

EMBASSY OF THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF VIET NAM
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VIETNAMESE SECRETARY OF STATE SPEAKS
AT NON-ALIGNED MINISTERIAL CONFERENCE

Hanoi VNA September 2.- "To understand the relations between Viet Nam and Kampuchea one must study them in a broader context, which is China's relations with Viet Nam and Kampuchea" stressed Vietnamese Secretary of State Nguyen Co Thach at the recent non-aligned Ministerial Conference in Havana.

His speech reads in full as follows :

A number of people are speaking about the defence of the principle of non-military intervention and of the self-determination of the Kampuchean people, just for the purpose of opposing the People's Republic of Kampuchea, for the convenion of an International Conference on Kampuchea, and for the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea.

To understand the relations between Viet Nam and Kampuchea one must study them in a broader context, which is China's relations with Viet Nam and Kampuchea : likewise, one must place the Middle East issue in the context of the relations between the United States and the Arab countries and Israel, and the Southern African issue in that of the relations between the United States, Britain, the oppressed black nations, and the apartheid regimes.

For thirty years, the reactionaries in the Peking ruling circles have sought, through aid, to control Viet Nam and make it dependent on China for use as an instrument of Chinese big-nation expansionism and hegemony. For this reason, they have

never wanted an independent, unified and strong Viet Nam. Their intention has always been to divide and weaken Viet Nam.

In 1954, following the heavy defeat of French colonialism at Dien Bien Phu and with the imminent complete defeat of the French in Viet Nam, the ruling circles in Peking negotiated with the French colonialists and imposed on Viet Nam a solution advantageous to them and France. Their aim was to divide Viet Nam permanently, limit the success of the Vietnamese people and the Lao people, and negate the interests of the Kampuchean people.

In 1971, while the United States was losing and was withdrawing from Viet Nam, the Chinese ruling circles invited Nixon to China, overreaching the Vietnamese people, they bargained with the United States and made a deal to the advantage of the latter and themselves with a view to maintaining the puppet regime in South Viet Nam. Emboldened by that compromise the United States acted with extreme stubbornness in negotiations with Viet Nam, and even went to the length of blockading the port of Hai Phong and conducting extermination raids with B52 aircraft over Hanoi and other important population centres, before signing the 1973 Paris Agreement on Viet Nam.

In 1974, in collusion with the United States, the Chinese ruling circles brazenly attacked and seized the Vietnamese archipelago of Hoang Sa, then occupied by Saigon troops.

The victory of the Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. aggression in liberating the whole of South Viet Nam and reunifying the country in 1975 destroyed the basis for the collusion between the Peking ruling circles and the U.S. imperialists. The expansionists and hegemonists in China were outraged by this and overtly stepped up their systematic policy of hostility towards the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam.

Through the use of the genocidal regime of Pol Pot and Ieng Sary, they created in Kampuchea a society in the line of the Chinese Cultural Revolution, and started a bloody war of aggression against Viet Nam from the Southwest. That war, with tens of thousands of Chinese military advisers to train and command the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary army and with hundreds of thousands of tons of weapons and war materials supplied by China to Kampuchea, was part and parcel of the global strategy of expansion pursued by the Chinese ruling circles who, while attacking Viet Nam on the Southwestern border through the medium of the Pol Pot - Ieng Sary clique, stepped up armed provocations on Viet Nam's Northern border in an attempt to take Viet Nam in a pincer movement. They also coerced and incited hundreds of thousands of Hoa to⁺difficulties, and encouraged reactionary Hoa to rebel in conjunction with military attacks from outside. Taking advantage of the difficulties resulting from thirty years of war and from natural calamities in many years, they recalled Chinese experts, terminated aid to Viet Nam, and brought pressure to bear on other countries in an attempt to alienate Viet Nam politically and strifle it economically, eventually to weaken it and make it bow to China's wish.

