

**ON
VIET NAM'S
EXPULSION
OF
CHINESE
RESIDENTS**

On Viet Nam's Expulsion
of Chinese Residents

FOREIGN LANGUAGES PRESS PEKING

Contents

Statement by Spokesman of the Overseas Chinese Affairs Office of the State Council of the People's Republic of China on Viet Nam's Expulsion of Chinese Residents (<i>May 24, 1978</i>)	1
Statement of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China on the Expulsion of Chinese Residents by Viet Nam (<i>June 9, 1978</i>)	7
Spokesman of the Overseas Chinese Affairs Office of the State Council of the People's Republic of China Answers Questions by Hsinhua Correspondents (<i>July 3, 1978</i>)	18
Statement of the Overseas Chinese Affairs Office of the State Council of the People's Republic of China (<i>September 4, 1978</i>)	26
Speeches and Statements by Chung Hsi-tung, Leader of the Chinese Government Delegation, at the Sino-Vietnamese Talks on the Question of Chinese Nationals Residing in Viet Nam:	
At the First Session (<i>August 8, 1978</i>)	29
At the Second Session (<i>August 15, 1978</i>)	44

At the Third Session (<i>August 19, 1978</i>)	59
At the Fourth Session (<i>August 26, 1978</i>)	71
At the Fifth Session (<i>September 7, 1978</i>)	77
At the Sixth Session (<i>September 12, 1978</i>)	89
At the Seventh Session (<i>September 19, 1978</i>)	94
At the Eighth Session (<i>September 26, 1978</i>)	107
Lies Cannot Cover Up Facts by <i>Renmin Ribao</i> Commentator	120
Who Is the Instigator? by <i>Renmin Ribao</i> Commentator	131
China's Policy Is Open, Aboveboard, Consistent — Refuting Soviet Slanders on China's Policy Towards Overseas Chinese <i>Renmin Ribao</i> Editorial	139
Who Is Arousing National Hatred? by <i>Renmin Ribao</i> Commentator	149
Can Escalating the Anti-China Campaign Get the Vietnamese Authorities Off the Hook? by <i>Renmin Ribao</i> Commentator	155
Soviet Strategy Shows Through the Vietnamese Authorities' Anti-China Actions by <i>Hongqi</i> Commentator	161

Untenable Arguments of Vietnamese Authorities Commentary by <i>Hsinhua</i> Correspondent	171
“Socialist Transformation” or Anti-China, Expel- the-Chinese Campaign? Commentary by <i>Renmin Ribao</i> Correspondent	176
Vietnamese Violence and Slanders Commentary by <i>Hsinhua</i> Correspondent	181
Bloody Scheme Under Cover of “Appeal” Commentary by <i>Hsinhua</i> Correspondent	186
Vietnamese Anti-China Propaganda Unpopular and Untrue Commentary by <i>Hsinhua</i> Correspondent	190
Negotiations Cover Violence; Violence Replaces Ne- gotiations Commentary by <i>Hsinhua</i> Correspondent	194
Report from Tunghsing, Kwangsi — Chinese Residents Forced Out by Viet Nam Return to China by <i>Hsinhua</i> Correspondent Ma Li	199
Returned Chinese Accuse Vietnamese Authorities of Persecutions by <i>Hsinhua</i> Correspondent Fang Shu-hsun, China News Service Correspondents Kuo Chao-chin and Yang Chien-neng	204

- Widow Tells of Her Husband's Death from Persecution by Vietnamese Authorities
by Hsinhua Correspondents Lu Hsiao-ping and Chou Chung-yao 209
- Expelled Chinese Residents Tell of Tragic Experiences
by Hsinhua Correspondents Liang Chung-chi and Yang Yi 212
- Viet Nam's Bloody Suppression of Chinese Nationals Outside Yu Yi Kuan
by Hsinhua Correspondent Chen Szu 217



Tseng Hua-hui (*first left*), 70, was taken to Viet Nam as an infant by his father. They settled in Tien Yen District, Quang Ninh Province. After growing up and working there for a lifetime Tseng was forced to leave Viet Nam with his family of four generations numbering 18, their belongings being searched and plundered several times on the way. In the picture also are Tseng's 91-year-old aunt Fan Ya-yueh (*third left*), a daughter-in-law and granddaughter after arriving at Tunghsing, Kwangsi.

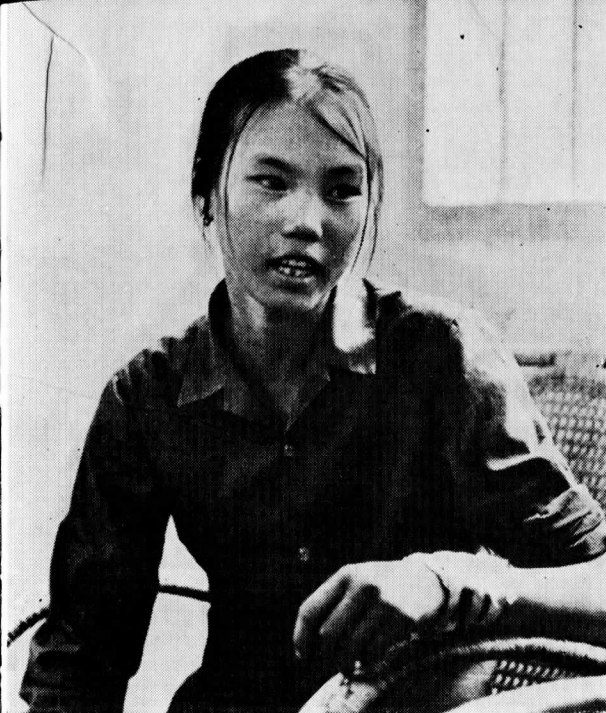


Old and young victims of the Vietnamese expulsion of Chinese residents.

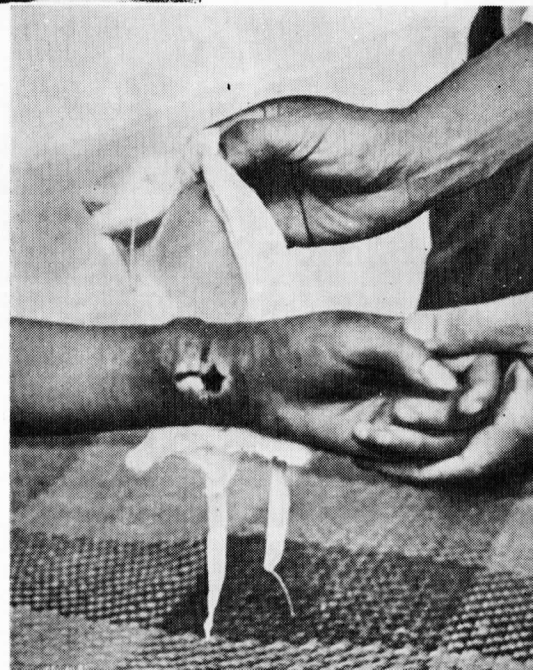
◀ Chinese nationals driven out of Viet Nam make their way laboriously across the Nanhxi River to Hokou in China's Yunnan Province.



Huang Chen-szu was returning to China by boat on the afternoon of May 27, 1978 when Vietnamese army men at Xuan Ninh ferry crossing near Tho Xuan Street, Mong Cai District, fired at her, inflicting bullet wounds on her left shoulder and right palm. She arrived in the Chinese town of Tunghsing only on May 30, after detention by the Vietnamese.



Yang Yueh-ku, another victim of the same incident, also arrived at Tunghsing with a bullet wound on her left wrist.





