

to accept a compromise solution with the United States.

Accordingly, China used the "carrot" of aid: if in 1968 she reduced the aid volume to Viet Nam because she opposed Viet Nam's decision to negotiate with the United States, in 1971 and 1972 in order to draw Viet Nam into Peking's scheme of compromising with the United States China gave Viet Nam the greatest ever amount of aid. This was merely an attempt to cover up their betrayal and to appease the Vietnamese people's indignation.

Alongside with the increase of aid, China exerted an unrelenting pressure to make Viet Nam accept a U.S. solution. On July 18, 1971 the Chinese side communicated to the Vietnamese side a four-point programme of the United States: withdrawal of U.S. troops and release of U.S. POWs within 12 months as from August 1, 1971; ceasefire throughout Indochina and a Geneva-type solution as in 1954. Regarding the withdrawal of U.S. troops for "face-saving" purpose the United States wanted to retain a number of technical personnel. Concerning political questions, *"the United States did not want to abandon Nguyen Van Thieu nor did it want to abandon Sirik Matak"*.

In the talks with the Vietnamese side in November 1971, the Chinese side said: *"Viet Nam should take advantage of the opportunity to settle the question of withdrawal of U.S. troops first and should consider the settlement of the POW problem. The overthrow of the Saigon puppet administration is a long-term issue."*

Also on this occasion, after referring to a U.S. proposition that *"the United States has many old friends that it could not afford to forsake"*, Chairman Mao Zedong said:

"The Taiwan question is a long-term one. Probably it cannot be solved in a few years. Between a quick solution and a delayed one, I'm inclined to choose the latter. At present Chiang Kaishek has 650,000 troops, and there is a strait in between that we cannot cross. Chiang Kaishek will remain on the island. Where the broom cannot reach, the dust is not swept away."

After Nixon's visit to China, Kissinger told reporters on March 1, 1972 that he and the President "now began to look toward Moscow—and the crunch on Viet Nam".¹

From April 1972, the United States resumed bombing and mined all ports of North Viet Nam and intensified attacks in South Viet Nam in an attempt to cope with the 1972-Spring strategic offensive of the South Vietnamese people and save the Nguyen Van Thieu regime from collapse. This new U.S. military venture was precisely the result of the complicity between the Chinese rulers and Nixon.

It is common knowledge that the failure to initial the Paris Agreements by the end of October 1972 was due to the Nixon-Kissinger volte-face. But the Chinese rulers again took the U.S. viewpoint and brought pressure to bear upon Viet Nam. On November 1, 1972, through a Vice-Minister of Foreign Trade of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, they told the Vietnamese leadership that Viet Nam should make concessions on the question of withdrawal of North Vietnamese troops and the question of North Viet Nam renouncing military aid, so that the agreement can be signed.

¹ M. Kalb and B. Kalb, *Kissinger*, Little, Brown and Co., Ed. Boston-Toronto, 1974, p. 283.

On December 5, 1972, Chinese ambassador Huang Chen conveyed to the Vietnamese side a warning from Kissinger:

"The negotiations have come to a critical point. North Viet Nam is demanding that the United States return to the old agreement or accept a worse one. Both things are unacceptable to the United States. Should Viet Nam hold on to this stand, the negotiations would be suspended and the United States would take any necessary action to safeguard its principles."

That was precisely a preparatory step for the strategic strike with B.52 bombers against Ha Noi and Hai Phong at the end of 1972 in an attempt to subdue the Vietnamese people and force them to accept a solution imposed by the U.S. imperialists.

In face of Peking's collusion with Washington against Viet Nam, the Vietnamese people were still determined to intensify their patriotic struggle against U.S. aggression, confident of final victory.

When the Chinese side informed Viet Nam that during his visit to China Nixon would also hold discussions with the Chinese leaders on the question of Viet Nam, the Vietnamese leaders answered straightforwardly:

"Viet Nam is our country, you have no right to discuss with the United States the question of Viet Nam. You have already admitted your 1954 mistake, so you should not commit another one."

When the Chinese side informed Viet Nam of Nixon's visit to China, the Vietnamese leaders said:

"In their struggle against U.S. aggression, the Vietnamese people must win. The U.S. imperialists may soon resume and even intensify their air war against North Viet Nam, but the Vietnamese people

are not afraid and they will certainly be victorious."

In spite of all kinds of pressure from Peking and Washington, the Vietnamese made no concessions on matters of principle. They instead gave the U.S. imperialists due punishment and eventually forced the latter to sign the Paris Agreements on Viet Nam on January 27, 1973.

2. Complete control of the Kampuchean problem.

Implementing their policy of détente and collusion with the U.S. imperialists, trying to pave the way for their future expansion to South-East Asia and at the same time attempting to undermine the Indochinese Peoples' Front of solidarity and bringing more pressure to bear upon Viet Nam, Peking, since 1970, had sought to control Kampuchean forces, applying a very complex policy towards Kampuchea aimed at nothing else but the satisfaction of their selfish interest.

It may be recalled that imperialist and reactionary forces staged the March 18, 1970 coup d'état to overthrow Prince Sihanouk's Government and bring Lon Nol to power. As Lon Nol was a Kampuchean of Chinese origin and an American agent, the Chinese leaders wanted to use him rather than Sihanouk. In Peking, a representative of the Chinese Foreign Ministry told the Vietnamese ambassador:

"Sihanouk has no forces, Viet Nam should support Lon Nol. China welcomes Sihanouk (¹), but still maintains good relations with the Phnom Penh Embassy."

¹ Sihanouk was then on the way to Peking from Moscow.

In Phnom Penh, the Chinese Ambassador told the Vietnamese Ambassador the same thing. The Chinese Foreign Ministry even told the Vietnamese Ambassador that China disapproved of the demonstrations against Lon Nol by Vietnamese students in China.

Soon after the coup d'état in Phnom Penh and Sihanouk's arrival in Peking Prime Minister Pham Van Dong made a visit to China to persuade the Chinese leaders to support Sihanouk and demonstrate Viet Nam's strong support for Sihanouk and the Khmer resistance forces.

On March 23, 1970, Sihanouk issued a five-point statement condemning the coup d'état staged by Lon Nol and calling on the Kampuchean people to unite in a struggle against the U.S. imperialists and the Lon Nol clique.

In its March 25, 1970 statement, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam expressed its full support for Sihanouk's statement.

Not until April 7, 1970, did the Chinese Government declare in a statement its support for Sihanouk. However, it continued to hold secret discussions with the Lon Nol administration. In the meantime, with the assistance from the Vietnamese armed forces, the Khmer resistance forces won new victories, liberating one fourth of the country. Only when Nixon ordered an invasion of Kampuchea, provoking a strong movement of protest throughout the world and even in the United States, did the Chinese Government cut off its relations with the Lon Nol administration (May 5, 1970).

Evidently, it was due to Viet Nam's strong support for the Kampuchean resistance government and to the developments on the battlefield favourable to the resistance forces that the Peking rulers felt compelled to support Sihanouk, President of

the Khmer National United Front against U.S. aggression. Since then, they had been trying to hold Sihanouk in their grip and monopolize this Sihanouk card for bargaining with the United States. Though extending support for Sihanouk and the Kampuchean resistance government, they, on the one hand, still maintained secret relations with the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak clique, and on the other hand, actively made use of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique so as to gradually turn the Khmer Party into a Party dependent on China, like other Maoist parties and groups in South-East Asia and in the world.

The Chinese leaders sought to exploit the first Summit Conference of the Indochinese peoples held in April 1970, and deliberately tried to make believe that they had made big contributions to this conference. They wanted to show the United States that they were in a position to help finding a solution to the Indochina question, and it was they who could "represent" Viet Nam and other Indochinese countries in negotiations with the United States.