Meanwhile, they threatened Laos with aggression and left no stone unturned to separate the Southeast Asian countries and the Asean countries from the Indochinese countries, while creating tension and instability in Southeast Asia with a view to carrying out their divide-and-rule policy and their policy of hegemony in this region.

Regarding the war conducted by the Pol Pot - Ieng Sary clique on China's order, Viet Nam acted with extreme self-restraint, and persisted in seeking a negotiated settlement. In four successive years, from 1975, Viet Nam patiently proposed negotiations to settle its problems with Kampuchea, either directly or through the good offices of international

+ / leave Viet Nam to cause added economic, political
and social /

organizations like the United Nations or the non-aligned movement, or of countries which were entertaining relations with both parties, like Sri Lanka. At the non-aligned Ministerial Conference in Belgrad in July 1978, Yugoslavia, though then Chairman of the non-aligned movement, did nothing to help peacefully settle the problem between Viet Nam and Kampuchea. Instead, it demanded that Viet Nam withdraw a draft resolution which called for Viet Nam and Kampuchea to settle their conflict by negotiations. In these four years, the criminal war conducted deep in Viet Nam's Southwestern territory by the Pol Pot - Ieng Sary clique and the armed provocations made by the Chinese ruling circles in the North were growing in violence and were sowing death and destruction daily on Vietnamese in these border regions.

Why was Viet Nam so patient in seeking negotiations ? Having suffered so much in the thirty years of war by the imperialists, the Vietnamese people, more than anyone else, wanted to live in peace and safety to rebuild their country. Viet Nam's patience was also accounted for by its respect for the principle that non-aligned countries must settle all disagreements peacefully and on the basis of respect for one another's national rights. But, patience in seeking negotiations and respect for the principle of peaceful settlement do not mean that one should deprive oneself of one's legitimate right to self-defence, fold one's arms, and let the enemy indulge in aggression and provocation, in killing one's people and destroying one's country.

So, all avenues to negotiations were blocked. There were no active and effective steps on the part of the United Nations or the non-aligned movement, and the Vietnamese people were facing the danger of a large-scale military onslaught from two directions which the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists were frantically preparing. In the past, this tactic of pincer

movement had been used against Viet Nam time and again by Northern emperors. The Vietnamese people, in face of the grave danger which was threatening the very existence of their nation, were left with the only course of exercising their legitimate right to self-defence by fighting back at the forces of war and aggression. The counter-blows by the Vietnamese armed forces which wiped out or pinned down the best divisions of the Pol Potian army enabled the offensive and uprising of the Kampuchean people to record a great victory in completely overthrowing the fascist, genocidal Pol Pot regime, instrument of Peking. Had they not crushed in time the Pol Potian aggression from the Southwest, the Vietnamese people would hardly have had time to cope with the large-scale aggression started a month later by the reactionaries in Peking who hurled as many as six hundred thousand troops at Vietnam's Northern border.

What should be pointed out here is that the same people who are prattling about the principle of non intervention by violence in an effort to slander Viet Nam and defend the genocidal Pol Potian clique did not say anything when the Peking reactionaries were overtly committing aggression against Viet Nam. They are also silent now when the Asian expansionists are threatening aggression to Laos and plotting to revive the genocidal regime in Kampuchea. They pretend to know nothing about the political declaration of the non-aligned Ministerial Conference in Lima in 1975 which points out that any intervention or aggression against a non-aligned country will be a threat to the principles of peaceful, and positive coexistence within the framework of the policy of the non-aligned countries and that should a non-aligned country be threatened by violence or aggression or be prevented by measures of pressure from fully, freely and effectively exercising their sovereignty, such measures must be regarded as hostile to all non-aligned countries and, at the request of the party concerned, the other

non-aligned countries will come to its aid in keeping with the third resolution of the Algiers Political Declaration.