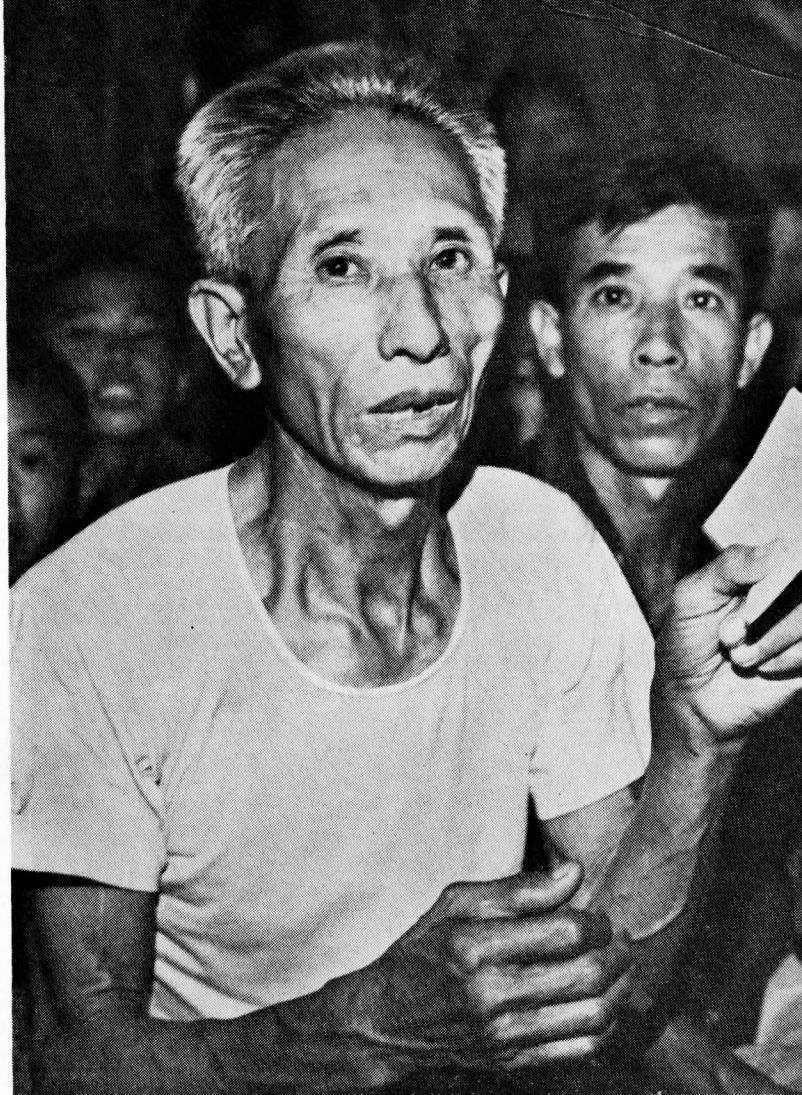
Lin Yu-fang (*middle*), widowed by the Vietnamese authorities' persecution of her husband Ho Chih-chiu, tells the tragic story.



The blind Liao Mu-sheng is among Chinese nationals driven out.



Huang Sheng-ming having his wound dressed after returning to China. A Chinese national who served with merit in the Vietnamese People's Army against U.S. aggression, Huang was searched and then wounded in the head by Vietnamese security men on his way back to China.



Chang Chuan, father of the Vietnamese People's Army fighter Chang Ting-kuei killed in action in the war against U.S. aggression, accuses the Vietnamese authorities of returning good for evil.



Chinese nationals at Hokou after acrossing the bridge on the Sino-Vietnamese border. Both grief and indignation show in their faces.



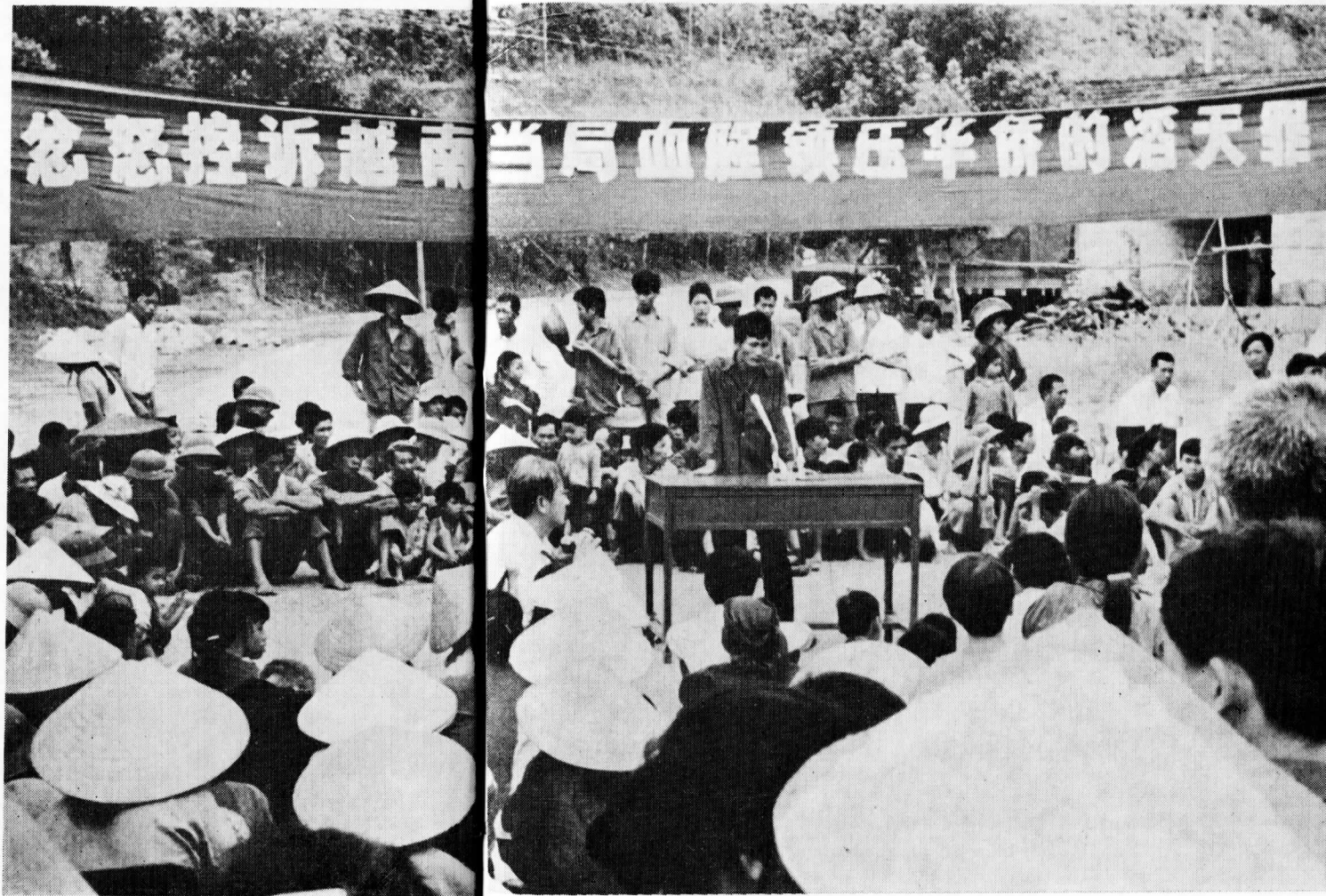
On August 25, 1978 the Vietnamese authorities massed hundreds of armed troops and police to force out Chinese residents stranded inside Viet Nam near Yu Yi Kuan (Friendship Pass). Many were wounded or killed on the spot. *Above:* Vietnamese security agents wielding daggers and hurling rocks in the August 25 incident.



Ma Chih-chiang had the fore and middle fingers of his right hand severed in the August 25 incident.

Wei Yu-chin, who received dagger wounds, is shown here with his blood-stained shirt.





Persecuted Chinese nationals gathered at Yu Yi Kuan on August 29 and condemned the Vietnamese authorities for perpetrating the August 25 incident.



Yen Ya-tai, babe in arms, denounces the Vietnamese security agents who killed her husband Tang Chih-san.

**Statement by Spokesman
of the Overseas Chinese Affairs Office
of the State Council
of the People's Republic of China
on Viet Nam's Expulsion
of Chinese Residents**

(May 24, 1978)

Recently, the Vietnamese side has been unwarrantedly ostracizing and persecuting Chinese residents in Viet Nam, and expelling many of them back to China. The situation has been deteriorating daily.

On May 4 a responsible official of the Vietnamese side made a public statement, in which he distorted the facts in an attempt to put the blame on the Chinese side for the massive expulsion of Chinese. Under these circumstances, we cannot but set forth the facts so as to ensure a correct understanding of the matter.

