DOCUMENTATION

Text of Phan Hien’s Speech at the Thirty-fourth U.N. General Assembly, October 1979

Mr. President,
Messrs heads of delegations,
Ladies and gentlemen,

May I first convey to you, Mr. President, our warmest congratulations for your brilliant election to the high office of President of the 34th session of the U.N. General Assembly.

May I also pay a deserved tribute to His Excellency Mr. I. Lievano, President of the 33rd session of the General Assembly. We wish particularly to express our sincere thanks to Dr. Kurt Waldheim, Secretary-General, and to his colleagues, for their devotion and wisdom shown in their fruitful activities in the service of the interest of the international community.

The Vietnamese delegation extends its best wishes to welcome to Santa Lucia on the occasion of its admission to the United Nations Organization.

It is with profound sadness and boundless suffering that we have learnt of the premature death of the beloved leader of the Angolese people, a son of merit of Africa, a great friend of our people, the President of the People’s Republic of Angola, Agostinho Neto, whose image remains always fresh in the heart of every Angolese and every Vietnamese.

Mr. President,
The delegation of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam warmly welcomes the great victories reported by the forces of national independence, peace and social progress throughout the world during the period extending from the 33rd session of the General Assembly up to now. These resounding victories contribute to the abolishing of the whole series of seemingly impregnable forts of imperialism and international reaction in the key positions, eliminating the dangerous hotbeds of war and strengthening the potential of defending peace and security of the peoples.

In Latin America, the glorious victory of the Sandinist fighters and the heroic people of Nicaragua over the Somoza dictatorship has opened up a new page in the history of this nation. The heroic people of Grenada have overthrown the Eric Gairy dictatorial regime and continue their resolute struggle for the safeguard of their national independence and the building of their beautiful country.

The Latin-American countries, including those of the Caribbean
regions, wage a tenacious struggle to consolidate their political and economic independence, to recover and preserve their natural resources and promote their multiform cooperation. Joining the fraternal Cuban people, we demand an immediate and unconditional end to the encirclement and blockade against Cuba, the compensation of the consequent damages and the restoration of Guantanamo naval base to that country. We support Panama's rights to its absolute sovereignty over the zone of the canal.

We reaffirm our active solidarity with the Chilean people who wage a valiant struggle against the fascist clique in power. Likewise, we energetically support the struggle of the peoples of Puerto Rico, Belize and other peoples still living under colonial domination for their right to self-determination and independence.

We are elated at the excellent results of our Prime Minister Pham Van Dong's visit to Cuba, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama and Jamaica. This visit to various countries in Latin America has opened up new prospects for the relations of friendship and fruitful cooperation between Vietnam and the countries of that region.

In Southern Africa, neither the ferocity of the racist and apartheid regimes nor their collusion with imperialism to impose the so-called internal solutions can check the persistent struggle of the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa under the leadership of the Patriotic Front of SWAPO and the ANC respectively, for their independence, freedom and dignity.

The agreement on cessation of hostilities between the Polisario Front and the Islamic Republic of Mauritania constitutes an important victory of the Saharawi people who are struggling for the exercise of their right to self-determination and independence.

The separate arrangements in the Middle East only further strengthen the solidarity of the Arab peoples and the international support to the struggle of the Palestinian people whose sole authentic representative is the PLO for the respect of their inalienable national rights. We join our voice to that of the international community to condemn the Camp David agreements and the so-called Egypt-Israel peace agreement and reaffirm our unreserved support to the Palestinian people's just claims to demand the return to the Arab countries of their territories illegally occupied by Israel, the holy city of Jerusalem included.

In Asia, imperialism and international reactionaries have sustained heaviest defeats just at the places where their collusion is closest and their efforts most intense. The revolutionary impetus of the Iranian people has put an end to the tyrannical regime of the Shah, thereby causing the collapse of CENTO. The people of Afghanistan have foiled all attempts of foreign intervention and subversion, thereby consolidating the gains of the April 1978 revolution.