At a time when the peoples of Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea repeatedly dealt strong blows on Nixon's new military adventures, Sihanouk proposed the convening of a second summit conference of the Indochinese peoples by the end of 1971 to step up, on the wake of the victories won, the struggle against U.S. aggression in the whole of Indochina. Outwardly, the Chinese leaders welcomed this proposal, but actually they instigated the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary group to oppose it. Moreover, on a visit to Viet Nam in March 1971, Chinese representatives suggested the holding in China of a Conference of five countries with six parties (North and South Viet Nam, Laos, Kampuchea, China, and

the People's Democratic Republic of Korea) to oppose Japan. This originated from their dark design to undermine the solidarity among the Indochinese peoples, sidetrack the latter's struggle and at the same time to rally more forces under Peking's leadership so that the Chinese could secure a better position to enter into negotiations with the United States. The Vietnamese side supported Sihanouk's proposal and rejected the convening of a conference of five countries with six parties as suggested by China. We also took exception to the view that the threat came from Japan since the U.S. imperialist aggressors remained the principal enemy of the Indochinese peoples. That was why China's scheme of convening a conference of five countries with six parties was thwarted.

While seeking every possible means to manipulate the Kampuchean problem, the Chinese leaders also attempted to control the military supply route in the three Indochinese countries. In several consecutive years up to 1972, the Chinese offered their help in building roads and transporting military supplies from North Viet Nam to the front in South Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea along the Ho Chi Minh Trail, and promised to provide Viet Nam with enough trucks and drivers and about 200,000 Chinese troops to ensure the fulfilment of this task. They hoped that the project would give them complete control over the situation in Indochina and allow them to deal with the United States, and provide them with a springboard for expansion to South-East Asia. Of course, Viet Nam rejected this proposal.

If in the past the Chinese leaders covertly undermined the Vietnamese people's resistance, in the

1969-1973 period, particularly from 1971, they overtly collaborated with the U.S. imperialist aggressors trying to come to the rescue of the latter in face of the Vietnamese people's new strategic offensive and they used the Viet Nam card in dealing with the Americans. If in the past, they secretly tried to create dissension among the three Indochinese peoples in an attempt to isolate Viet Nam, in this period they began to use the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique to sabotage the revolution in the three Indochinese countries, actively made preparations to turn Kampuchea into a spring-board for attacks against Viet Nam with a view to securing China's control over the Indochinese peninsula and later on her expansion to South-East Asia.

Thus, they cast off their mask and appeared as traitors to the peoples of Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea.

IV-1973-1975 PERIOD: PREVENTING THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE FROM COMPLETELY LIBERATING SOUTH VIET NAM

Under the Paris Agreements, the United States had to withdraw all its troops from South Viet Nam, undertook to respect the fundamental national rights of the Vietnamese people and recognized that in South Viet Nam there were two zones of control, two administrations, two armies and three political forces and that the parties concerned in South Viet Nam will form a three-component coalition Government. This was a victory of the political line of independence and sovereignty of the valiant struggle of the Vietnamese people and a victory of the world people's movement of solidarity with Viet Nam. This was the failure of the dirty

deal behind the back of the Vietnamese people between the Nixon administration and the Chinese leaders as expressed in the Shanghai communiqué.

The Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam always pursued a policy of scrupulous implementation of the Paris Agreements and demanded that the United States and the Thieu regime do likewise.

But the United States and the Thieu regime sought to sabotage the implementation of the Agreements. They only carried out what served U.S. interests. As for the other provisions, they violated them right from the start. As soon as the Agreements came into effect, the United States and the Thieu administration used ten of thousands of troops supported by aircraft, heavy guns and tanks in an operation against Cua Viet, hoping to reoccupy the liberated zone north of Quang Tri province. Later on, the Thieu troops launched continuous attacks all over South Viet Nam seizing many liberated areas under the control of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam. With this scheme, the United States and the U.S. puppet regime, denying the existence in South Viet Nam of two zones of control with two different administrations, tried to re-establish the neo-colonialist rule all over South Viet Nam and perpetuate the partition of Viet Nam.

The Chinese leaders pretended to welcome the Paris Agreements on Viet Nam. In fact, to carry out the understanding with the United States and to further collude with it on the one hand and to weaken and subjugate Viet Nam on the other, they made every effort to hinder the Vietnamese people's struggle to thwart the scheme of the United States and the Thieu administration to sabotage

the Paris Agreements, to liberate South Viet Nam entirely and reunify the country.

1. Hampering the Vietnamese people's struggle against the sabotage of the Paris Agreements by the United States and the Thieu administration.

During talks with Secretary General Le Duan and Prime Minister Pham Van Dong in Peking in 1973, Chairman Mao Zedong said:

"In South Viet Nam, it is necessary to stop (fighting) for half a year or a year, or a year and a half and better still, two years." The revolution in South Viet Nam should be "carried out in two stages. If you combine into one, the United States won't just look on. The problem is that the Nguyen Van Thieu administration still has tens of thousands of troops".

He again referred to the "broom" already mentioned in one of his previous talks with Vietnamese leaders.

For his part, Premier Zhou Enlai said:

"It would be best for Viet Nam and the whole of Indochina to relax for some time, five or ten years, we cannot yet say precisely. In these circumstances the peoples of South Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea will carry out a policy of peace and neutrality for sometime".

To show their "good-will" the Chinese promised to continue for five years to give Viet Nam annually an amount of aid equal to that of 1973. In reality, they had already stopped all military aid. As for economic aid, they only undertook to restore the factories and installations built with Chinese aid and damaged by U.S. bombardments but they delayed the reconstruction task and in some places they did not do it at all.

At heart the Chinese rulers did not want Viet Nam to do anything even when the Saigon administration launched land-grabbing operations against the liberated areas.

In face of the increasing land-grabbing activities by the Sai Gon puppet troops, in October 1973, the High Command of the Liberation Armed Forces of South Viet Nam was compelled to order a resolute counter-attack. About one month later, when Kissinger was in Peking for a visit, the two sides issued a statement which said: "*In the particularly serious situation at present*" it is necessary for China and the United States to hold frequent contacts at competent level to exchange views on matters of mutual interest. In fact, these were common efforts made by the Chinese rulers and the United States to hinder the struggle of the armed forces in South Viet Nam.

The Peking rulers even advised the United States "*not to allow yourselves to be defeated in Viet Nam, and not to pull out your forces from South-East Asia*".¹

More wicked still, they tried to entice a number of generals and officials of the Saigon puppet administration to collaborate with them; they even sent a messenger to persuade General Duong Van Minh, President of the Saigon regime in its last days, to continue, with Peking's support, to resist the general offensive and uprising of the people in South Viet Nam.

2. Encroaching on Vietnamese territory and creating tension at the border.

From 1973, the Chinese authorities were increasing their acts of provocation and territorial en-

¹ *The Christian Science Monitor*, June 20, 1979, p. 28.

croachment in the northern border provinces, in an attempt to weaken our efforts for the total liberation of South Viet Nam.

On the one hand, they prevented Viet Nam from exploring and exploiting its natural resources to accelerate its economic rehabilitation and development programme. On December 26, 1973, the Vietnamese side proposed the holding of talks to officially demarcate the Sino-Vietnamese boundary in the Bac Bo (Tonkin) Gulf, so that Viet Nam could use its part for national reconstruction. On January 18, 1974, the Chinese side replied that it accepted the proposal, but demanded that in Bac Bo Gulf no prospecting be carried out on an area of 20,000 square kilometres marked out by the Chinese themselves. They even demanded that *"no third country be allowed to conduct prospecting in the Bac Bo Gulf"*, as that *"would not be beneficial to the economic development and military security of the two countries"*. But that was a pretext to cover up China's dark design. That was why the negotiations from August to November 1974 on the Sino-Vietnamese boundary in the Bac Bo Gulf did not lead to any positive result. The same big-nation attitude of the Chinese authorities brought to an impasse the negotiations on the boundaries on land and in the Bac Bo Gulf begun in October 1977. This served their purposes of violating the frontier and encroaching upon and occupying Vietnamese territory and maintaining a tense situation in the Sino-Vietnamese border area.