Early in 1977 the Vietnamese side, in a so-called effort to "clear up the border areas," started in a planned way to expel people who had long ago moved from China to settle down in Vietnamese border areas. This subsequently developed gradually into the massive expulsion of Chinese residents in all parts of Viet Nam. Out of a sincere desire to uphold Sino-Vietnamese friendship and seek a proper settlement of this question, the Chinese side repeatedly tried to persuade the Vietnamese side that

it should value Sino-Vietnamese friendship and stop such extremely unfriendly practice of displacing so many overseas Chinese residents and harming the good feelings between the two peoples. But to our regret, the Vietnamese side not only failed to respond to our good wishes, but became more vicious in expelling Chinese, and the number of Chinese expelled was growing. The situation became more serious. According to statistics undertaken in our border areas, more than 50,000 overseas Chinese were driven back to China in the period of one and a half months from early April to mid-May this year. Up to now, the number has exceeded 70,000, not counting those who were compelled to leave Viet Nam and seek refuge in other places.

The majority of the expelled Chinese are labouring people who on their way back to China suffered various maltreatments. Some were beaten up and wounded. They lost through arbitrary confiscation most of their possessions which they had earned in long years of labour. Even the small number of personal belongings for daily use they carried with them were plundered on the way before they left Vietnamese territory. As a result, most of the Chinese had nothing left except the clothes they were wearing when they entered Chinese territory. Many old people and children suffered from hunger and disease. It was altogether a pitiful scene.

Yet, in utter disregard of the facts, the Vietnamese official made the slanderous counter-charge that "some bad elements among the Chinese spread rumours to foment discord in the relations between Viet Nam and China" and that the Chinese "lightly believed" the rumours and illegally crossed the border to return to their homeland.

What are the facts? Detailed investigation and checking by our border authorities have established that it is Vietnamese departments concerned and public security personnel who, acting on instructions, spread among Vietnamese people and Chinese residents the rumours that "China has committed aggression against Viet Nam," that "the Chinese Government has called on overseas Chinese to return," etc., to incite hostility against the Chinese residents and threaten and intimidate them. The Vietnamese side has also used various means to restrict employment of the Chinese residents. Chinese who were on job were unjustifiably demoted or fired. Their food ration was reduced or stopped through cancellation of their residence registration. As a result, large numbers of Chinese residents have lost their means of livelihood and found it difficult to make a living and are plunged in dire distress. In Ho Chi Minh City and other places, there even occurred grave incidents of mass arrest and wounding and killing of Chinese residents. In order to cover up the truth of the expulsion of Chinese and to shirk responsibility, Vietnamese public security personnel compelled some Chinese to fill in a "Form of Voluntary Repatriation" or to copy or read out statements prepared beforehand for them which the security personnel photographed, filmed or recorded as "evidence of voluntary repatriation" of Chinese residents. Then they transported groups of Chinese to designated points on the border and drove them back to China across border rivers. A host of facts proves that the massive expulsion of Chinese back to China is a purposeful and planned line of action carried out by the Vietnamese authorities on instructions.

People will not forget that the Chinese in Viet Nam have long lived in friendship with Vietnamese people and taken an active part in the Vietnamese revolution and construction. During the protracted struggle against colonial rule, and in the difficult years of wars of national salvation against French and U.S. imperialism, many Chinese residents fought shoulder to shoulder with the Vietnamese people and never flinched from bloodshed and sacrifice. They made positive contributions to the Vietnamese people's cause of liberation, to the building of the liberated areas, to postwar rehabilitation and reconstruction and to the growth of the revolutionary friendship between the two peoples, and in the process forged a profound fraternity with the Vietnamese people. After the liberation of the whole of Viet Nam, however, the Vietnamese authorities have now returned evil for good by using despicable means to persecute Chinese and evict them en masse, thus greatly hurting the traditional friendship between the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples. Over this we cannot but feel strong regret and indignation.

Regarding the question of nationality of Chinese residing abroad, it has been China's consistent policy to favour and encourage their voluntary choice of the nationality of the country of residence. At the same time, we take exception to the practice of compelling them to take up against their will the nationality of their country of residence. This is the well-known and openly declared policy of the Chinese Government, which has been consistently implemented over the years. In 1955 during the discussion by the Chinese and Vietnamese Parties of the question of nationality of the Chinese residents in Viet Nam, both sides agreed to abide by the principle of

voluntary choice of nationality. In 1956 the reactionary Ngo Dinh Diem regime in south Viet Nam compelled Chinese residents to become naturalized. The Commission of Overseas Chinese Affairs of the People's Republic of China issued a statement on May 20, 1957, strongly protesting against the Ngo Dinh Diem regime's despicable action of compelling Chinese residents to change their nationality, and solemnly stating that "the regulations of the south Vietnamese administration on changing the nationality of the Chinese residents in south Viet Nam are unreasonable and unilateral," and that "the south Vietnamese administration should bear full responsibility for all the consequences arising from this unreasonable act." *Nhan Dan* of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam on May 23, 1957 carried the full text of this statement and on May 24 the same year published a signed article entitled "The Ngo Dinh Diem Clique Is the Common Enemy of the Vietnamese and the Chinese Residents," expressing its support for China's just stand. In its "Letter to Chinese Brothers and Sisters in South Viet Nam" published on May 24, 1965, the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation stated that "the Chinese residents have the freedom and right to choose their nationality." But in recent years, the Vietnamese side went back on its word and abandoned the principle of voluntary choice of nationality for the Chinese residents. It resorted to a series of measures of discrimination, ostracism and persecution against the Chinese residents. It compelled them to take up Vietnamese nationality on penalty of losing their work papers, having their staple and other food rations cut, paying heavy taxes and even being deported. We feel great surprise and regret at the Vietnamese side's practice of compelling the Chinese residents to become

naturalized, which violates the agreement between the two sides and runs counter to the general principles of international law.

China and Viet Nam are neighbouring countries linked by common mountains and rivers, and the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples have formed a profound friendship during the protracted revolutionary struggles. We are firmly opposed to the Vietnamese authorities' arbitrary, truculent and illegal actions towards the Chinese residents. We demand that the Vietnamese side immediately stop implementing the above-mentioned erroneous policy of ostracizing, persecuting and expelling the Chinese residents and do not continue to damage the traditional friendship between our two countries and our two peoples. Otherwise, the Vietnamese Government should bear full responsibility for all the consequences arising from these unwarranted measures.

**Statement of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs
of the People's Republic of China
on the Expulsion of Chinese Residents
by Viet Nam**

(June 9, 1978)

In his statement on the question of the so-called "Hoa people in Viet Nam" of May 27, 1978, the spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam distorted the facts and made unfounded counter-charges in an attempt to put the blame for the expulsion of Chinese nationals on the Chinese side. With regard to this the Chinese Government cannot remain silent.

1. In his statement the spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Viet Nam tried, in effect, to deny the objective fact that there are large numbers of Chinese nationals residing in Viet Nam and wilfully distorted the agreement between the Chinese Communist Party and the Vietnamese Workers' Party on the question of Chinese residing in Viet Nam, attempting thereby to deceive public opinion and justify the Vietnamese policy of discrimination against, and ostracism, persecution and expulsion of, Chinese residents. This is obviously a futile attempt.

It is well known that there are one million and several hundred thousand Chinese residents in Viet Nam, the

overwhelming majority of whom are working people and about 90 per cent of whom reside in south Viet Nam. In 1955 the Chinese and Vietnamese Parties exchanged views on the question of their nationality and their rights and duties. Subsequently, after repeated consultations the two sides acknowledged that the Chinese residing in north Viet Nam, on condition of their enjoying equal rights as the Vietnamese and after being given sustained and patient persuasion and ideological education, may by steps adopt Vietnamese nationality on a voluntary basis. As to the question of the Chinese residing in south Viet Nam, that was to be resolved through consultations between the two countries after the liberation of south Viet Nam. These principles were put forward by the Chinese side out of the desire to deepen the fraternal friendship between the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples, and they are in accordance with China's consistent policy of encouraging overseas Chinese to choose, on a voluntary basis, the nationality of their country of residence, as well as with the general international rule against forcibly naturalizing foreign residents. At that time the Vietnamese Party and Government expressed approval and support for these principles and repeatedly stressed in their documents that "the adoption of Vietnamese nationality by Chinese should be a purely voluntary decision and there should be no coercion whatsoever," and that "those who are not yet willing to adopt Vietnamese nationality are still allowed all rights and may not be discriminated against. It is absolutely impermissible to use rash orders to compel them or to slight them." They also affirmed that politically the Chinese residing in Viet Nam would enjoy the same rights and have the same duties as the Vietnamese, that economically they would

enjoy the freedom to engage in lawful industrial and commercial undertakings, that culturally they would enjoy the freedom to run schools and papers and that their ways and customs would be respected. In recent years, however, the Vietnamese Government, running counter to the agreement between the two Parties, has compelled Chinese residents to adopt Vietnamese nationality, zealously pursued a policy of discrimination against, and ostracism and persecution of Chinese residents and seriously infringed on their legitimate rights and interests, making it difficult for the mass of Chinese residents to make a living, and has even expelled large numbers of them back to China.