In the region of the Indian Ocean, the struggle of the peoples of littoral countries has been stepped up with a view to turning this ocean into a zone of peace and demanding the withdrawal of the imperialist military bases, in par-
ticular those of Diego Garcia, while in Eastern Asia, the presence of foreign troops in South Korea is sternly condemned by the international community.

In Southeast Asia, the peoples of Kampuchea, Laos and Vietnam, overcoming countless difficulties, have recorded resounding victories in the field of reconstruction as well as in that of national defence. The events of the past year have shown once again that the friendship and solidarity between the three countries of Indochina constitute a vital question and at the same time a factor of peace and security in this region.

Mr. President,

The sixth summit conference of non-aligned countries that has just ended successfully in Havana is one of the most eloquent expressions of the determination of the peoples of non-aligned countries to strengthen their solidarity and develop their cooperation with other democratic and progressive forces in the common struggle against imperialists, colonialism and neo-colonialism, hegemonism and expansionism, racism including Zionism and apartheid, for the people's independence and freedom, world peace and international security, for the establishment of a new international economic order.

Together with the peace-loving forces the world over, we warmly hail the signing of SALT II agreements, consider them an important contribution to international detente, creating favourable conditions for future negotiations on general and complete disarmament. We sternly condemn those who are stepping up arms race, accelerating war preparations, thereby endangering world peace and international security. We support the consistent policy of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries in favour of peace, detente, strengthening of security of the peoples and international cooperation. In this connection, we welcome the initiative of Czechoslovakia in requesting the inclusion in the agenda of the present session of the question entitled: "Adoption of a Declaration on International Cooperation for Disarmament".

The peoples' struggle for their complete economic independence, for the recovery of their natural resources and the establishment of a new, just and equitable economic order has unceasingly developed. However, it is a hard reality that in many developing countries, the economic situation does not cease to deteriorate. The maintenance of an unjust world economic order has increasingly widened the gap between the exploiting developed countries and the developing countries. The deadlock in the North-South negotiations and the failure of UNCTAD V confirm that the exploiting countries try all means to perpetuate their selfish interests, shift on the developing countries the consequences of world economic crisis, energy crisis, inflation, etc. . . .

My delegation is glad to note that in this year of 1979, we have witnessed man's great successes achieved in all regions of the world by the forces of peace, national independence, democracy and social progress. This is the essential orientation of the development of the world situation at present. Nevertheless, imperialism, in collusion with international reactionaries,
seeks by every means to obstruct the advance of mankind, to try to take back its lost positions, to prepare new interventions and aggressions against the peoples who refuse to submit to their dictate.

Mr. President,

After more than three decades of undaunted struggle full of sacrifices to regain their independence and freedom, in spring 1975, the Vietnamese people won complete victory and achieved the reunification of their country. They thought that from then on, they could devote themselves fully to the work of reconstruction in peace.

However, our independence was again threatened and peace endangered. And this time, the aggressors are precisely those who in the past noisily condemned U.S. aggression in Vietnam and repeatedly pledged their faithfulness to the Vietnamese cause. They are precisely the Peking authorities.

One may wonder then why Peking launched 600,000 troops against Vietnam when a profound friendship existed between these two people; why, overnight, Peking treated a friendly neighbouring country as its worst enemy. It is indeed difficult to understand all this if one does not know that for a long time, Peking has nurtured a global plan aimed at bringing Vietnam under its thumb and turning it into a tool of its hegemonic and expansionist policy in Southeast Asia and in the world. The persons in power in Peking have always considered Southeast Asia as their zone of natural expansion: compared to a big, overpopulated and “superior-cultured” China, these are small countries under-developed but rich in resources, and especially, in those countries exist strong Chinese communities and Maoist groups of subservience — two choice means of expansion for Peking.

By its strategic position, Vietnam constitutes for China the natural access to Southeast Asia; thencefrom is set her scrupulously prepared plan to subdue Vietnam in her policy.