Furthermore, on January 19, 1974, only one day after the Chinese side agreed to negotiate on the Bac Bo Gulf problem, they used naval and air forces to attack and seize the Hoang Sa (Paracels) archipelago which has for a long time been a part of Vietnamese territory and was then occupied by the Sai

Gon puppet troops. The occupation of the archipelago was not a self-defence act as the Chinese claimed, but an act of aggression, an encroachment on Vietnamese territory, designed to put Viet Nam under Chinese control from the sea, and an attempt to monopolize step by step the Eastern Sea (South China Sea). This calculated act had the United States' approval. Thus, U.S. Ambassador in Sai Gon G. Matin had rejected a request for help from the Nguyen Van Thieu administration, and the U.S. Seventh Fleet in the Pacific was ordered to keep away from the Hoang Sa archipelago.

At his talks with Vietnamese leaders in 1975, Vice-Premier Deng Xiaoping admitted that both Viet Nam and China had claimed the Hoang Sa and Truong Sa archipelagoes, therefore, it was necessary to hold talks to solve this problem. This further demonstrated that the Chinese invasion of the Hoang Sa archipelago was an aggressive act in defiance of international law and aimed at bringing about a "fait accompli".¹

3. Turning Kampuchea into a spring-board for attacking Viet Nam.

After the Paris Agreements on Viet Nam, on Peking's order, the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique pursued a double-faced policy: relying on Viet Nam on the one hand and opposing Viet Nam on the other.

They pretended to be "friendly" and "united" with Viet Nam in order to win support from the

¹ For further information on the border question, the Hoang Sa and Truong Sa archipelagoes, read the March 15, 1979 Memorandum, the statements dated August 7, 1979 and September 27, 1979 of the Foreign Ministry of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and the "White Book" issued on September 28, 1979 by the same Ministry.

latter, especially when they were about to attack Phnom Penh. In accordance with the Sino-American understanding, the Chinese authorities ceased the supply of military aid for the three Indochinese peoples' revolution. They turned down a request from the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique for more offensive weapons. Instead, they asked Viet Nam to loan weapons to Kampuchea for which they promised compensation to Viet Nam at a later date. This was a trick of Peking's: while trying to satisfy their Kampuchean agents' demand and avoid trouble with the United States, they created more difficulties for Viet Nam at a time when the latter was engaged in a general offensive and uprising in Spring 1975.

On the other hand, the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique exerted great efforts to oppose Viet Nam. They slanderously clamoured that Viet Nam, in signing the Paris Agreements, had betrayed Kampuchea for a second time. In so doing they hoped to stir up national hatred and to arouse anti-Viet Nam feelings thus having a pretext to purge those Kampucheans who disagreed with their policy. On many occasions they attacked and plundered arms depots, hospitals and encampments of the South Viet Nam Liberation Army in Kampuchea.

Resorting to extremely vicious means, including assassination of true revolutionary cadres, the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique sought to control as many important positions in the Party as they could and take all powers into their hands in order to make the Kampuchean Communist Party dependent on Peking.

Clearly, the Chinese leaders had made a step further in their scheme of getting a complete hold of Kampuchea under the rule of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique and turning it into a spring-board for

attacking Viet Nam from the South West after the complete liberation of South Viet Nam.

Though the Chinese leaders spared no efforts to prevent the Vietnamese people from liberating their entire country, the latter still persisted in their struggle on the three fronts, military, political and diplomatic, against the violations of the Paris Agreements by the United States and the Thieu administration, and won final victory. With the success of the Spring 1975 general offensive and uprising, the Vietnamese people destroyed the Nguyen Van Thieu administration, completely liberated South Viet Nam and reunified their country.

Previously, the Chinese rulers intervened in our resistance war against the French colonialists only when it was about to end, seeking to impose a solution to their liking on the peoples of Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea.

But in our resistance war against U.S. aggression, they interfered right from its beginning, creating conditions for the United States to intensify and expand the war to all parts of Viet Nam and to carry out extremely barbarous bombardment against North Viet Nam, and using the Vietnam question in their deal with the United States while unceasingly clamouring about "thorough revolution" and "active support" for Viet Nam.

This was the second time the Chinese leaders betrayed the people of Viet Nam.

Part Four

CHINA'S POLICY TOWARD LIBERATED AND REUNIFIED VIET NAM

(from May 1975 up to the present time)

I-CHINA AFTER THE U.S. DEFEAT IN VIET NAM

World public opinion agrees that the U.S. defeat in Viet Nam had a visible impact on the world situation.

If the Vietnamese people's victory in the August Revolution and in the resistance war against the French has started the disintegration of old-type colonialism, their victory in the resistance war against the Americans proved to the world that the complete bankruptcy of neo-colonialism is inevitable. Today the revolutionary forces have grown up and are in the most favourable conditions. Nowhere can U.S. imperialism continue to play the role of an international gendarme with impunity. Neither can it seize a single inch of territory of any socialist country or drive back the national liberation movement, check the advance of other countries towards socialism. Imperialism is sinking deeper and deeper

into an irremediable and all-round crisis. It is faced with many difficulties in various fields, having to cope with the extensive and powerful offensive of the three revolutionary currents in the world and even in its apparently secure strongholds in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Although the U.S. imperialists had dispatched to Viet Nam an expeditionary corps of 600,000 men as a backbone for the more than one-million strong puppet army, dropped on Vietnamese soil 7,850,000 tons of bombs and spent 352 billion U.S. dollars, they failed to subdue the Vietnamese people. This is the heaviest defeat in the history of the United States which severely affects all aspects of life in the United States. Therefore, after Viet Nam the U.S. imperialists had to readjust their global strategy, particularly their strategy in Asia in general and South-East Asia in particular to suit the new conditions. They have stepped up collaboration with other reactionaries, especially those who betray the international communist and worker movement, particularly the Peking reactionary clique, in an attempt to sow discord and to sabotage the socialist system and the world revolutionary movement.

So far as the Chinese authorities are concerned, it was in their national interests that they have assisted Viet Nam during the latter's war against the Americans, but it was also in their national interests that they have sought to prevent Viet Nam from defeating the United States and becoming strong. They wanted Viet Nam to be weakened and dependent on China.

They wanted to see a perpetually partitioned Viet Nam. But the Vietnamese people fought on until "the Americans quit and their puppets are toppled", and the South was liberated and the country reunified.

They used the Vietnamese people's blood in dealing with the Americans, but their collusion with the United States could not prevent the Vietnamese people from gaining total victory and founding the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam.

They tried to cause a rift between Viet Nam and the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, but the Vietnamese people persisted in their policy of independence and sovereignty and strengthened their solidarity with the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries.

The agreement reached between them and Nixon, and their strategic designs could not materialize. An independent, unified and socialist Viet Nam, following a genuine Marxist-Leninist line of independence and sovereignty and enjoying great political prestige in the world constitutes a serious obstacle to their expansionist and hegemonist schemes in Indochina and in South-East Asia. The Vietnamese people's historic victory is a heavy defeat not only for the U.S. imperialist aggressors, but also for the Peking expansionists.