In south Viet Nam, the Vietnamese Government, in contravention of its publicly stated position, has continued the practice of the reactionary Ngo Dinh Diem regime and used high-handed means against the Chinese residents. On August 21, 1956 the reactionary Ngo Dinh Diem regime promulgated a decree compelling the Chinese residents to renounce their Chinese nationality and adopt Vietnamese nationality. On April 17, 1957 the reactionary regime in south Viet Nam declared invalid the aliens identity cards of all Chinese residents. On May 20, 1957 the Commission of Overseas Chinese Affairs of the People's Republic of China issued a statement strongly condemning and protesting against the unreasonable practice of the reactionary regime in south Viet Nam of compelling Chinese residents to change their nationality. This just Chinese stand was at the time endorsed and supported by the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. *Nhan Dan*, organ of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Viet Nam, published articles denouncing the Ngo Dinh Diem clique for this illegal action. In its pol-

icy statements and other relevant documents published in 1960, 1964, 1965 and 1968, the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation laid down that "all decrees and measures of the U.S.-puppet regime regarding Chinese residents shall be abrogated," and that "Chinese residents have the freedom and right to choose their nationality." However, after the liberation of south Viet Nam, the Vietnamese Government abruptly changed its position and, in contravention of the spirit of the agreement between the two Parties, announced, without prior consultation with the Chinese Government, a decision before the general census in the south and the election of deputies to the National Assembly in February 1976, to the effect that Chinese residing in south Viet Nam must all register under the nationality imposed upon them during the rule of Ngo Dinh Diem. Subsequently, the Vietnamese Government openly placed all kinds of harsh restrictions on those Chinese residents who retained their Chinese nationality to ostracize and persecute them. And now, the spokesman of the Vietnamese Ministry of Foreign Affairs has asserted that "back in 1956 almost all the Chinese residents in south Viet Nam adopted Vietnamese nationality. They are no longer Chinese nationals but Vietnamese of Chinese origin." In this way one million and several hundred thousand Chinese nationals in south Viet Nam are written off at one stroke. This is absolutely unacceptable to the Chinese Government.

Facts show that the Vietnamese side long ago thoroughly violated the agreement between the Chinese and Vietnamese Parties. Yet the spokesman of the Vietnamese Foreign Ministry now claims that the Vietnamese side "has constantly respected and strictly applied this agreement." This assertion is not convincing at all.

2. Resorting to sophistry and futile denials, the spokesman of the Vietnamese Foreign Ministry attributed the massive expulsion of Chinese residents to "information" spread by "certain bad elements among the Hoa people" and said that this was "a deliberate act." The way things developed fully shows that it is no other than Viet Nam itself that, out of its needs in domestic affairs and international relations, has adopted and systematically pursued a policy of discrimination, ostracism, persecution and expulsion of Chinese residents. This is a grave anti-China step taken by the Vietnamese side in a deliberate attempt to undermine Sino-Vietnamese relations.

Indeed, there have been circulating for some time in Viet Nam a number of calculated anti-China rumours to the effect that "China supports Kampuchea in opposing Viet Nam, war will break out between China and Viet Nam," etc. Not a few Vietnamese officials and public security personnel have used these rumours as a means to deceive and frighten Chinese residents into returning to China. In their unwarranted complaints and charges against China early this year, certain Vietnamese diplomats asserted that an "abnormal situation" had arisen along China's border, and that China was "calling for an attack on Viet Nam." The similarity between these allegations and the rumours floating around in Viet Nam could not possibly be a mere coincidence, but precisely shows that these rumours were deliberately fabricated and spread by the Vietnamese side.

The Vietnamese side started early in 1977 to push a policy of "purifying the border areas" in the provinces adjacent to China and expel back to China groups of border inhabitants who had moved from China to settle down in Viet Nam a long time ago. In October 1977 it

began to expel Chinese residents in Hoang Lien Son, Lai Chau, Son La and other provinces in northwest Viet Nam. Then the measure gradually expanded into the massive expulsion of Chinese residents from various parts of north Viet Nam. The Chinese Government repeatedly tried to persuade the Vietnamese Government to uphold Sino-Vietnamese friendship by taking steps to halt the expulsion of Chinese residents. The Vietnamese side, however, turned a deaf ear and created on a nationwide scale even more serious incidents of ostracizing Chinese residents. Tens of thousands of Chinese were transported overland by the Vietnamese side to such places as Lao Cai, Dong Dang and Mong Cai along the Sino-Vietnamese border and then driven back to China, while a large number of others were forced to return in small boats across the sea. The numbers of expelled Chinese have increased daily over the past two months, from several hundred a day in early April to several thousand a day in late May, with their total exceeding 100,000 by the end of May.

It is impossible to enumerate all the persecution and maltreatment of the Chinese residents by the Vietnamese authorities. In early 1977, on the pretext of taking a general census, the Vietnamese side compelled Chinese residents to register as Vietnamese citizens. Many Chinese residents who retained Chinese nationality were then deprived of the right to employment and education. They were sacked without a just cause. Their residence registration was cancelled and their food ration stopped. The local Vietnamese authorities and public security personnel would intrude illegally at any time into their homes, ordering them to fill out the "Form of Voluntary Repatriation" and taking the opportunity to search their homes and practise extortion. Properties and possessions

which many Chinese residents had accumulated through many years of hard work were illegally confiscated. Numerous families were displaced and deprived of a home. On their involuntary exodus they were subjected to all kinds of maltreatment and insult. Quite a number were beaten up for no reason at all. Some were even shot at, wounded or killed by Vietnamese troops and police. The miseries suffered by the Chinese residents in Viet Nam were appalling and rarely seen in international relations.

As for the thousands of Vietnamese residents in China, the Chinese Government has never subjected them to any discrimination, but has always respected and protected their proper rights and interests. They enjoy the same rights as Chinese citizens in respect of work, education and medical care. They are given more favoured treatment than Chinese citizens in respect of the supply of necessities. This is a universally known fact which brooks no distortion.

3. The sharp increase in the number of Chinese expelled home due to aggravated discrimination against the Chinese residents by the Vietnamese side has suddenly created for China great financial and material difficulties and burdens. In line with its consistent policy of "protecting the interests of overseas Chinese and aiding returned Chinese," the Chinese Government needs to make prompt, adequate arrangements for the resettlement of the numerous Chinese expelled by Viet Nam. Therefore, it cannot but decide to cancel part of its complete-factory aid projects to Viet Nam so as to divert the funds and materials to making arrangements for the life and productive work of the returned Chinese. It is clear that

the cancellation of a part of China's aid projects to Viet Nam is a necessary and involuntary emergency measure, it is purely a consequence of the Vietnamese policy of ostracizing the Chinese nationals.

In the past 30 years, in order to aid the Vietnamese people in their national-liberation struggle and economic construction, the Chinese people, despite their many difficulties, worked hard and practised frugality to provide Viet Nam with many-sided aid without any conditions attached, and even made great sacrifices to support the Vietnamese people in their revolutionary struggle. This is a universally recognized fact. The Chinese people have always considered this their bounden proletarian internationalist duty. The Chinese Communist Party, the Chinese Government and the Chinese people feel no qualms in this respect.

A great change took place in the situation of Viet Nam with the ending of the Viet Nam war in 1975. On the other hand, China has encountered tremendous difficulties because of the sabotage of the "gang of four" and as a result of repeated strong earthquakes and other serious natural disasters. Even in these circumstances China has continued to give many-sided aid to Viet Nam and undertake many aid projects to the best of its ability. Naturally, the annual sum of China's aid to Viet Nam in peace time showed a reduction as compared with the exceptional case in the war years, but the reason is not difficult to understand. The Chinese side repeatedly explained its own difficulties to the Vietnamese side in the hope that the latter would give a respite to the Chinese people. The late Premier Chou En-lai, during his serious illness, personally said to a Vietnamese leader: "During

the war, when you were in the worst need, we took many things from our own army to give to you. We made very great efforts to help you. The sum of our aid to Viet Nam still ranks first among our aids to foreign countries. You should let us have a respite and regain strength." At that time Vietnamese leaders expressed understanding on many occasions. But now the Vietnamese side has seen fit to hurl vicious slanders and attacks at Chinese aid. The Chinese people are greatly pained and angered by such an action of returning evil for good.