This plan is made up of pernicious manoeuvres of all kinds: from giving assistance to the Vietnamese resistance to the use of this assistance as a means to control and pressure Vietnam to give up its policy of independence and fall into Peking’s line; from using the Vietnamese people’s gains in their struggle as bartering money in the bargaining with imperialism to aggression by proxy, then finally ending up with direct aggression. It is of common knowledge that early in the seventies when the victory of the Vietnamese resistance was at hand, the Chinese leaders made a deal with their new allies with a view to perpetrating the partition of Vietnam and sharing zones of influence in this part of the world; the occupation by Chinese forces in 1974 of Hoang Sa (Paracels) Islands of Vietnam is a clear evidence among others.

The complete liberation of South Vietnam in 1975 has totally upset Peking’s plan. Since then, the reactionary Chinese authorities intensified their preparations for an aggression against Vietnam. They thought they could exploit to the fullest the multiple difficulties faced by Vietnam after thirty years of war. The prospect of an independent, unified, prosperous
Vietnam, having friendly relations with all countries, is unacceptable to them. In their eyes, such a Vietnam, which fiercely defends its independent and sovereign policy, constitutes a "bad example" to the Southeast Asian countries and thus becomes a great obstacle to their expansionist and hegemonistic designs; therefore, Peking must eliminate this obstacle at any cost.

Being more sophisticated and more cruel than their predecessors, the Chinese expansionists have chosen a new strategy: to launch a two-pronged attack against Vietnam on its southwestern and northern borders, while seeking to foment disorder inside the country with the so-called Hoa problem. They decided then to utilise Kampuchea which they totally controlled with the help of their henchmen, Pol Pot-leng Sary, as a base for their attacks directed against the southwestern part of Vietnam, thus hitting Vietnam in the rear and at its back, choosing a place that they think the weakest point of Vietnam, which is the newly-liberated region in the southern part of our country.

Therefore, no wonder that as early as 1965, taking advantage of the fact that Kampuchea was the weakest link of the three countries in this region, Peking, acting through its henchmen and using subversive methods, was able to turn this country into a base for expansion in the region. After the liberation of Kampuchea which brought Pol Pot-leng Sary to power, Peking brought in tens of thousands of Chinese military advisers and a huge amount of weapons and ammunitions in order to set up hastily a 23-division-strong army there.

On the northern Vietnamese border, Peking amassed hundreds of thousands of troops which carried out daily provocations and incidents, creating a permanent tension and kept ready to invade North Vietnam.

As the preparations were completed, the time for these two almost simultaneous attacks was set for the end of 1978, early 1979. However, the aggressors, blinded by their ambitions of conquest, committed a grave strategic mistake of underestimating the Vietnamese forces and of concentrating the bulk of their combat forces — 19 out of their total 23 divisions — in the border zone to launch an attack in the direction of Ho Chi Minh City. Faced with the rapid defeat of the Pol Pot army, and the solidarity between the three peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea, as well as with the firm support extended to Vietnam by the socialist countries and the world’s peoples, the Chinese authorities, before plunging themselves into the adventure, had to seek some blessing from their new friends across the ocean who are ready to play the China card.

The short time which elapsed between December 23, 1978, when Pol Pot forces attacked Tay Ninh in the direction of Ho Chi Minh City, and February 17, 1979 when 600,000 Chinese troops were hurled into North Vietnam, obviously showed that Peking’s two-pronged plan for aggression was carefully prepared long in advance. So it is clear that late in 1978, the Vietnamese people were facing an extremely serious situation, a life or death question: their territory was threatened to be invaded, their national rights baffled, and peace freshly restored all of a sudden lost. Endowed with a time-honoured
tradition of a nation for whom "nothing is more precious than independence and freedom", the Vietnamese people took up arms once again to defend their independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity.