During Mao Zedong's last years and after his death, in a scramble for power, the internal struggle in China went on fiercely, with ruthless purges. China's economy, political situation and society which, for twenty years, had been upset and set back as a result of the "Great Leap" and the "Great Cultural Revolution", now required quick stabilization and improvement. Besides, the economic and military weakness of China does not allow the Peking authorities to carry out their schemes as they wish. That is why, at home they have made use of big-nation chauvinism to rally different factions and to mobilize the Chinese people to carry out the "four modernizations" plan. In external policy they have followed an increasingly reactionary line. They took

advantage of imperialism's critical economic and political crisis and the United States being forced to readjust its global strategy to collude with imperialism and further intensify their campaign against the Soviet Union and the world revolutionary movement, and to acquire Western capital and technical knowhow for their "four modernizations" plan. Their "anti-hegemonism" banner is just a mask to cover their counter-revolutionary strategy and their expansionist, big-nation hegemonist policy.

They begrudge the Vietnamese people their victory; therefore, after the Vietnamese people had won complete victory, the Chinese rulers have more and more openly and frantically carried out a systematic hostile policy toward the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam.

II-FRENZIED BUT STILL COVERT ANTI-VIET NAM ACTIVITIES

1. Waging a border war through the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique in the South-West of Viet Nam.

From the mid-1960s, the Chinese leaders sought to manipulate the Kampuchea question, in the first place to undermine the Indochinese People's United Front, weaken the Vietnamese people's resistance war, secure a vantage position to negotiate with the Americans, and in the long run, to hold Kampuchea in bondage and turn it into a spring-board for Chinese expansion to Indochina and South-East Asia. Following the liberation of Kampuchea, on April 17, 1975, from the rule of the Lon Nol clique, stooges of the Americans, they helped their henchmen Pol Pot-Ieng Sary to seize the leadership of the Communist Party of Kampuchea, discard Siha-

nouk and his men, and set up a genocidal fascist regime never seen before in human history. Through this regime the Chinese sought to control the whole of Kampuchea and turn it into a new-type satellite and a military base to attack Viet Nam from the South West.

The Chinese poured money, weapons and other military hardware and brought tens of thousands of Chinese advisers into Kampuchea to set up scores of army divisions including infantry, armoured units and artillery, built or enlarged several naval and air bases and logistics installations.

Under Peking's direction, the Phnom Penh reactionary ruling clique conducted a wide propaganda campaign, alleging that Viet Nam "attacked Kampuchea", "attempted to compel Kampuchea to join a Vietnamese-controlled Indochinese Federation", and clamoured for war against Viet Nam. They sabotaged the border negotiations between the two countries in order to create increasing tension in the Viet Nam-Kampuchea border area. From April, 1975 they used their troops in land grabbing operations and shelled many places on Vietnamese territory. They provoked more and more clashes in the border area and attacked many Vietnamese border posts and villages, making the border area insecure and hampering Viet Nam's economic rehabilitation and development. Then in April, 1977, they started an all-out war against Viet Nam along the border of more than 1,000 km, launching large-scale offensives with tens of thousands of troops supported by tanks and artillery, sometimes 30 km deep into Vietnamese territory, savagely massacring civilians, destroying houses and crops, thus committing countless unforgivable crimes against the Vietnamese people.

2. Using the Hoa (Chinese) nationals issue to undermine Viet Nam from inside.

There were about 1,200,000 Hoa nationals in Viet Nam: nearly one million of them in the South, more than 200,000 in the North. The Workers' Party of Viet Nam and the Communist Party of China agreed in 1955 that the Hoa residents in North Viet Nam should be placed under the leadership of the Workers' Party of Viet Nam and gradually naturalized as Vietnamese citizens. In fact, in the past twenty years, the Hoa people in the North enjoyed the same rights and had the same obligations as Vietnamese citizens. In the South, under the Ngo Dinh Diem administration, they had taken since 1956 Vietnamese citizenship so as to enjoy more favourable conditions in their life and work.

After the complete liberation of the South, the Government and people of Viet Nam continued to strictly abide by the 1955 agreement between the two parties on the Hoa people in the North, and at the same time have duly taken into account the historical reality of Vietnamese of Chinese origin in the South, considering the Hoa people in both zones as part of the Vietnamese community. A small number of people with Taiwan, Hongkong or other foreign passports and the Hoa people expelled by the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique and taking refuge in Viet Nam, are considered as foreign nationals.

However, the Chinese leaders have distorted the 1955 agreement between the two Parties, denied the historical reality of Vietnamese of Chinese origin in the South, and they consider all the Hoa people in both zones as Chinese nationals and claim leadership of these people. Indeed, they have set up reactionary organizations and a spy network composed of Hoa residents in Viet Nam. Organizations

such as "Chinese Residents' Union for Peace", "Progressive Chinese Union", "Chinese Residents Association for National Salvation", "Marxist-Leninist Youth League", "Association of Patriotic Chinese School Pupils", "United Front of Chinese Residents" etc..., set up and commanded by Peking, have been opposing the Vietnamese Government's policies, military service, participation in the building of new economic zones, arousing racial feelings among the Hoa and instigating a movement for demanding the restoration of Chinese nationality. They made counterfeit money, practised speculation and raised prices of goods in order to undermine the Government's plan for stabilization and development of the economy in South Viet Nam. With those manoeuvres, the Peking rulers created more difficulties to the people of South Viet Nam, who had already numerous difficulties left by 30 years of imperialist war of aggression. This led a number of people to leave the country in the hope of finding a better place to live. Peking used the Hoa people as a tool to create unrest in Viet Nam, politically, economically and socially, as they had done in other countries of South-East Asia and South Asia.

In 1973, the Chinese leaders solemnly promised to give aid to Viet Nam at least for five more years, with the same annual amount as in 1973.

3. Using aid to increase pressure.

In 1975, when congratulating the Vietnamese people on the complete liberation of South Viet Nam, again the Chinese leaders said: *"China will continue to fulfil her international obligations, resolutely support the Vietnamese people's just cause of consolidating the fruits of their victory, reunifying and building up their fatherland."* This was in fact

only a fallacious statement to cover up their grudge against the Vietnamese people's historic victory which had elated all the revolutionary and progressive forces in the world, and to conceal their dark designs against the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam.

In reality, they did not support the Vietnamese people in the reconstruction of their country in the new stage.

In the period from 1969 to 1970, the Chinese leaders cut down aid to Viet Nam because they disapproved of Viet Nam's negotiations with the United States to get the latter to de-escalate the war, in the 1971-1972 period they increased aid to Viet Nam to an unprecedented level because they wanted to take advantage of the Viet Nam problem to negotiate with the United States. But in 1975, because of their setback in South Viet Nam they again used aid to exert pressure on Viet Nam. They rejected Viet Nam's requests for further aid. As to the aid already agreed upon during the war and not yet fully delivered, they delayed it under various pretexts. This included unfinished projects some of which were of great importance to the peaceful reconstruction of Viet Nam. Obviously, the aid given by the Chinese leaders was not "selfless" as they have often boasted of, but a means to achieve big-nation hegemony and expansion. Peking's aid is nothing more than an aspect of the policy of "the stick and the carrot".

The above-mentioned Peking's manoeuvres against Viet Nam which are so wicked and ruthless have all been frustrated. The fascist and genocidal crimes committed by the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique have been condemned by the Kampuchean people

and the whole progressive mankind. The scheme to use the Hoa people to undermine Viet Nam from within has gone bankrupt. The attempt to exert pressure through aid and other measures cannot make Viet Nam waver in her policy of independence and sovereignty or bring the Vietnamese people into submission.

III-SYSTEMATICALLY AND OPENLY OPPOSING VIET NAM

Failing to obtain any desired results by covertly opposing Viet Nam, the Chinese rulers resorted to an open course of action against Viet Nam, using all possible means, including threats to use force and the use of force.