4. In his statement, the spokesman of the Vietnamese Foreign Ministry proposed that the Vietnamese and Chinese sides "meet" to resolve their so-called "differences on the question of the Hoa people." We consider that in the present circumstances such a proposal was made purely out of propaganda needs.

The Chinese Government has always stood for the settlement of differences and disputes between states through consultation and negotiation. With respect to the Vietnamese side's ostracism, persecution and expulsion of Chinese residents, we have from the very beginning maintained that a timely solution to the problem should be sought through private consultation and we have made many efforts towards this end. The Chinese Government has made repeated representations through diplomatic channels, expressing the hope that the Vietnamese Government will take effective measures to stop the persecution and expulsion of Chinese residents. But the Vietnamese side has persisted in its course and redoubled its efforts to expel Chinese residents, and thus aggravated the situation. Now, while continuing its expulsion of Chinese nationals, the Vietnamese authorities have pro-

posed that a meeting be held to discuss the so-called "differences on the question of the Hoa people." Since the Vietnamese side denies the existence of any Chinese nationals in Viet Nam, it shows that its "proposal" is totally false and meaningless.

5. China and Viet Nam are linked by common mountains and rivers and the two peoples share weal and woe. In the long revolutionary struggles, the two peoples sympathized with and supported each other and formed a profound brotherhood and militant solidarity. It is in the fundamental interests of both the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples and it is the common desire of the two peoples to strengthen and develop steadily this revolutionary friendship and solidarity. The Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese Government and people have always valued highly this friendship and solidarity and made unremitting efforts in this connection. Though in recent years the Vietnamese side has taken a series of actions vitiating the relations between the two countries and a variety of anti-China steps, the Chinese side, mindful of the overall interest, has all along exercised self-restraint and tolerance and repeatedly expressed to Vietnamese leaders its sincere hope that the two sides would make joint efforts and take effective measures to uphold the traditional friendship between the two peoples. That the relations between the two countries should have deteriorated to such an extent is what we did not expect and what we do not want to see. The Chinese people have been and will remain devoted to consolidating and strengthening the friendship and solidarity between the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples. It is our hope that the Vietnamese side will do what it has declared, match its deeds with its words, truly value the traditional friend-

ship and fundamental interests of the two peoples, stop forthwith its erroneous practice of ostracism, persecution and expulsion of overseas Chinese and refrain from any further acts detrimental to the friendship between the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples.

**Spokesman of the Overseas Chinese
Affairs Office of the State Council
of the People's Republic of China
Answers Questions by Hsinhua
Correspondents**

Peking, July 3 (Hsinhua) — Hsinhua correspondents interviewed the spokesman of the Overseas Chinese Affairs Office of the State Council of the People's Republic of China about recent statements on the question of overseas Chinese made with ulterior motives by Vietnamese authorities and the Soviet Union which, echoing each other, distort China's consistent policy on overseas Chinese affairs in an attempt to confuse public opinion. Following are the questions and answers:

Q: Vietnamese authorities have been persecuting Chinese residents in Viet Nam and expelling them in great numbers. Yet, they have said: "China calls on overseas Chinese to come back to China." Do you have any comment on this?

A: The Chinese Government has never called on the overseas Chinese to come back to China. Vietnamese authorities have carried out a directed anti-China and anti-Chinese campaign for a set purpose in a planned way, and have spread a lot of rumours. One rumour runs like this: "The Chinese Government has called on Chinese residents to return to China, and whoever refuses to return will be accused of treason." This is a vicious dis-

tortion of China's policy on overseas Chinese affairs, a pretext for expelling Chinese from Viet Nam in great numbers, and an attempt arbitrarily to put the responsibility for the expulsion of Chinese residents on the Chinese side.

Overseas Chinese are scattered all over the world. They are on friendly terms with the people of the countries in which they reside and have made contributions to the development of the economy and culture there — this is a commonly acknowledged fact throughout the world. The Chinese Government has always hoped that the overseas Chinese would remain where they are living, stay on good terms with the local people and serve them, and help promote the friendly relations between China and those countries. Even though Vietnamese authorities have now adopted an anti-China and anti-Chinese policy, our policy remains unaltered.

But when Vietnamese authorities persecute Chinese nationals, deprive them of their means of living and expel them in great numbers, the Chinese Government must accept and resettle Chinese nationals returning from Viet Nam and dispatch ships to bring back other victimized Chinese nationals. Our ships are to bring back victimized Chinese nationals persecuted by Vietnamese authorities, not "Hoa people" or "Vietnamese of Chinese origin." To bring back victimized Chinese nationals is not only in accord with common international practice and China's consistent policy on overseas Chinese, but also a legitimate right of the Chinese Government to protect the interests of its nationals. We firmly ask the Vietnamese authorities to change their policy of discrimination against, ostracism and persecution of Chinese nationals and to stop expelling them, so that they live in Viet Nam

with ease of mind, are on good terms with the Vietnamese people and continue to make their contribution to promoting the friendship between the peoples of the two countries.

Q: Vietnamese authorities assert that as early as 1956, the Chinese in south Viet Nam adopted Vietnamese nationality and therefore are "Vietnamese of Chinese origin," while the Chinese Government "is acting differently from the past," accusing China of non-recognition of the acquisition of Vietnamese citizenship by Chinese nationals. What are the facts, please?

A: China's policy on overseas Chinese has been consistent: it supports and encourages the overseas Chinese voluntarily to take the citizenship of the countries in which they have made a new home, but it opposes any attempt to compel them to change their citizenship. China is not in favour of dual citizenship. All overseas Chinese who are already citizens of the countries of their domicile automatically forfeit their Chinese citizenship. As for those who decide to keep their Chinese citizenship, the Chinese Government expects them to abide by the laws of the country in which they reside, respect the social customs and habits of the people there and live amicably with them. While it is the duty of the Chinese Government to protect their legitimate rights and interests, it is hoped that safeguards to this effect will be provided by the countries concerned.

This policy of the Chinese Government has won the approval and support of many of the countries concerned. In many countries quite a number of overseas Chinese have voluntarily acquired such citizenship and automatically forfeited their Chinese citizenship and are no longer Chinese nationals. As they have become citizens of the

countries of their domicile, they should give allegiance to those countries and the people there. The Chinese Government has always supported and encouraged this. With regard to the adoption by overseas Chinese of citizenship of the countries of their domicile, provided the adoption is voluntary, there has been no problem between China and those countries.

As everyone knows, for a long time in the past there were close relations between the Chinese and Vietnamese Parties. In the year 1955 and after, the Chinese Communist Party, out of its desire to strengthen the fraternal relations between the two Parties, two countries and two peoples of China and Viet Nam and in the spirit of proletarian internationalism, exchanged ideas with the Vietnamese Party on many occasions on the issue of Chinese residing in Viet Nam. Consequently, both sides acknowledged that Chinese residing in north Viet Nam, on condition of their enjoying equal rights as the Vietnamese and after being given sustained and patient persuasion and ideological education, might by steps adopt Vietnamese nationality on a voluntary basis. As to the question of Chinese residing in south Viet Nam, that was to be resolved through consultation between the two countries after the liberation of south Viet Nam. These principles fully conform to the consistent stand taken by the Chinese Government on the question of overseas Chinese.

