close to the border-line ; to separate the armed forces of the two sides ; to stop all acts of war provocation and all forms of hostile activities ; to create a demilitarized zone, etc...

It should be asked why the Chinese side failed to respond to our above-mentioned proposal while they themselves claim that "the Vietnamese side has concentrated troops and indulged in armed provocations against China". The answer will be clear enough when one knows that the Chinese side is massing more than half a million troops near the border, deploying over ten divisions, thousands of artillery pieces, and a great deal of war material close to the Vietnamese border, and indulging in daily armed provocations against Vietnam on land, in the air and on the sea. At the same time, the Chinese leaders have unceasingly uttered war threats against Vietnam. Recently Chinese Vice-Premier Deng Xiaoping himself told a delegation of the commission of armed forces of the U.S. House of Representatives, and even U.N. Secretary General Kurt Waldheim that "China would give Vietnam another lesson" ! "Thus only one conclusion is possible : the Chinese side wants to maintain a continuing tension in the border areas of the two countries so as to bring pressure to bear on Vietnam and to seek a pretext for aggression against Vietnam whenever it wants to.

Looking back at the history of border conflicts between China and some other countries, one sees that, in 1959 and 1962, the Chinese Government proposed to the Indian Government measures on a separation of the armed forces, a withdrawal of the troops of the two sides behind the line of actual control, and discussions between the two governments on questions concerning the prevention of clashes and the ending of the armed conflicts. It was the same case with the Soviet Union in 1969 and 1971, China proposed a separation of the armed forces of the two sides in order to avoid the danger of a resumption of hostilities.

The Chinese side once agreed with the proposal put forward by six countries at the Colombo Conference in late 1962 on the establishment of a demilitarized zone along the Sino-Indian border, then why does it not agree this time to the creation of a demilitarized zone along the Sino-Vietnamese border ?

It is necessary to recall that in its notes addressed Vietnamese side and dated March 1, 19, 31 and April 6, 1979, the Chinese side proposed discussions between the two sides on "the practical measures to ensure peace and

security in the border areas of the two countries". Why does it deliberately try to elude this question now? So its professions of goodwill and desire for peace are merely empty talks designed to mislead public opinion and to camouflage its new ventures.

The Chinese leaders should have drawn for themselves a necessary lesson from their defeat in the war of aggression against Vietnam, nevertheless, the Chinese side has insisted in an unfounded way that its eight points constitute "the only correct way to solve the dispute between the two countries", and attempted to compel the Vietnamese side to align itself on the Chinese policy in order to have "a Chinese peace" which is even worse than the "pax Americana" of the past. In their history, the Vietnamese people have gone through thousands of years of struggle against foreign invasion to defend their sacred fatherland in an effective way. In particular over the past thirty years, upholding the banner of national independence and socialism, the Vietnamese people have valiantly followed a revolutionary line, opposed the counter-revolutionary line, fought against the imperialists and the reactionary forces, and won great victories. Whoever wishes to make the Vietnamese people depart from this path will be merely day-dreaming. The Chinese leaders have embarked on an aggression against Vietnam, massacred Vietnamese people, devastated many areas in Vietnam in an extremely barbarous way and are threatening to launch a second attack on Vietnam, yet the Chinese representatives at the Conference table are attacking the Vietnamese people who are carrying out with all their forces the general mobilization order. It should be asserted that the Vietnamese people who, united as one man are stepping up production while standing ready to fight, will resolutely strike back at the aggressors, should they be rash enough to launch another attack on Vietnam.

Gentlemen,

The Vietnamese people and Government are resolved to defend the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of their fatherland, they will not get subdued under the pressure of any force whatsoever, at the same time, they entertain a constant desire to preserve good relations of friendship with the Chinese people and persistently stand for a negotiated settlement of the problems concerning the relations between the two sides. Vietnam's three-point proposal on the "main principles and contents of a settlement of the problems concerning the relations between the two countries" has fully expressed the Vietnamese side's serious stand and good-will.

This is a complete and comprehensive proposal aimed at resolving both the urgent questions arising from the recent war and the basic questions concerning the relations between the two sides; it meets the desire of the Vietnamese and Chinese peoples to see an early restoration of peace and their traditional friendship, and the desire for peace and stability of the peoples in Southeast Asia and the world. The principles laid down in Vietnam's three-point proposal are fully consistent with the United Nations' Charter, the principles of international law and the spirit of the Bandung Conference.