1. The so-called problem of "victimized residents".

Early in 1978, the Chinese rulers fabricated the so-called problem of "victimized residents" to openly start a large-scale campaign against the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam.

The activities of the secret Hoa organizations and the intelligence network of the Chinese Embassy in Ha Noi, closely guided by the Peking propaganda machine, the brazen allegations accusing Viet Nam of "expelling, ostracizing and persecuting the Hoa people", together with deception, bribes, enticement and threats, created a feeling of anxiety and fear of an imminent war and instigated suspicions, even enmity towards the Vietnamese and caused the Hoa people who were living peacefully in Viet Nam to leave for China en masse. Chinese agents helped the Hoa to cross the border illegally and then held

them up at the Viet Nam-China border, and incited the stranded people to oppose and to assault Vietnamese local officials. When the exodus of the Hoa to China began, Peking sent two ships to Viet Nam to take "the victimized residents" although they had not yet raised this question with the Government of Viet Nam. Within only a few months, 170,000 Hoa people left Viet Nam for China. The so-called question of "victimized residents" was only a coercion of the Hoa in Viet Nam to leave en masse for China. The culprit here was the reactionary group in the Peking leadership who practised deception and betrayal in an attempt to provoke political, social and economic unrest in Viet Nam, to subjugate the Vietnamese people and at the same time, to arouse public opinion in China and to prepare a "fifth column" for an eventual aggression against Viet Nam.

Being long-time settlers in Viet Nam familiar with the local terrain, customs, and habits, and capable of gathering a good deal of information through numerous acquaintances, the Hoa from Viet Nam were enlisted by the Peking expansionists into "mountaineer divisions" specialized in fighting in mountainous regions and launching deep-thrust operations in the rear areas, other Hoa were enlisted in scout units, reconnaissance groups or other units for spying, kidnapping, assassination, destruction of bridges and warehouses in Viet Nam. Many of them were captured during the aggression against Viet Nam started on February 17, 1979.

Faced with the Vietnamese people's determination to safeguard their sovereignty, the Peking rulers had to withdraw the two ships sent to take the "victimized Hoa residents" home, and to hold talks with the Vietnamese side on the Hoa question. But in the talks they continued to show a big-nation at-

titude, arrogantly sought to impose their absurd view-points on the Vietnamese side, in disregard of the sovereignty of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and of international law. It was they who deliberately undermined the talks in order to continue using the question of Hoa people against Viet Nam.

2. Cutting off aid and withdrawing experts.

While using every possible means, from honeyed words to measures of coercion, to entice or force the Hoa people in Viet Nam to leave for China, the Peking expansionists used "the stick" of cutting off aid to hit Viet Nam economically. Within a little more than one month, they unilaterally announced the discontinuation of all economic and technical aid to Viet Nam and recalled all the Chinese experts and technical personnel working in Viet Nam, in disregard of international law and practice. This was an extremely wicked act at a time when the Vietnamese people had to heal the war wounds and at the same time cope with the border war in the South-West of their country, overcome the economic difficulties caused by the sudden departure of nearly 200,000 Hoa people from the fields and factories and repair the heavy damage caused by the most disastrous floods and typhoons in several decades.

Alongside with the discontinuation of aid and withdrawal of experts, the reactionary group among the Chinese leaders openly persuaded other countries and international organizations to stop aid for the reconstruction of Viet Nam. It was so wicked, so perfidious!

They stepped up their slander campaign against Viet Nam in an attempt to cover up their expansionist manoeuvres in South-East Asia, and at the same time, to hinder the normalization of relations bet-

ween Viet Nam and the ASEAN countries and call on the latter to form a "common front with China" against Viet Nam. They hoped that with this campaign they could carry out a policy of economic encirclement, political isolation and military attack against Viet Nam as the imperialists and colonialists have been doing with some countries. This brazen act constitutes not only an encroachment upon the independence and sovereignty of Viet Nam, but also an interference in the internal affairs of other countries and of international organizations.

3. Maintaining a tense situation at the Viet Nam-China border.

Together with economic and political sabotage, the Chinese rulers frenziedly increased military pressure on the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam from all directions.

In the North, they sent more troops to the Sino-Vietnam border area, increased armed provocations and nibbling operations on Vietnamese territory, encroaching upon the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Viet Nam and creating a constantly tense situation in the border area. The number of provocations and land-nibbling operations rose to 234 in 1975 - one and a half time as many as in 1974 - and in 1978 this figure rocketed to 2,175, nearly ten times over.

In the South-West: By order of Peking, the genocidal Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique rejected the Vietnamese proposal that the two sides establish a demilitarized zone along the border area, disengage the two armies and sign a treaty of friendship, non-aggression and non-interference in the internal affairs of each other. They wanted to find a pre-

text for continuing the border war against Viet Nam while preparing for more important military ventures later on.

In the West, in disregard of international law, the Chinese rulers by every possible means intensified pressure on the People's Democratic Republic of Laos, a country smaller than China, a country which has always pursued a policy of peace and friendship with neighbouring countries. They fostered the remnants of the Meo special force, formerly organized and commanded by the CIA, used their road building troops to intervene in the provinces of northern Laos, accused Viet Nam of "annexing" Laos, sowed discord between Viet Nam and Laos and deployed several divisions close to the Sino-Lao border. Their objective was to increase the military threat against Viet Nam from the West while gradually weakening and gaining control of Laos.

4. Attacking Viet Nam from two directions.

All the above-mentioned perfidious manoeuvres were foiled although they did cause difficulties to the Vietnamese people. This explained why late in 1978 and early in 1979, the Chinese rulers had to resort to a military offensive against the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam from two directions.

In the South-West, carrying out Peking's plan, the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique, after concentrating 19 infantry divisions (out of a total of 23 divisions) close to the border with Viet Nam, on December 22, 1978 used their elite divisions powerfully supported by tanks and artillery, to attack Ben Soi, Tay Ninh province, (over 100 kms from Saigon) in an attempt to swiftly capture the provincial capital of Tay Ninh, thus paving the way for a deep thrust into South Viet Nam. This offensive was also aimed

at weakening Viet Nam so that China could easily attack it from the North.

Exercising their legitimate right of self-defence, the Vietnamese people completely smashed that military plan. At the same time, the Kampuchean army and people, under the leadership of the Kampuchea National United Front for Salvation and with the support of the Vietnamese people, fought fiercely and smashed the genocidal Pol Pot-Ieng Sary regime and the so-called Government of Democratic Kampuchea and set up, on January 10, 1979, the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, the genuine representative of the Kampuchean people.

In the North, the Chinese rulers mobilized 600,000 troops including several army corps and independent divisions, technical weapon units with nearly 800 tanks and armoured vehicles, about one thousand artillery pieces and hundreds of aircraft of various types, from nearly all military zones of China to *launch a war of aggression against Viet Nam on February 17, 1979 all along the border of over 1,000 km.* Wherever the troops of the Chinese reactionaries came, they massacred civilians including women, newborn babies and old folk, destroyed villages, churches, pagodas, schools, creches, hospitals, farms and afforestation areas. They killed, pillaged and burnt with the savagery of medieval hordes combined with sophisticated methods of modern imperialist armies.

In order to mislead public opinion in China and the world over, the Peking rulers declared that this was only a "counter-attack for self-defence" with the use of only border-guard units. In reality, it was a war of aggression waged by regular forces taken from nearly all the principal military zones

in China, a war which was well prepared in all aspects, from the building of military installations, roads, trenches, airfields along the Sino-Viet Nam border, to the slander campaign against Viet Nam, the undermining of Viet Nam-China friendship and arousing of big-nation chauvinist feelings among the Chinese people, in an attempt to justify and cover up their aggression. Careful preparations had also been made in the diplomatic field. China launched its war of aggression after Vice-premier Deng Xiaoping returned from his visit to the United States and Japan; in fact, after he had won the approval of the U.S. and Japan. The Chinese rulers' ambitious objective was to annihilate part of the Vietnamese armed forces, to destroy Vietnam's military and economic potential, to occupy Viet Nam territory, and to incite revolts.