In line with the agreement reached between the Chinese and Vietnamese Parties in the fifties, Chinese residents in Viet Nam made their contribution during Viet Nam's war against French and U.S. aggression and in its construction work. They shared weal and woe with the Vietnamese people and forged profound friendship

with them. After victory was won in the war, however, the Vietnamese authorities turned completely against the agreement of the two Parties, discriminating against and ostracizing Chinese residents and persecuting them on the pretext of the citizenship question. They cut down or cancelled the supply of food rations for Chinese residents in north Viet Nam unless they took Vietnamese citizenship, and deprived those Chinese nationals who retained their Chinese citizenship of their means of livelihood; even those who had shed their blood or performed outstanding military exploits during the war were not exempted. Those citizens of Chinese descent who had acquired Vietnamese citizenship were discriminated against and ostracized just the same. The erroneous acts by Vietnamese authorities caused tremendous anxiety among the Chinese residents over the matter of taking Vietnamese citizenship. In dealing with Chinese residing in south Viet Nam, the Vietnamese authorities inherited the unreasonable practice of the Ngo Dinh Diem reactionary regime, which they themselves had earlier condemned, of compelling Chinese residents to take Vietnamese citizenship and, acting against the will of the Chinese residents there and without consulting with the Chinese Government, unilaterally announced that all Chinese residents in south Viet Nam were "Vietnamese of Chinese origin" and subjected them to discrimination, ostracism and persecution. This shows that it is not the Chinese side but Vietnamese authorities that have "acted differently from the past" and violated the agreement between the Chinese and Vietnamese Parties. The consistent position of the Chinese Government is to allow overseas Chinese to choose their citizenship voluntarily.

Even today, when Vietnamese authorities are taking a most unfriendly stand towards China, the Chinese Government has not changed its consistent position of supporting and encouraging overseas Chinese to take the citizenship of the country of residence voluntarily. We favour and respect the choice of those who have voluntarily acquired Vietnamese citizenship on a genuinely voluntary basis.

Q: The Soviet Union and the Vietnamese authorities echo each other in alleging that Chinese residents in Viet Nam have returned in great numbers because of the "socialist transformation" campaign that has been going on in south Viet Nam. They also smear China's protection of the legitimate rights and interests of Chinese residents in Viet Nam as protection of overseas Chinese capitalists, and "interference in the internal affairs of Viet Nam." What is China's stand on this question?

A: It is utterly slanderous. It is known to all that when "socialist transformation" was carried out in north Viet Nam long ago no Chinese residents there returned for that reason. Of the more than a hundred thousand victimized overseas Chinese who have been forced to leave Viet Nam and returned recently, only one or two thousand are from the south. The rest came from provinces in the north. Facts mercilessly smash the slanders of the Soviet Union and Vietnamese authorities.

The fact that overseas Chinese are scattered all over the world is a question left over by history. In the old China for hundreds of years before liberation, under feudal oppression, many poverty-stricken peasants were forced to leave their villages and cross the seas to seek a living in foreign lands. Through hardships and dangers

these overseas Chinese, together with the local people, did their share in building the countries of residence. As things stand now, over 90 per cent of overseas Chinese are working people, and no more than a small number have become capitalists. Those overseas Chinese capitalists who are engaged in unlawful business break the laws of the countries where they reside and should be dealt with by those governments according to law. The Chinese Government never protects such people.

People who know even a little Marxism know that the target in the socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce should be capitalists and the aim is to end private ownership of the means of production by the capitalists. The fact that the overwhelming majority of Chinese residents in Viet Nam are working people was recognized by the Vietnamese authorities. But, on the pretext of carrying on "transformation of industry and commerce," Vietnamese authorities have been discriminating against, ostracizing and persecuting the masses of Chinese labouring people there, deprived them of their means of livelihood, even sent public security personnel in the middle of the night to raid their homes, confiscate their property and sweep them out like rubbish. Obviously, the Vietnamese authorities are not carrying out "class struggle" as they claim, but they use this to carry out undisguised persecution and plunder of overseas Chinese.

The Soviet Union and Vietnamese authorities slander China's policy of protecting the legitimate rights and interests of overseas Chinese in Viet Nam as "protecting" overseas Chinese capitalists and interference in Viet Nam's internal affairs. This is nothing but an attempt

to mislead people with lies and cover up facts. They also want the Chinese Government to give up protecting the legitimate rights and interests of Chinese nationals as accepted by the principles of international law. They can never succeed.

**Statement of the
Overseas Chinese Affairs Office
of the State Council
of the People's Republic of China**

(September 4, 1978)

On August 25, the Vietnamese authorities flagrantly mobilized a force of several hundred armed soldiers and policemen at Yu Yi Kuan (Friendship Pass) on the Vietnamese side of the Sino-Vietnamese border for a bloody suppression and forcible expulsion of victimized Chinese nationals, killing and wounding scores of them in the action. At the same time, this Vietnamese force intruded into Chinese territory and wounded more than a dozen Chinese border functionaries. This outrageous massacre and expulsion of Chinese nationals was another planned and premeditated crime committed by the Vietnamese authorities as well as a step of utmost gravity taken by the Vietnamese side in a glaring attempt to sabotage the Sino-Vietnamese negotiations at the vice-foreign minister level through the deliberate engineering of a bloody incident. The Chinese Government has already lodged a strong protest with the Vietnamese Government against this incident and made the demand that it stop forthwith the persecution, suppression and expulsion of Chinese nationals, severely punish the culprits, return to the victimized Chinese nationals all their possessions and guar-

antee that there will be no recurrence of similar incidents in the future.

With great indignation at their cruel and bloody crime of persecution, expulsion and suppression of Chinese nationals, we strongly denounce the Vietnamese authorities for engineering this grave incident.

Now, the more than 2,000 of the victimized Chinese nationals who were once stranded at Yu Yi Kuan on the Vietnamese side of the border have been driven into China by this bloody suppression and forcible expulsion perpetrated by the Vietnamese authorities. The Chinese Government has had to adopt appropriate measures to resettle them.

It must be pointed out that the said grave incident at Yu Yi Kuan of bloody suppression and forcible expulsion of victimized Chinese nationals by armed Vietnamese soldiers and policemen was a premeditated and meticulously planned operation undertaken by the Vietnamese Government, whose hypocrisy and duplicity have been laid bare fully by the sanguinary facts. It is entirely futile for the Vietnamese Government to make denials or try to shift the blame onto others by distorting the facts.

The policy of the Chinese Government regarding Chinese nationals residing abroad has been a consistent one. It has all along urged them to live in amity with the people in their country of residence and contribute to the enhancement of friendship between the Chinese people and the people of the country concerned. The Chinese Government has the responsibility of protecting their proper rights and interests and hopes that these will be guaranteed by the countries concerned. At present, the anti-China acts and ostracism of Chinese residents committed by the Vietnamese authorities are

getting worse and worse, the proper rights and interests of the Chinese residents in Viet Nam are seriously infringed upon, and they are not even ensured of their personal safety. We hereby express our utmost indignation at and condemnation of such acts.

There is a deep traditional friendship between the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples forged during long years of struggle. To uphold such friendship and solidarity accords with the fundamental interests of our two peoples and is their common desire. The Chinese Government and people have always valued the friendship of our two peoples and have never done anything harmful to it. We have exercised restraint and forbearance in regard to the Vietnamese authorities' anti-China acts and ostracism of Chinese nationals. The Vietnamese authorities have now gone far enough along the road of antagonizing China and ostracizing Chinese nationals. We strongly demand that the Vietnamese authorities stop forthwith the persecution and expulsion of Chinese nationals and truly guarantee their proper rights and interests and their personal safety.

**Speech by Chung Hsi-tung, Leader
of the Chinese Government Delegation,
at the First Session
of the Sino-Vietnamese Talks
on the Question of Chinese Nationals
Residing in Viet Nam**

(August 8, 1978)

Your Excellency Hoang Bich Son, Respected Head of the Government Delegation of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam,

Colleagues,

In accordance with the agreement between the Government of China and the Government of Viet Nam, we are starting today the negotiations between the two governments on the question of Chinese nationals residing in Viet Nam.