Exercising their legitimate right to self-defence, our people had to give riposte vigorously, smashing the Pol Pot forces that invaded Tay Ninh late in 1978, thus avoiding to be caught in Peking's two-pronged attacks and creating favourable conditions to repel victoriously the Chinese expansionists' February 17, 1979 open aggression.

What would have become of the situation in the region had our people not reacted in that way and stood fast? A conflagration would have burst out, possibly drawing in its whirlwind many other countries and destroying peace and stability in the whole Southeast Asian region.

The above developments have unveiled the aggressors' fallacious allegations about "Vietnam daring to provoke China", which would justify the motive of "giving Vietnam a lesson", those allegations which are by no means different from those made by Hitler who gave himself the right to punish other nations.

Was it right because the Peking rulers take pride in having a human force of one million inhabitants and having nuclear weapons at their disposal that they dare claim the arbitrary right to give a lesson to another country?

Whatever the real motivation of the Peking hegemonistic authorities may be, their behaviour is but the revival of the Chinese emperors' concept, who considered the people around their "heavenly empire" as barbarians or at best as vassals who had to be placed under domination.

One may wonder how could it be that in our era in which the principle of relationship between sovereign states is well established, or the principle of equal sovereignty of states and equal rights of the people are enshrined in the United Nations Charter as one of its basic principles, a country which is precisely China has acted in a so arrogant if not to say insolent manner, giving itself the "right" to punish another country, to "give it a lesson". Does Peking wish to bring mankind thousands of years back? Could ethics and justice be discarded from international relations with impunity?

We, the Vietnamese people, victims of the Chinese aggression, are entitled to ask the international community if it can tolerate such a thing. We appeal to it to condemn strongly the Peking expansionists and not to let them arrogate to themselves the arbitrary "right" to "give lessons" to other countries in defiance of the international community.

We demand that the Peking authorities stop immediately all their preparations for a new aggression against Vietnam, evacuate from the points they still illegally occupy on our frontier, return to us Hoang Sa Islands (Paracels) and compensate the material losses. They caused enormous sufferings to the population in the six border provinces of Vietnam, but more serious still, they have cruelly impaired the economic reconstruction of Vietnam, which still has to liquidate the heavy sequel of thirty years of war.

The criminals have to pay for their crimes!
Mr. President,

After being defeated in its aggression against Vietnam, China has accepted to enter into negotiations with Vietnam since April 18, 1979. However, after more than five months and in the course of twelve sessions of negotiations in Hanoi as well as in Peking, the Chinese side always refuses to respond positively to the logical and reasonable proposals put forward by the Vietnamese side on the urgent measures such as the separation of armed forces, the creation of a demilitarised zone, etc., so as to prevent the resumption of hostilities, preserve peace, thus creating favourable conditions for the settlement of other questions aiming at normalising the relations between the two countries. On the contrary, in the meanwhile, Peking feverishly engages itself in war preparations and creates a most grave and explosive situation that could turn at any moment into a big war.

In the region of Indochina and Southeast Asia, Peking continues to muster twelve divisions of its troops on the border between Vietnam and China. Besides, it keeps more than five army corps in the military regions adjacent to Vietnam. Recently, it has concentrated new troops in the region of Hainan Island. These Chinese forces have engaged in daily provocations and attacks on the Vietnamese territory, causing to us losses in human lives and property. The Vietnamese airspace and territorial waters are violated on many occasions. At the same time, Peking intensified its hostile acts against the Lao People's Democratic Republic, massing many divisions of Chinese troops at the borders of that country, engaging in subversive activities and war preparations against Laos. In Kampuchea, Peking persisted in reviving the last remnants of the Pol Pot army, driving them to the sabotage of the peaceful reconstruction work of that country. Lately, from Peking, the men in power constantly threatened to "give a second lesson to Vietnam".

These are facts which bear ample proof that China feverishly prepares a new aggression which could be launched at any moment against Vietnam. No man of conscience can have any doubt on this. One would wonder which country would be the next victim of Peking after Vietnam.