The two wars of aggression that the Chinese rulers waged from two directions were the culmination of a policy directed against the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of Viet Nam in an attempt to weaken, subjugate and annex Viet Nam. Contrary to Peking's calculations, its war of aggression was pitifully defeated, condemned by the whole world and also opposed by a section of the Chinese people. On March 5, 1979 they were compelled to announce the withdrawal of their troops and after that, to accept talks with Viet Nam.

5. Continuing to oppose Viet Nam by all means.

The Chinese rulers have declared the withdrawal of their troops to the other side of the border, but in fact, their troops are still occupying more than ten places on Vietnamese territory, building up more fortifications there, brazenly violating the his-

torical border line which both sides have pledged to respect.

All along the Sino-Viet Nam border, they continue to deploy many army corps supported by artillery and armoured vehicles, to bring more war equipment, to build up military installations, to frequently carry out military manoeuvres and to send scouts and commandos to several localities in Viet Nam. Every day they engaged in armed provocation, shooting, mining and firing at the local people. In some places, they carried out shellings with heavy mortars all day long. They once sent a battalion of regular troops 4 km deep into Vietnamese territory, killing civilians, burning houses and destroying crops. Sometimes Chinese Air Force planes violated Viet Nam's air space, flew over localities 8 to 10 km from the border. They surreptitiously sent back to Viet Nam the Hoa who had been forced to leave for China. These premeditated acts, and other manoeuvres were aimed at maintaining tension in the border region, violating the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Viet Nam and jeopardizing the security of Viet Nam. The Chinese rulers have repeatedly threatened "*to give Viet Nam a second lesson*", even "*many more lessons*". In what name and by what law have the Chinese rulers the right to teach Viet Nam a lesson? Like China, Viet Nam is an independent and sovereign country. The United Nations Charter, international law and practice do not allow China to do anything detrimental to the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity of Viet Nam or of any other country. Is it because China is a big country with a large population, that the Chinese expansionists allow themselves to take the law into their own hands to intimidate and to subjugate other countries, smaller in size and population?

The Chinese authorities have agreed to negotiate with the Vietnamese side on urgent solutions to ensure peace and security in the border region and to discuss other problems relating to the two countries. But in the first round of talks in Ha Noi and in the second round in Peking, the Chinese side has been evading the reasonable and logical proposals of the Vietnamese side and rejected Vietnamese proposals on urgent measures to end acts of armed provocation and to ensure peace and stability in the border region, a pre-requisite for the settlement of other matters concerning the relations between the two countries. What is more, they have demanded that Viet Nam give up its line of independence and sovereignty and its sovereignty over Hoang Sa (Paracels) and Truong Sa (Spratly) archipelagoes as a pre-condition for the discussion of other issues. This is an attitude of big-nation hegemons. They have come to the negotiation table not to discuss on an equal footing and constructively solutions for the problems, but to force the other side to accept their stand. The Chinese rulers' demand for the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea and Laos, and their mentioning of the "anti-hegemony principle" are nothing but attempts to conceal their own aggression against Viet Nam, intimidation of the People's Democratic Republic of Laos, interference in the internal affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea and to cover up their heinous hegemonistic designs to subjugate the three Indochinese countries and to use them as a spring-board for expansion to South-East Asia.

Recently, the Chinese rulers raised President Carter's "human rights" signboard and used the problem of Vietnamese emigrants as a new weapon against Viet Nam. Most of the Vietnamese emigrants were rich businessmen, officers who had lived on the

U.S. imperialists and Saigon puppet regime, the Hoa who had been enticed or coerced into leaving the country and others who had got habits of the U.S.-style consumer society and could not endure the difficulties caused by the imperialist war of aggression and the sabotage work by the Chinese expansionists.

With its tradition of humanitarianism and respect for human rights, the Vietnamese Government has not only treated humanely those Vietnamese who had collaborated with the enemy during the war, but also shown leniency towards soldiers of the armies of aggression captured during the last 30 years. The Vietnamese Government is well aware of the causes and consequences of the problem of Vietnamese emigrants, and at the same time, of the difficulties caused by Vietnamese emigrants to the neighbouring countries. That is why, in January 1979, the Vietnamese Government declared its readiness to permit those who want to go abroad, for reunion with their families or for living, to leave the country legally, after the necessary formalities. Besides, the Vietnamese responsible services have agreed with the U.N. High Commission for Refugees on a 7-point programme, announced on May 30, 1979, with a view to facilitating an orderly and safe departure of those people and at the same time reducing the difficulties of the South-East Asian countries.

However, Peking and Washington have both mobilized their huge propaganda machinery and all their political, economic and financial means, exploited the humanitarian aspect of the matter and resorted to manoeuvres of deception, slander and incitement to distort the truth about the problem of Vietnamese emigrants and to conduct a large-scale heinous campaign against Viet Nam.

But who are responsible for this exodus?

No one has forgotten that it is the U.S. imperialists who had carried out an extermination war of aggression against Viet Nam, and when they had to withdraw their expeditionary army, they left behind in South Viet Nam a devastated country, a paralysed economy with more than 3 million unemployed, over one million handicapped persons, 800,000 orphans, 600,000 prostitutes and more than one million young drug-addicts, etc. . .

As for the Chinese rulers, it is they who have brazenly fabricated the so-called "victimized residents" problem, coerced or enticed the Hoa to leave their homes, land and factories for China, it is they who have used the various organisations of the Hua Nan (South China) Intelligence Agency to stir up political unrest, to engage in speculations and hoarding, raise prices and issue counterfeit money, in an attempt to undermine Viet Nam's economy, thus piling up difficulties for the people of South Viet Nam. While the responsible authorities of Viet Nam were working together with the UNHCR for the orderly and safe departure of those who wished to leave, Peking agents organized illegal departure, then raised a hullabaloo about Viet Nam "exporting refugees". In the meantime, every day thousands of Chinese were allowed by their government to leave their country for Hongkong, in transit to various countries in South-East Asia, and Peking paid no attention to the 26,000 Hoa people who had been expelled from Kampuchea by the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique. It is regrettable that some governments and organizations which failed to understand the situation in Viet Nam or sought to please the Chinese rulers for the sake of their business deals have joined the Chinese in a chorus of slander and incitement.

The thieves themselves have been crying "stop thief"; those who trampled upon human rights and international law have put up the signboard of "humanitarianism" to realize their dark political schemes. Peking's purpose was to whitewash its monstrous crimes in Kampuchea and in the war of aggression against Viet Nam, to cover up the incitement of Hoa people to leave Viet Nam and the exportation of tens of thousands of Chinese to foreign countries, to create difficulties for the ASEAN countries, to drive a wedge between the ASEAN countries and Viet Nam and to lull people's vigilance as to the danger of Chinese expansionism and the role of the fifth column of Hoa residents in South-East Asia.

However, for men of conscience, the truth cannot be covered. At present, more and more people are seeing through the odious design of the Peking reactionary rulers, and showing their sympathy for the difficulties of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and approving the latter's correct stand.