It is none other than the United States, China, Japan and a number of Asean countries that show "concern" at the Kampuchean people's right to self-determination and demand the withdrawal of Vietnamese forces from Kampuchea. It is public knowledge that China, over the past two thousand years and more, have many times committed aggression against the Indochinese countries and have left no stone unturned to make them into its vassals and staging areas for its expansion towards Southeast Asia. Japan, too, committed aggression in Indochina and occupied this peninsula. The United States conducted the most ruthless war of aggression in history here. It dumped tens of millions of tons of bombs on the Indochinese peoples in an effort to convert Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea into its neo-colonies and military bases. A number of the Asean countries cooperated with the United States in the war of aggression against the Indochinese countries. This cooperation took different forms, including the use of Asean troops in Indochina. In a word, the same people who are most vehement about the Kampuchean people's self-determination used to oppose tooth and nail to the independence and sovereignty of the Indochinese peoples, including the people of Kampuchea. The fact is that they do not want to recognize the Vietnamese people's legitimate right to self-defence in face of the aggression launched by the Pol Potian clique on Peking's order. Neither do they want to recognize the right of the Kampuchean people to rise up against the fascist, genocidal regime of Pol Pot- instrument of a foreign country- to defend their lives and the independence and sovereignty of their country. The fact is that stung by their bitter military setbacks, they now resort to political moves to reverse the situation in Kampuchea. The fact is that while piously

speaking about the Kampuchean people's self-determination, they are plotting intervention in Kampuchea's internal affairs and trampling on the self-determination of the Kampuchean people.

It must be stressed that while demanding the withdrawal of Vietnamese forces from Kampuchea, China, Japan and some ASEAN countries are urging the United States to maintain its troops in Southeast Asia and to keep its military bases in the Philippines, while saying nothing about US military bases in many other parts of the world. Singapore, the most noisy in the demand for Vietnamese withdrawal from Kampuchea, is the first to request the maintenance of US military presence in Southeast Asia.

The reactionaries in the Peking ruling circles also allege that their opposition to Viet Nam is a result of Viet Nam's "expansionism" and of Viet Nam's "collusion" with the Soviet Union. The US imperialists, to justify their war of aggression in Viet Nam, spoke about "containing communist expansion and "aggression" and about Viet Nam being an "instrument" of the Soviet Union and China. The rulers in Peking are now rehashing these old US allegations to justify the two wars of aggression they launched against Viet Nam from the North and the Southwest.

The three Indochinese countries have always been, especially over the past century and more, victims of imperialist aggression and Chinese expansionism and hegemony, they themselves have never been harming anyone. Imperialism and Chinese hegemony, in their ambitions to control all the three Indochinese countries, have regarded them as a single battlefield while doing everything to split them to facilitate annexation and domination.

In 1970, the US imperialists staged a coup in Kampuchea against Norodom Sihanouk. Their aim was to destroy the Indochinese unity, split and weaken the three countries for annexation.

Following in the footsteps of the US imperialists, the Asian hegemonists employed the genocidal Pol Pot clique in opposing the Kampuchean people and the independence of all the three Indochinese nations. While trying to wreck the solidarity among the Indochinese peoples the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists call for stronger cooperation between imperialism and NATO against other countries, and advocate the strengthening of ASEAN as a block against the Indochinese countries.

For this reason, it has always been vital to protect and strengthen the solidarity among the Indochinese countries. Threatened by the same enemies and the same plans of aggression, the Indochinese peoples have been left with the only course of strengthening their national independence. In the long struggle for each country's independence, the peoples of Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea have built a noble militant solidarity and friendship welcomed by the whole progressive humanity. On the basis of this, Vietnamese forces, over the past thirty years, have three times joined the Lao and Kampuchean peoples in fighting the common enemies and defending the independence, freedom and sovereignty of all the three countries. The world's people have praised the militant solidarity of the Indochinese people as a factor of victory for each country.

The presence of Vietnamese armed forces in Kampuchea now is based on the treaty of peace, friendship and cooperation between Viet Nam and Kampuchea, and is requested by Kampuchea with a view to help defend the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of both countries. In the two previous instances, Vietnamese forces promptly returned to their country after the completion of their missions. This time, too, Vietnamese forces will withdraw as soon as an end be put to the danger of aggression and intervention on the part of the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists regarding Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea, and as soon as the independence, sovereignty and

security of these three countries are guaranteed. So, the core of the Viet Nam - Kampuchea relations is the solidarity between the two countries against Chinese expansionism and hegemony.