Broad sections of world public opinion have welcomed and appreciated Vietnam's three-point stand and regarded it as a constructive and realistic proposal, it suffices to be animated with good-will and a sincere desire to settle the problems to be fully in a position to reach an agreement and to implement it.

Vietnam's three-point proposal is an expression of her just stand to defend independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and of her good-will and desire for peace and friendship, it has been put forward at the negotiating table in a bid to reach a fair, satisfactory and mutually beneficial settlement. But to our deep regret, the Chinese side has not seriously studied this proposal of ours. It groundlessly claims that Vietnam's proposal fails to deal with "basis and substantial" issues. We propose you to reconsider the question. Apart from point 1 about "urgent measures aimed at ensuring peace and stability in the border areas of the two countries and an early reunion of the people captured during the war with their families" what is point 2 about? It is about "restoration of normal relations between the two countries on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence: respect for independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity; non-aggression, refraining from the use of force or the threat of use of force; non-interference in the internal affairs of the other side; settlement through negotiations of disputes and differences in the relations between the two sides, development of economic and cultural relations in a spirit of mutual respect and mutual benefit.

On that basis, to restore railway, civil aviation, postal, etc..., relations.

To resolve the question of the aftermath of the war".

Point 3 in Vietnam's three-point proposal deals with the "settlement of border and territorial problems between the two countries on the principle of respect for the status-quo of the border-line left by history and delineated by the 1887 and 1895 Conventions signed between the French Government and the Tsing Government as agreed upon between the Vietnamese and the Chinese side, respect for independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity".

We hope that the Chinese side will study our proposal seriously, calmly and with good-will, and give it a positive response.

The current situation is very serious. A heavy responsibility is incumbent on our two Delegations. Our two peoples are looking forward to an early outcome of the negotiations and the peoples in Southeast Asia and the world are following with deep interest these talks. Let our two delegations remove all obstacles to make the negotiations progress. It is advisable to follow these points in the course of the talks:

- To discuss and resolve only problems concerning the relations between the two countries;
- Equality, mutual respect;
- To find together a fair, reasonable and mutually satisfactory settlement;
- Neither side shall impose its policy on the other side.
- To reach agreement on the immediate settlement of those questions which can be settled, to set aside for future negotiations those which cannot be settled at once.

To show our good-will and to ensure progress for the negotiations, we would like to put forward today the following proposals:

1- Our side has mentioned in point 1: "urgent measures aimed at ensuring peace and stability in the border areas of the two countries and an

early reunion of the people captured during the war with their families".

Point 1 of the Chinese side reads : "The two sides shall restore friendly and good-neighbourly relations between China and Vietnam on the basis of the five principles".

Let us discuss these two questions by devoting alternately a meeting to each. More precisely speaking, at the next meeting i.e., the fourth plenary meeting, we shall discuss the question "urgent measures aimed at ensuring peace and stability in the border areas of the two countries and an early reunion of the people captured during the war with their families". At the fifth plenary meeting, we shall discuss the question of "restoration of friendly and good-neighbourly relations between the two countries on the basis of the five principles". We shall continue to do so till the questions are settled.

2- In its Notes dated March 1, March 19, March 31, and April 6, 1979 addressed to the Vietnamese side, the Chinese side suggested that the two sides "march forward to a settlement of border and territory disputes ; and of other outstanding disputes between the two countries". We respect this view of the Chinese side, and agree accordingly that these problems will be discussed later.

3- We have proposed that the two Delegations shall exchange lists of people captured during the war so that their return may be effected as soon as possible : at this meeting we are ready to hand the Chinese delegation a list of Chinese captured during the war and we propose that the Chinese side will also hand us a list of Vietnamese captured during the war. We have always entertained the hope that the people of the two sides captured during the war may return within their families at an early date. For the sake of humanity, we expect a response on your part.

Our above-mentioned proposal is very fair, reasonable and practical, let the Chinese side give it a positive response so that these negotiations may progress favourably and bring about the results which everybody is awaiting./.