The imperialist and reactionary forces, particularly Peking and Washington, have failed in their attempt to turn the international conference on the problem of Indochinese emigrants last July in Geneva into a forum to slander Viet Nam. The proposals made by the delegation of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, which clearly showed a constructive and cooperative attitude in efforts to settle the problem of emigrants were approved by the representatives of many countries which respected truth and justice. These proposals were an important contribution to the success of the conference in laying the foundation for a solution to the problem, as the U.N. Secretary General Kurt Waldheim has concluded. But in fact, the situation remains very difficult and complex on account of the

sabotage activities by the imperialists and reactionaries, especially by Washington and Peking. At this moment, while Peking vociferously threatens to launch another war and cynically lays "claims" on the Hoang Sa and Truong Sa archipelagoes, the U.S. imperialists have their 7th fleet warships cruising off Vietnamese coasts, not only to encourage illegal emigration, but also to coordinate their activities with Peking's dark designs in the Eastern Sea region and in South-East Asia.

During the past five years, by all possible means, military, political, diplomatic and economic, direct and indirect, subtle and crude, covert and overt, the Chinese rulers have been unceasingly seeking to sabotage national construction work in the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam. The more they are frustrated, the more frenziedly they engage in anti-Viet Nam activities, in the hope of bringing the Vietnamese people into submission.

This is the third time the Chinese leaders betray the Vietnamese people.

Part Five

PEKING'S EXPANSIONIST POLICY, A THREAT TO NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE, PEACE AND STABILITY IN SOUTH-EAST ASIA

I

Viet Nam and China are two close neighbour countries whose peoples have always been bound together, have encouraged and helped each other in the struggle against imperialism, in the interests of the revolution in each country. The Vietnamese people have given political and moral support to the Chinese people and once fought in coordination with them in the struggle for national liberation. The Chinese people, though facing many difficulties, particularly in the first years of the People's Republic of China, have given great assistance to the Vietnamese people in their two wars of resistance.

The Vietnamese people treasure the friendship between the peoples of Viet Nam and China and have always preserved and fostered it, to make it

everlasting. Never have the Vietnamese people infringed upon the independence, sovereignty and territory of the Chinese people, nor interfered in China's internal affairs. With regard to divergence of views or the Chinese leaders' wrong-doings towards Viet Nam, the Vietnamese side has painstakingly tried to settle them through private discussions between the two sides.

Even though Chinese leaders have deliberately sabotaged the traditional friendship between the peoples of the two countries, the Vietnamese people never forget the great assistance reserved for them by the Chinese people, and eagerly wish for an early restoration of that friendship. At the negotiations to settle problems in the relations between the two countries, the Vietnamese side has always proceeded from this ardent desire of the Vietnamese people. The Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam consistently stands for an early restoration of normal relations between the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and the People's Republic of China, on the principles of respect for each other's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual respect, in the interests of each country, and of peace and stability in South-East Asia and in the world.

II

Thus, over the past 30 years, the Chinese rulers have three times betrayed the people of Viet Nam:

1. At the 1954 Geneva Conference, they sold out the Vietnamese people's national interests so as not only to ensure for their country a security belt in

the South, but also to prepare the terrain for the realization of their expansionist schemes in Indochina and South-East Asia. They wanted to keep Viet Nam partitioned for a long time, thereby weakening it and making it dependent on China.

2. In the Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. aggression, for national salvation, when the Ngo Dinh Diem regime collapsed, Peking flashed the green light for the U.S. to bomb North Viet Nam, and bring American troops to invade South Viet Nam. When Viet Nam wanted to sit down for talks with the United States in an effort to coordinate their struggle on three fronts—military, political and diplomatic—the Chinese rulers tried to prevent it. When the Vietnamese people were smashing their way toward total victory, the Peking rulers joined hands with the Nixon administration, using the Vietnamese people's blood to raise the People's Republic of China to the position of the world's third super-power, and barter for the settlement of the Taiwan issue.

3. After the Vietnamese people had completely liberated South Viet Nam from the neo-colonialist rule of U.S. imperialism and reunified their country, the Peking rulers sought by all means—political, military, economic and diplomatic—to weaken the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, subjugate the Vietnamese people and finally used military forces of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary gang to invade Viet Nam in the South-West and used China's own military forces to invade Viet Nam in the North, massacring civilians, heavily destroying economic and cultural establishments of Viet Nam in the areas of hostilities.

Three times the Chinese rulers betrayed Viet Nam, each time more cruelly and vilely than the previous one.

They have also cruelly and vilely betrayed the people of Laos and Kampuchea. They sacrificed the national interests of the Lao and Kampuchean peoples at the 1954 Geneva Conference. After the Geneva Conference, they hindered the Lao and Kampuchean peoples' struggle for national independence, peace and neutrality. When the Kampuchean people completely liberated their homeland on April 17, 1975, the Peking rulers used their flunkies, Pol Pot and Ieng Sary, to carry out a genocidal policy, to turn this country into a new-type satellite, and a military base for attack on the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam from the South-West. Regarding the People's Democratic Republic of Laos, they have undermined the Lao people's peaceful construction, armed and aided reactionary forces in their efforts to cause disturbances and deployed many divisions at the Sino-Laotian border in an attempt to force Laos into Peking's orbit. They have tried to sow division among the peoples of Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea with the aim of weakening them and conquering one country after another.

To cover up its treacherous face, the Peking leadership often recalled Chinese aid to Viet Nam, and even boasted that Chinese troops "*had fought at Dien Bien Phu*", etc. The Chinese people have reserved part of the fruits of their labour for helping the Vietnamese people in their resistance wars against the French colonialists and U.S. imperialists, and in their national construction. This the Vietnamese people will never forget under any circumstances. For the Vietnamese people, this is a fine manifestation of the militant solidarity among peoples sharing the same destiny. For the Peking reactionary rulers, however, this is but a political means for realising their expansionist policy in Viet Nam

and in the whole Indochinese peninsula. Reality has shown that they have used this aid now as "a carrot", now as "a stick", depending on their political aim at each moment.

Besides, there is not only the problem of Chinese assistance to Viet Nam. Chinese leaders, on many occasions, said that, if one were to speak of thanks, it was the Chinese people who had to thank the Vietnamese people, who have made many sacrifices and contributions in the interests of the Chinese people, that it was the Chinese people's duty to assist and support the Vietnamese people and that the peoples of the two countries must help each other.

In connection with President Nixon's visit to China in 1972, Chairman Mao Zedong told Vietnamese leaders in June 1973:

"Frankly speaking, the Chinese people, the Chinese Communist Party and the world people must thank the Vietnamese people for having defeated the U.S. aggressors. It was your victory, comrades, that forced Nixon to come to China."

Regarding China's admission to the United Nations Organization in 1971, Premier Zhou Enlai said during talks with Vietnamese leaders in November 1971:

"Viet Nam's contribution is very great. Our two countries are bound to each other."

Concerning the question: who fought and won victory at Dien Bien Phu in 1954, history and first of all, the French expeditionary corps, have given a clear answer. It should be added that during the resistance war against the French colonialists' aggression, the Chinese Government sent a number of advisers to Viet Nam and in the 1960's it sent to

Viet Nam what it called "logistic troops," to help repair railway and road sections close to the Chinese border and damaged by U.S. bombs, and to build some new roads in the border areas. But their main task was to gather information in various fields, infiltrate into areas inhabited by ethnic minorities, and engage in propaganda for the "cultural revolution". Most of the spies and "mountain troops" captured by the Vietnamese last February and March turned out to be former members of these Chinese "road-building" army units.

All the actions taken by Peking rulers, from their betrayal of Viet Nam at the 1954 Geneva Conference and their taking advantage of the Vietnamese people's resistance against the U.S. aggressors to their setting up of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary genocidal regime, their armed invasion of Viet Nam and their threats of aggression against Laos sprang from:

- One guiding thought: big-nation chauvinism;
- One policy: national selfishness;
- One strategic objective: big-nation expansionism and great power hegemonism.

In a word, their design was to conquer Viet Nam and the whole of Indochina, using it as a spring-board for advancing towards South-East Asia and gradually realizing their global strategy.