Alongside all these war preparations, in order to cover up their dark designs, the Peking authorities have organised a campaign of slanders against Vietnam which is supported noisily by certain circles in the West.

This propaganda is daily harping back to the allegation that Vietnam has "invaded Kampuchea"; Vietnam is "responsible" for the problem of refugees; that Vietnam has become an "instrument" of the Soviet Union.

Seeking with this slanderous campaign to smear the image of Vietnam and to isolate it on the international plane, Peking precisely aims at preparing world opinion before launching a new armed aggression against our country.

Mr. President,

In the interest of peace and in the name of justice, we urgently call on the international community and world public opinion to be vigilant because a great danger to peace and stability of Southeast Asia and the world is hidden behind these intrigues of Peking.
In the days when the Pol Pot regime committed genocide against its own people, it has become illegal and the Front for National Salvation of Kampuchea that has risen up to overthrow it and to save the Kampuchean people represents the revolutionary legality. That Vietnam extends its support to this just struggle is, therefore, in full conformity with international law and the United Nations Charter.

In December 1978, while Pol Pot mustered 19 out of his 23 divisions on the frontier to invade Vietnam, leaving the rear unprotected, the Front for National Salvation of Kampuchea took advantage of this military error as well as of the favourable strategic moment created by the rapid collapse of these fighting troops in face of the Vietnamese riposte — it waged a general insurrection leading to the overthrow of the Pol Pot regime and thus put an end to this almost four-year nightmare of the Kampuchean people. That is the triumph of the revolution of the Kampuchean people who exercise their right to self-determination. The world has witnessed the resurrection of a people who have by justice survived from total annihilation. This resurrection contributes to wiping out one of the greatest shames of mankind, the repugnantly hateful regime of Pol Pot, unprecedented in history, and paves the way for the Kampuchean people to "go and search for light", "to go and search for life" as has been said by the great Angolese poet Agostinho Neto. Let the valiant people of Kampuchea rebuild their life peacefully and settle their own affairs as sovereign masters of their destiny.

The situation in Kampuchea is being stabilised and normalised. It is irreversible.

As has been pointed out in the September 26, 1979 statement by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea is ready to accept without political conditions aid from all countries and international organisations directly granted to the Council that is the sole authentic and legal representative of the Kampuchean people. It denounces, I quote, "the perfidious manoeuvre of the imperialists and international reactionaries, who, misusing the humanitarian aspect, raise the so-called question of aid 'to the two sides', of 'sending of relief down to the inhabitants'. In fact, this manoeuvre is aimed at legalising the supply to the remnants of Pol Pot-leng Sary troops in their opposition to the Kampuchean people, at deceiving public opinion on the existence of this genocidal administration already overthrown and at creating foundations for a so-called political solution for the Kampuchean problem, thereby interfering in the internal affairs of the Kampuchean people".

One cannot find any reason whatever to talk about "solution". What should be denounced is the Chinese intervention in Kampuchea, the Chinese responsibility for the genocide committed by the Pol Pot-leng Sary clique against three million Kampuchean inhabitants. Any manoeuvres aimed at reviving the Pol Pot-leng Sary clique, any manoeuvres aimed at creating "two Kampuchean cliques" constitute an intolerable interference in the internal affairs of Kampuchea, a gross violation of the Kampuchean people's right to
self-determination and only prolong the sufferings of a nation which has already suffered too much. There exists only one Kampuchean — the People's Republic of Kampuchea. There exists only one government of Kampuchea — the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea, the sole legal and authentic representative of the Kampuchean people.

For their part, the Vietnamese people, together with all justice-loving people all over the world, welcome the martyred fraternal people of resuscitated Kampuchea; pledge to extend all necessary assistance and support to the reconstruction of their country. At the request of the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea and on the basis of the treaty of friendship and cooperation signed between the two countries, the Vietnamese troops are in Kampuchea to help the Kampuchean people oppose Peking's attempts of reimposing the Pol Pot regime and ensure peace and security. This stems from the spirit of traditional solidarity between the three peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea, a solidarity which was not just dated yesterday but has been tempered for nearly a century of struggle for independence of each country and is one of the determining factors of their successive victories over their much stronger enemies.