China and Viet Nam are linked by common mountains and rivers. For several thousand years, our two peoples have on the whole been close as brothers and kinsmen, learning from each other, supporting each other and carrying on a continual friendly exchange. In the last century or so, both our peoples suffered from colonial rule and imperialist aggression and oppression, and they were closely united by a common lot and shared fighting goals. Early in this century when darkness reigned in our two

countries, revolutionaries of the two countries sought truth in Marxism together like comrades and brothers sharing weal and woe. Whether in waging revolutionary wars against colonial rule and imperialist aggression and for national independence and the people's liberation, or in carrying on post-war reconstruction, the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples shed blood and sweat together and encouraged and supported each other. When Viet Nam was fighting its war of resistance against U.S. aggression and for national salvation, the Chinese people's great leader Chairman Mao Tsetung solemnly declared: "The 700 million Chinese people provide a powerful backing for the Vietnamese people; the vast expanse of China's territory is their reliable rear area." The Vietnamese people's great leader President Ho Chi Minh warmly extolled the great friendship between the two countries and peoples in the moving line: "Profound is the friendship between China and Viet Nam, who are both brothers and comrades." The fraternal friendship and militant solidarity between the two peoples forged and nurtured personally by Chairman Mao Tsetung and President Ho Chi Minh have stood the rigorous test posed by the flames of arduous and protracted revolutionary war and struck roots in the hearts of the two peoples. To continue to uphold this revolutionary friendship and solidarity is the common desire of the two peoples and accords with their fundamental interests. Therefore, the Chinese Government and people will, as always, treasure and protect this friendship and solidarity and will make unremitting efforts towards this end. That the Chinese Government Delegation has now come to Hanoi to discuss with the Vietnamese Government Delegation the question of Chinese nationals residing in Viet Nam is

another important step taken by the Chinese side with a view to upholding this friendship.

In recent years, owing to reasons not arising from our side, China-Viet Nam relations and the traditional friendship between the two peoples have been gravely impaired. Even the question of Chinese residents has now become an issue between the two countries. This is something we deplore.

But it is our view that ways should be found to close the chasm now that it has appeared, and that the dispute should be settled at an early date now that it has begun. This will be in Viet Nam's interest and in China's interest, and it will please the peoples of the world. We have come to Hanoi precisely for the purpose of upholding the friendship between our peoples and seeking a settlement to the dispute.

The Chinese Government's policy on the question of Chinese nationals residing abroad is clear and consistent, namely, it favours and encourages them to adopt the nationality of their country of residence on a voluntary basis but, at the same time, it is opposed to the practice of forcing them to change their nationality. All those who have voluntarily adopted or have acquired the nationality of their country of residence forfeit automatically their Chinese nationality. In the case of people who elect to retain their Chinese nationality, we enjoin them to abide by the laws of their country of residence, respect the customs and habits of the local people and live in amity with them. The Chinese Government is duty-bound to protect their proper rights and interests, and it is hoped that the countries concerned will also guarantee these rights and interests.

Owing to historical reasons, there are over one million Chinese nationals living in north and south Viet Nam. In 1955, in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and in keeping with China's consistent policy on the question of Chinese nationals residing abroad, the Chinese Communist Party exchanged views with the Vietnamese Workers' Party on such questions as the nationality and the rights and duties of the Chinese residing in Viet Nam, and an agreement in principle was reached after repeated consultations. The two sides acknowledged that the Chinese residents in north Viet Nam, on condition of their enjoying equal rights as the Vietnamese and after being given sustained and patient persuasion and ideological education, may gradually become citizens of Viet Nam on a voluntary basis. As to the question of Chinese residents in south Viet Nam, that was to be resolved through consultations between the two countries after the liberation of south Viet Nam.

The 1955 agreement gave expression to China's consistent stand of favouring and encouraging Chinese nationals living abroad to adopt the nationality of their country of residence on a voluntary basis and opposing the practice of forcing them to change their nationality. It showed the sincere desire of the Chinese side to enhance the fraternal friendship between the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples and of its active support of and complete trust in the Vietnamese side.

In implementing the agreement between the two Parties, the Chinese side has, over the last two decades and more, made a tremendous effort and taken a series of important measures to help in many ways the Vietnamese Government in guiding the overseas Chinese onto the course of adopting Vietnamese nationality on a

voluntary basis. For instance, leadership over the organizations, schools and newspapers run by the Chinese residents in north Viet Nam were turned over to the Vietnamese side; Chinese residents wishing to return to China to visit their relatives should first apply with the Vietnamese side before approaching the Chinese Embassy for approval and issuance of certificates, etc. Whenever our Party and state leaders visited Viet Nam they would invariably meet with representatives of the Chinese residents, encouraging them through patient persuasion and ideological work to adopt Vietnamese nationality on a voluntary basis. All this is very clear to the Vietnamese Government and proves that the Chinese side has been sincere and consistent in implementing the agreement between the two Parties. It is very much our hope that more and more Chinese residents in Viet Nam will adopt Vietnamese nationality and make a positive contribution, along with the Vietnamese people, to Viet Nam's revolution and construction, and help to make Viet Nam strong and prosperous economically and culturally. In the case of those who have retained their Chinese nationality, we have always enjoined them to abide by Vietnamese laws, respect the customs and habits of the local people, live in amity with them and serve as a bridge in promoting friendship between the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples. The mass of Chinese nationals residing in Viet Nam have done so over the years, and this is gratifying to us.

We were gratified too by the fact that, for quite a long time, the Vietnamese Party and Government had also implemented this agreement in earnest. It was the consistent position of President Ho Chi Minh that Chinese residents should adopt Vietnamese nationality only on a

voluntary basis, and this position had been endorsed and supported by the Vietnamese Party and Government. In order gradually to guide the Chinese residents onto the course of adopting Vietnamese nationality on a voluntary basis, the Vietnamese Party repeatedly stressed in its documents that "the adoption of Vietnamese nationality by Chinese should be a purely voluntary decision, and there should be no coercion whatsoever," and that "those who are not yet willing to adopt Vietnamese nationality are still allowed all rights and may not be discriminated against. It is absolutely impermissible to use harsh orders to compel them or slight them." It was further affirmed that politically Chinese residents in Viet Nam would enjoy the same rights and have the same duties as the Vietnamese, that economically they would enjoy the freedom of engaging in lawful industrial and commercial undertakings, that culturally they would enjoy the freedom of running schools and papers and that their ways and customs would be respected. Undoubtedly, this stand taken by the Vietnamese side at the time was entirely correct.

Regarding Chinese residents in south Viet Nam, the reactionary Ngo Dinh Diem regime promulgated decrees in August 1956 compelling them to renounce their Chinese nationality and adopt Vietnamese nationality. In May 1957, the Commission of Overseas Chinese Affairs of the People's Republic of China issued a statement which strongly denounced and gravely protested this arbitrary measure taken by the reactionary authorities in south Viet Nam to forcibly change the nationality of the Chinese residents. The Democratic Republic of Viet Nam endorsed and supported this just Chinese stand at that time. *Nhan Dan*, organ of the Workers' Party of Viet

Nam, published an article saying that "the action of the Ngo Dinh Diem clique to compel Chinese residents in south Viet Nam to adopt Vietnamese nationality is a dictatorial and fascist act in serious contravention of international law." In its policy statements and other relevant documents published in 1960, 1964, 1965 and 1968, the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation laid down that "all decrees and measures of the U.S.-puppet regime regarding Chinese residents shall be abrogated," and that "Chinese residents have the freedom and right to choose their nationality." Undoubtedly, this stand of the Vietnamese side at that time was also entirely correct.

Thanks to the consultations and co-operation between the Chinese and Vietnamese sides, the implementation of the agreement between the two Parties was in the main good up till the end of Viet Nam's war of resistance against U.S. aggression and for national salvation in 1975. It had been our hope that following the nationwide liberation of Viet Nam, the principles in the agreement between the two Parties would be implemented with greater success, that all objectives envisaged therein could be attained more quickly, and that the question of Chinese residents in south Viet Nam could be settled smoothly through consultations.

Contrary to our expectations, however, the Vietnamese side gradually departed from the 1955 agreement between the Chinese and Vietnamese Parties. Regarding the Chinese residents in south Viet Nam, the Vietnamese side, back-tracking from its correct and publicly announced stand and without consulting the Chinese side, made public a decision in February 1976 compelling all Chinese residents in south Viet Nam to register under the

nationality illegally imposed upon them during the rule of Ngo Dinh Diem and flagrantly enforced all kinds of harsh restrictions on those Chinese residents who elected to retain their Chinese nationality, ostracizing and persecuting them.

Regarding Chinese residents in north Viet Nam, the Vietnamese side likewise ceased to honour the provision in the agreement between the two Parties in 1955 that Chinese residents should enjoy the same rights and have the same duties as Vietnamese citizens, but instead discriminated against, ostracized and persecuted them. Many were deprived of the right to employment and education, sacked without just cause, and had their residence registration cancelled and food rations stopped. Even those who had adopted Vietnamese nationality suffered a similar fate. And even persons who had joined the Workers' Party of Viet Nam and enlisted in your army in the early years and who had contributed to Viet Nam's revolution and construction were expelled from the Party and the ranks of cadres under a host of pretexts. Starting early in 1977, the Vietnamese side took the further step of pushing a policy of "purifying the border areas" in the provinces adjacent to China, a policy directed against China, and started in a planned way to expel back to China groups of Chinese residents as well as border inhabitants who had moved from China to settle down in Viet Nam a long time ago.