To realize their expansionist and hegemonist designs, the Peking rulers *have made deception and fraud a national policy and a strategical manoeuvre*. In this field, as disciples of Goebbels, they have by far surpassed him in the art. They attributed to others what they themselves wanted to do. They shifted the blame on others for what they themselves had done. They fabricated facts, falsified documents and distorted history. They called black

white, reversed right and wrong and used their huge mass media and other means for the purpose. They held high the banner of socialism while, in fact, opposing socialism. They clamoured about fighting imperialism, but joined hands with the U.S. imperialists. They noisily advocated opposition to the two super-powers, but colluded with the U.S. imperialists against the Soviet Union. They spoke of fighting hegemonism while attempting to realize hegemonism in Indochina and South-East Asia. They sent troops to invade the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, but claimed that it was Viet Nam which had "invaded" China. They did as if they were anxious "to protect human rights", and were worried about the plight of the "Indochinese refugees" while they themselves had slaughtered millions of their own countrymen in the "great cultural revolution" and incited over two hundred thousand Hoa people to leave Viet Nam for China. For the Peking rulers, their words are the truth and their interests are the ethics. "The mandarins may light their lamps but the men-in-the-street are not allowed to make a fire!" This saying formerly used by Chinese peasants to denounce oppression by the cruel feudal lords has become the guide-line for the Peking rulers in their attempt to realize their expansionist and hegemonist ambitions.

Chinese leaders are now striving to hold aloft the big-nation banner in order to rally the various factions and carry out their "four modernizations" plan. Externally, they are making all-out efforts to carry out their expansionist policy in Indochina and South-East Asia, colluding with imperialist and other reactionary forces, first of all the United States, to oppose the Soviet Union and the world revolution, in the hope of obtaining as much Western capital and technology as possible for the reali-

sation of their "four modernizations" plan and expansionist hegemonist schemes.

A China intoxicated by the big-nation mentality and by the expansionist and hegemonist policy of her rulers, whatever trend of development she may follow, poses a threat not only to the national independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of each country in Indochina, South-East Asia and South Asia and a threat to peace and stability in this region, but also to the diverse interests of other countries including those of countries which, going by immediate benefits, are chiming in with Chinese leaders in opposing Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea. Some clear-sighted Western politicians and businessmen have just warned their governments of the possible heavy consequences should China fall into yet another internal political crisis, but they failed to mention the much heavier consequences for the interests of the countries of the world brought about by the Chinese leaders' expansionist policy.

Over several thousand years in the past, Viet Nam had been invaded scores of times by Chinese emperors. The Vietnamese people clearly see the Chinese leaders' dark designs and they never slacken their vigilance. Even when the U.S. imperialists escalated their war of aggression to its peak, the Vietnamese people, though facing innumerable difficulties, resolutely turned down the Chinese leaders' offer to send to Viet Nam 200,000 troops and enough trucks to ensure military transport from the North to the South of Viet Nam. The Vietnamese people have firmly maintained their line of independence and sovereignty, despite all pressure, covert or overt, direct or indirect, by the Chinese rulers.

III

Although their war of aggression against Viet Nam in February 1979 was a pitiful military and political defeat, the Chinese leaders are still frantically carrying out their anti-Viet Nam policy. At the negotiations on problems in the relations between the two countries, the Chinese side kept showing a big-nation attitude, and arrogantly threatened *"to teach Viet Nam another lesson"*. At the same time, they have been trying by every possible means to restore the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary genocidal regime which has been overthrown by the Kampuchean people, and threatening to invade the People's Democratic Republic of Laos, with the aim of keeping pressure on Viet Nam from all sides.

"Nothing is more precious than independence and freedom". The Vietnamese people are determined to defend their independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, to maintain their correct line of independence, sovereignty and international solidarity, to smash all acts of aggression of any reactionary force and to foil all expansionist schemes aimed at subjugating Viet Nam.

The Vietnamese people, struggling for a just cause, have the invincible strength of national unity, combined with the great strength of the three revolutionary currents which have been foiling step by step all schemes of intervention, enslavement and aggression of imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, expansionism and hegemonism, and changing the map of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The Chinese expansionists will certainly invite upon themselves still heavier defeats if they do not draw timely and necessary conclusions from the recent failure of their anti-Viet Nam policy. In the present era, any country, big or small, is part of a whole

of human society. The Peking expansionists cannot lay their hands on Viet Nam without provoking mankind as a whole, without challenging the whole socialist system, the national liberation movement and the world people's front for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress. The peoples of the socialist countries, countries of national independence and peace- and justice-loving people throughout the world have been and will be on the Vietnamese people's side.

By using the former Chinese emperors' deceptive policy of "making friends with those far away to attack those nearby", coupled with many other crafty manoeuvres, Chinese rulers may still cover up their expansionist face for some time. But sooner or later, the peoples of South-East Asia will realize that Peking's hostile policy toward Viet Nam is a threat to the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity not only of Viet Nam, but also of other countries in the region. It must still be fresh in everybody's mind that Peking had used its fifth column—the Hoa—to stir up political and economic disturbances in many countries in South-East Asia before using these tactics in Viet Nam.

Is it not clear enough that while concentrating their efforts to oppose Viet Nam, they are also crudely interfering in the internal affairs of many other countries in Asia?

Genuine Chinese communists, and the Chinese people, who have constantly been misled by the Peking ruling clique over the past 30 years, since the People's Republic of China came into being, will sooner or later see the truth and will stand on the Vietnamese people's side, and support the just struggle of the Vietnamese people.

The Vietnamese people's just struggle against big-nation expansionism and great power hegemon-

ism practised by the reactionaries in the Peking ruling circles, for the defence of their independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and for contributing to the defence of peace and stability in South-East Asia and in the world, is a long and arduous struggle, but it will surely be crowned with glorious victory.

Viet Nam today will stand firm and continue to develop, in spite of all the devilish schemes of the Peking rulers, as it has stood firm and continued to develop over the past 4,000 years in the face of continual invasions by Chinese emperors.

The peoples of Viet Nam and China will certainly live in peace, friendship and cooperation in keeping with the aspirations of the people of the two countries and the interests of peace in South-East Asia and in the world.

October 1979

INDEX

Part One. VIET NAM IN CHINA'S STRATEGY	3
I — Viet Nam in China's global strategy	5
II — Viet Nam in China's policy towards South-East Asia	9
Part Two. CHINA AND THE TERMINATION OF THE INDOCHINA WAR IN 1954	17
I — After Dien Bien Phu, the Vietnamese people were capable of liberating the entire country	17
II — China's position in Geneva was totally different from Viet Nam's, but concordant with France's	19
III — The 1954 Geneva Agreements on Indochina and the Chinese leaders' betrayal	21
Part Three. CHINA AND THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE'S STRUGGLE FOR THE LIBERATION OF SOUTH VIET NAM AND THE REUNIFICATION OF THE COUNTRY (1954—1975)	27
I — 1954—1964 period: The Chinese rulers hampered the Vietnamese people's struggle for national reunification	28
II — 1965—1969 period: Undermining and prolonging the resistance war of the Vietnamese people	35
III — 1969—1973 period: Negotiations with the United States behind Viet Nam's back	45
IV — 1973—1975 period: Preventing the Vietnamese people from completely liberating South Viet Nam	56
Part Four. CHINA'S POLICY TOWARD LIBERATED AND REUNIFIED VIET NAM. (from May 1975 up to the present time)	64
I — China after the U.S. defeat in Viet Nam	64
II — Frenzied but still covert anti-Viet Nam activities	67
III — Systematically and openly opposing Viet Nam	72
Part Five. PEKING'S EXPANSIONIST POLICY, A THREAT TO NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE, PEACE AND STABILITY IN SOUTH-EAST ASIA	85