On the refugee problem, we have said and now we repeat that it is the consequence of long years of the war of aggression our people have undergone; the responsible are those who invaded Vietnam. At this moment, Peking is seeking to exploit this question for political blackmail and to prepare for a new war. At the Geneva conference on refugees as well as in cooperation with it, Vietnam has shown its goodwill and has taken humanitarian steps aimed at making a contribution to the settlement of this question. The U.N. Secretary-General, the High Commissioner for Refugees and world opinion have greatly appreciated our cooperation. What is deplorable is that Washington is sending warships of its Seventh Fleet near to the Vietnamese waters and Peking continues to instigate the people in Vietnam to leave illegally their country. Undoubtedly, this is a deliberate sabotage of the results of the Geneva conference.

Vietnam is an independent and sovereign country; its relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries are ones of friendship and cooperation based on mutual respect for independence and sovereignty. The Soviet Union and the socialist countries effectively helped us during our national resistance and cooperate fraternally with Vietnam for the reconstruction of the country. Therefore, it is normal that we have excellent relations. The treaty of peace, friendship and cooperation between Vietnam and the Soviet Union contributes to the cause of peace and international cooperation, and is not intended to oppose any third country. What is abnormal and unacceptable is that Peking has given itself the right to dictate to Vietnam the conduct of international relations, to impose on Vietnam the choice of such or such country with which Vietnam should entertain relations. Peking must remember that the Vietnamese people have clearly displayed their spirit of independence not only in our era but also since millenaries.
Mr. President,

The recent painful ordeals of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea, just like other peoples' experiences of their own throughout the world, show rather clearly that a new danger is threatening the international community: Peking's hegemonism, in collusion with imperialism, is challenging the peoples of the world! It is necessary to heighten our vigilance, to act for a timely halt of their dark designs. Mankind has not ceased to combat those scourges, namely, imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism, apartheid, Zionism and now Peking's hegemonism which is there to add to the list. But we are convinced that the joint forces of peace, independence and freedom all over the world will be capable of taking up the challenge and will win.

We welcome the initiative of the Soviet Union requesting the inscription in the agenda of this session the question entitled "On the Inadmissibility of Hegemonism in International Relations". We unreservedly support the draft resolution submitted by Comrade A. Gromyko, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR, to the General Assembly for approval.

We warmly welcome the resounding victories scored by the Lao people in their work of reconstruction as well as in the defence of their national independence, foiling all manoeuvres of the Peking authorities aimed at fomenting troubles in the country and preparing a large-scale attack against the latter. If the Peking authorities venture to give Vietnam "a second lesson" by invading the Lao territory, the consequences will be extremely serious for themselves. The people and Government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam will spare no effort to tighten the ties of friendship and militant solidarity with the fraternal people and the Government of the Lao People's Democratic Republic.

Mr. President,

Vietnam and China are neighbouring countries having historical, cultural and other ties thousands of years ago. The two peoples, Vietnamese and Chinese, were living in the same past and supported each other in their struggle against feudalism, colonialism and imperialism, in the course of which was forged an indestructible friendship and solidarity. The Vietnamese people will never forget the fraternal sentiments and valuable assistance that the great Chinese people reserved for them during their struggle for national salvation. That is why the more we cherish the friendship and solidarity with the Chinese people, the more we are determined to oppose the hegemonist and expansionist policy of the present Peking rulers, because it constitutes an offence to the sentiments of our two peoples, and aims at destroying what we were trying to build together.