The 'Kampuchean question', and "Indochinese question" have nothing to do with a political solution to the "Kampuchea question" or with the withdrawal of Vietnamese forces from Kampuchea. They must concern the defence of the Indochinese countries against the aggression and the threats of aggression by the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists who are closely colluding with US imperialism and other reactionary forces.

It must be emphasized that both the Chinese hegemonists and the US imperialists have used military forces to oppose the Kampuchean people's aspirations for independence and freedom, but have failed to save the Pol Pot - Ieng Sary clique. This proves that no brutal force can reverse the present situation in Kampuchea. All schemes of the Chinese hegemonists, the US imperialists and other reactionary forces to reinstall the genocidal Pol Pot regime in Kampuchea will be in vain.

After the great victory of its struggle against US aggressor for national salvation, Kampuchea should have achieved independence and freedom and the Kampuchean people should have enjoyed peace and a happy life to rebuild their country. But the Pol Pot - Ieng Sary clique, henchmen of Peking, betrayed the interests of the Kampuchean people, deprived them of their revolutionary gains, set up a dictatorial, fascist, nepotist regime- an unprecedentedly brutal regime on the model of China's "Cultural Revolution" brought Kampuchean to the brink of extermination, and turned it into a threat to peace and stability in Southeast Asia, in service of Peking's expansionism and hegemonism.

The Pol Pot - Ieng Sary regime was Peking's neo-colonialist regime, which was extremely brutal and fascist. It was used

to further expansionist schemes which Peking had long been hatching against Indochina and Southeast Asia as a whole. The Pol Pot - Ieng Sary clique applied a policy of genocide against the Kampuchean people with support and instructions from Peking. By acting as the sole supplier to Kampuchea and with an army of some 20,000 Chinese experts, the Peking reactionaries turned Kampuchea into a springboard for their expansion to the whole region and used the Pol Pot - Ieng Sary clique as an instrument of war against Viet Nam on its Southwestern border in co-ordination with Chinese troops' invasion from the North, thus taking Viet Nam in a pincer movement. This is an unjust war which ran counter to the interests of the Kampuchean people, sabotaged the traditional solidarity and friendship between the Kampuchean and Vietnamese peoples and, in conjunction with border conflicts with Thailand and Laos, jeopardized peace and stability in this region.

It is clear that the Pol Pot - Ieng Sary clique, were against the principles of the non-aligned movement by serving as henchmen for the Peking hegemonists, incessantly seeking trouble with neighbouring countries, stubbornly prolonging the war, turning down all proposals for peaceful negotiations put forth on many occasions by Viet Nam, and refusing all international relations and co-operation, even with non-aligned countries.

This brutal policy of opposition to the Kampuchean people and of war against neighbouring countries that invited on the Pol Pot - Ieng Sary clique attacks both from without and within and quickened their collapse. They do not represent the Kampuchean people because they have opposed them. They have been sentenced to death by the Kampuchean people's revolutionary tribunal, this sentence is the verdict not only of the Kampuchean people but also of the whole progressive mankind.

The Kampuchean people's victory in overthrowing the genocidal, Pol Pot - Ieng Sary clique has a great historic significance-it has put an end to a brutal, fascist regime, saved a whole nation from extermination, and got rid of an instrument used by Chinese hegemonism against the Indochinese peoples and against peace and stability in Southeast Asia. This struggle for self-determination of the Kampuchean people is a considerable contribution to peace, independence, democracy and social progress in Southeast Asia and the rest of the world.

The Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Council, born in a just struggle, symbolises the Kampuchean people's profound aspirations. It has won genuine independence and freedom for the country, and restored a normal, stable life to the Kampuchean people so that they can return to their home places to enjoy family reunion, rebuild their country, re-open markets and schools, hospitals and pagodas.

The Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Council is controlling the national capital of Phnom Penh and the whole country, proving its capacity and character as an administration really of the people, by the people and for the people. The Kampuchean people have exercised their right to self-determination by overthrowing the Pol Pot - Ieng Sary clique and establishing a new regime.

The Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Council pursues a foreign policy of independence, peace, friendship and non-alignment, this conforms to the objectives of our movement, and for this the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Council has been recognised by 20 countries and has won broad support in the world. The Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Council is the sole genuine and legal representative of the Kampuchean people, and it alone has the right to represent Kampuchea at the Havana Conference as well as in other international organization.

The Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique represents nobody. One cannot argue that since it has not yet been dismissed from the United Nations it may be present at the Conference of the non-aligned movement, if we consider United Nations membership as the basis for membership of the non-aligned movement, we will go against the objective of the non-aligned movement. It is a fact that while the US aggressors, the South African racists and the Israeli expansionists are all members of the United Nations, their victims, are members of the non-aligned movement and have been denied United Nations membership.

That the United Nations allows disturbance by the Pol Pot clique is a disgrace to this international organization. The non-aligned movement cannot accept this shame. That is why, there is no reason for the presence of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique at our conference.

The Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique, guilty of genocide, has been overthrown by the Kampuchean people and cursed by the world's peoples. Only the Peking reactionaries are praising it and trying to re-impose it on the Kampuchean people for their own expansionist purposes.

For the prestige of the non-aligned movement, we must immediately expel the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique from our movement, as we had done with the Pinochet clique.

The evolution of the Kampuchean revolution is irreversible. The Peking reactionaries and the US imperialists cannot save the Pol Pot clique. Sooner or later, the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea will occupy the seat due it in all international organizations.

Our movement has not done anything to prevent the massacre of three million Kampucheans by the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique. So we must immediately support the Kampuchean people to quickly normalize their life. We must recognize the sole authentic and legal representative of the Kampuchean people -

The Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Council.

Before ending the speech, we would like to reaffirm the consistent policy of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam towards Southeast Asia, that is to respect the principles in relations with the Southeast Asian countries as expounded in the joint statements between Premier Pham Van Dong and the ASEAN leaders. We hold that Southeast Asian problems must be settled by Southeast Asian countries, without foreign interference.

We want to join other Southeast Asian countries in discussions to build the region into one of peace, independence, freedom, neutrality, stability, and prosperity. We are ready to join other Southeast Asian countries in treaties of non-aggression and treaties of friendship and cooperation in order to establish a peaceful, stable region in Southeast Asia.

In the past, imperialism and other reactionary forces tried to sow discord among the Southeast Asian nations and put the Indochinese countries against the ASEAN States, in an attempt to carry out their divide-and-rule policy. The time has come for our South East Asian Nations to forget the past and look forward to the future, put an end to all opposition, and begin a new era, the era of friendship and co-operation in the interests of the South East Asian Nations and for the sake of peace and stability in the region.

The United States and China are joining hands in a large scale campaign against Viet Nam in the world. This is because the Vietnamese people's fight has smashed an important part of US and Chinese domination in Southeast Asia, thus contributing to the struggle for peace and independence in the world.

The so-called principle of non military intervention and non aggression advocated by China and the United States in

their anti-Viet Nam campaign is aimed at covering up their aggressive and criminal schemes, misleading the world people's struggles against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, and dividing the world revolutionary movement.

As far as the Sino-US commitment to anti-hegemony is concerned it is common knowledge that the United States is an international gendarme imposing its hegemony on the world and China is pursuing its hegemonistic and expansionist policy against Asia and the whole world. It is clear that the Sino-American marriage is aimed not at opposing hegemony, but at protecting US hegemony in the world and achieving Chinese hegemony.

We also think it unfair towards the host country not to make clear our position on the criticisms directed against the Cuban Government. It is our view that these criticisms are incorrect and discourteous./.