To the leaders in Peking, we make a pressing appeal: should they stop their hostile policy against Vietnam, peace will be restored, relations will be normalised, the two countries will live in concord for our respective people's good and in the interest of stability and prosperity of the whole region. We would like to proclaim our firm and unshakable will to defend our indepen-
dence, national heritage and territorial integrity. Nevertheless, we wish to settle all disputes between the two countries by means of peaceful negotiations. We have shown our goodwill. Let the Chinese leaders do the same. Only in that manner could the negotiations progress and achieve the results so much hoped for by our two peoples and all peace-loving peoples in the world.

Mr. President,
The Southeast Asian countries including Vietnam have gone through the same painful past under colonialism. They have been victims of the same "divide and rule" policy of oppressors; yet in spite of vicissitudes of contemporary history, our countries are bound to live in good neighbourhood. As to the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, it is determined to forget the past, to look forward to the future, to do its best to write together with other countries a new page in the history of the region. It is in this spirit that during these last years, my country has taken the initiative in increasing direct contacts at various levels with the ASEAN countries with a view to establishing together a zone of peace, independence, freedom and neutrality, a zone of stability and prosperity, in conforming with the legitimate interests of each country and responding to those of world peace and international security. In our relations with the countries of Southeast Asia, we advocate the following principles that are being scrupulously observed, namely, mutual respect for independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, non-use of threat of using force, abstaining from all forms of subversion, direct or indirect, equality, mutual benefit, peaceful co-existence.

It is, however, regrettable that a certain number of countries of Southeast Asia which, during the years of our resistance for national salvation, had involved themselves more or less closely with imperialist aggression against our country; at this moment on their own or voluntarily, have let themselves be drawn in the track of Peking, against the peoples of Vietnam and other countries of the Indochinese peninsula. It is our sincere hope that these countries could regain in time their self-control and this, first of all, in their own national interests as well as in the interests of peace, stability and cooperation in the region. Have we not come to terms that between the countries of Southeast Asia it is desirable to consult one another on the problems of mutual interests? As far as Vietnam is concerned, we are always in favour of contacts and we want to maintain the dialogue in order to obtain a further mutual comprehension, avoid misunderstandings, narrow down differences and to increase similarities. Undoubtedly, this is the most appropriate way to the establishment of a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in Southeast Asia. In this spirit, Vietnam is prepared to sign with the countries of Southeast Asia treaties of peace and non-aggression.

We believe firmly that by signing such treaties, the peoples of Southeast Asia will show to the international community that they are willing to make an active contribution to the cause of peace and stability in the region and in the world as well.
Mr. President,

Never has Vietnam injured the interests of any country. In return, it does not tolerate any violation of its independence and sovereignty. The more the Vietnamese people cherish their independence and freedom, the more they respect the independence and freedom of other peoples.

While fighting against Peking's hegemonism for its own salvation, Vietnam makes its contribution to the defence of independence of peoples, peace and stability of the region. The foreign policy of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam is a policy of independence, sovereignty, peace, friendship, solidarity and international cooperation.

The Socialist Republic of Vietnam advocates the development of normal relations and a diversified cooperation with all countries, regardless of political systems, on the basis of the principles of peaceful co-existence.

The Vietnamese people fully realise that the struggle they carried out in the past, like the one they are carrying out now, for their national interests, is an integral part of the common struggle of the world's peoples for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress and corresponds perfectly to the objectives of the non-aligned movement and to those of the United Nations as well.

On this occasion, I would like, on behalf of the people and Government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, to express our sincere gratitude to our friends and brothers all over the world for their sympathy and support they gave to us in the reconstruction of our country and in the defence of our national independence.

At present, the United Nations consists of 152 member countries; the movement of non-aligned countries for its part has in its ranks 95 nations. The forces which stand for the defence of peace and national independence against aggression have known a new development. They also stand for the frustration of the designs of Peking's hegemonism in collusion with imperialism and for the establishment of a lasting peace for all nations.

The Vietnamese people are more determined than ever to contribute all their strength to this great cause of mankind.

Thank you, Mr. President.