In view of the fact that the actions of the Vietnamese side in dealing with the Chinese residents departed from the 1955 agreement and proceeding from its consistent stand of upholding the traditional friendship between the two countries, the Chinese side made the well-intentioned proposal for holding confidential consultations in the

hope that a timely solution could be found. In his talks with a Vietnamese leader in June 1977, a Chinese leader had pointed out sincerely that, in accordance with the 1955 agreement between the two Parties, the gradual adoption of Vietnamese nationality by Chinese residents in Viet Nam could only take place on a voluntary basis, and that forcible naturalization should be avoided. For a long time in the past, this question was handled in a rather satisfactory way because the two sides consulted and co-operated with each other. But after the liberation of south Viet Nam, the Vietnamese side resorted to forcible measures to effect the naturalization of Chinese residents there, and, in the case of those who elected to retain their Chinese nationality, the Vietnamese side took such measures as the levying of exorbitant taxes and was even prepared to deprive them of the right of continued residence in Viet Nam. This ran counter to the long-standing practice of the two countries working in co-operation and was, moreover, a violation of the agreement between the two Parties on gradually effecting the naturalization of Chinese residents in Viet Nam through education. The Chinese leader went on to point out that all countries were obliged to protect the proper rights and interests of its nationals residing abroad. The Chinese side was put in a difficult position because the Vietnamese side, without previous consultation, unilaterally took measures to effect the forcible naturalization of Chinese residents in Viet Nam. The Chinese leader went on to say in all candour to the Vietnamese leader that the Chinese side would very much like to see the adoption of Vietnamese nationality by Chinese residents there, and that he said this in all honesty. On that occasion, the Vietnamese leader stated that the 1955 agree-

ment between the two Parties was most reasonable and that the best thing to do would be to revert to that agreement.

Subsequent developments show, however, that the Vietnamese side had no intention of putting into effect what its leader said in China. In fact, the Vietnamese side went farther down the road of violating the agreement between the two Parties. Not only did the Vietnamese side expel Chinese border inhabitants and Chinese nationals living in its border regions, but it gradually extended this to Chinese residents in all parts of Viet Nam, persecuting and expelling them en masse and making it impossible for tens of thousands of Chinese residents to stay on and make a living in Viet Nam.

In recent years, the Chinese side has all along exercised maximum restraint in regard to these actions of the Vietnamese side in the hope that the latter would stop such erroneous practices detrimental to the traditional friendship between the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples, and it has repeatedly tried to dissuade the Vietnamese side from such actions in confidential representations. After the talks between the Chinese leader and the leader of the Vietnamese Government in June 1977, the departments in charge of foreign affairs under the revolutionary committees of Kwangsi Chuang Autonomous Region and Yunnan Province took up on many occasions with Viet Nam's Consulates-General in Nanning and Kunming from October 1977 to March 1978 the matter of the Vietnamese side's expelling border inhabitants and Chinese residents into Chinese territory and expressed the hope that the Vietnamese side would take immediate measures to prevent the recurrence of similar incidents. Meanwhile, the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs also made

several representations to the Vietnamese Embassy in China conveying the sincere request that the Vietnamese side value the friendship between China and Viet Nam and stop its unfriendly practice. When the Vietnamese side redoubled its efforts to expel border inhabitants and Chinese residents in April this year, the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs again made a representation to the Vietnamese Embassy in China to dissuade the Vietnamese Government from such practice.

It is disappointing that these efforts of the Chinese side failed completely to elicit due response from the Vietnamese side. Contrary to our hopes, the Vietnamese side escalated their ostracism of Chinese residents, and the expulsion of Chinese residents grew in magnitude, with as many as four or five thousand Chinese residents being driven back in a single day on some occasions. So far, a total of more than 160,000 Chinese residents have been driven back to China. Confronted with this situation, the Chinese side had to take emergency measures and surmount numerous difficulties to make necessary provisions in their behalf. It is evident that, by its action, the Vietnamese side has not only afflicted great sufferings upon these Chinese residents but also created great difficulties for the Chinese side.

It can thus be seen that the Chinese residents in Viet Nam who have been compelled to return to China cannot at all be held responsible either for the current sad plight of the mass of Chinese residents in Viet Nam or for the fact that the question of the Chinese residents has become a serious issue between China and Viet Nam, for they are innocent victims, and even less can the responsibility for this state of affairs be placed on the Chinese side. The counter-charges made by the Vietnamese side

to cover up the truth of its massive persecution and expulsion of Chinese residents and the various flimsy allegations which it has levelled against China will prove to be futile.

Events show that the reason why the China-Viet Nam dispute on the question of Chinese residents has attracted world attention and why it has been aggravated to the present extent can be found entirely in the fact that after the liberation of the whole of its country, the Vietnamese side departed from the 1955 agreement between the two Parties and changed its policy with regard to the Chinese nationals residing in Viet Nam. This act of the Vietnamese side has damaged the fraternal ties between the Chinese residents and the Vietnamese people and badly hurt the friendly feelings between the two peoples. It has deeply pained the Chinese people.

Owing to historical reasons, there are Chinese nationals or citizens of Chinese origin living in many countries of the world. Many of these countries differ from China both in ideology and social system. China is a socialist country and has advocated and pursued the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence in its external relations. We have always enjoined Chinese nationals residing abroad not to get involved in the politics of their country of residence. We do not permit nor will we try to use Chinese nationals and foreign citizens of Chinese origin to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries or do anything against the government of their country of residence. This holds true not only in China's relations with other countries, but all the more so with regard to Viet Nam, which has a profound traditional friendship with China. This is a fact which everyone can see.

It is much against our wish to see the present grave state of affairs when Viet Nam persecutes and expels Chinese nationals and damages the traditional friendship between the two peoples. We call on the Vietnamese Government to return to the principles embodied in the agreement between the two Parties and desist from actions which grieve friends but gladden enemies. At present, a matter of utmost urgency is to stop in practice the persecution and expulsion of Chinese residents. We believe that if the Vietnamese side should do so, the mass of Chinese residents would not willingly forsake a land in which they have lived for many generations, for they highly cherish their profound friendship with the Vietnamese people forged in the course of common struggles.

We hereby reiterate that China's policy towards its nationals residing abroad, including those residing in Viet Nam, remains unchanged. We still encourage the voluntary adoption of Vietnamese nationality by Chinese nationals residing in Viet Nam. The Chinese Government will, as before, faithfully honour the 1955 agreement between the Chinese and Vietnamese Parties. In keeping with the spirit of the principles embodied in that agreement, we are ready to join the Vietnamese Government Delegation in studying and seeking ways of settling the question of Chinese nationals residing in Viet Nam. We hope that the Vietnamese Government will keep to their long-time practice in the past of really letting the Chinese nationals and people of Chinese origin residing in north Viet Nam enjoy the same rights and have the same duties as Vietnamese citizens, so that they may voluntarily and without apprehensions become Vietnamese

citizens and be loyal to Viet Nam and the Vietnamese people. As regards the Chinese residents in south Viet Nam, we hope that the Chinese and Vietnamese sides will both adhere to their previous shared position of not endorsing any of the arbitrary, unreasonable and fascist acts of the reactionary Ngo Dinh Diem regime against Chinese residents and, on this basis, undertake friendly consultations to seek a reasonable settlement of the question of Chinese residents in south Viet Nam, also in the spirit of the 1955 agreement between the two Parties.

The Chinese Government and people have always cherished the friendship and solidarity between the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples. Friendship and solidarity between China and Viet Nam and between the two peoples is in the interest of both of them, whereas a split and antagonism hurts their interests. It is impermissible to let the dispute between China and Viet Nam on the question of Chinese residents continue to harm our relations and erode the traditional friendship of our two peoples. Our two governments were able in the last twenty years and more to consult and co-operate with each other on the question of Chinese residents and to implement the 1955 agreement between the two Parties to the benefit of both our peoples and enhancement of our solidarity and friendly relations. Why is it not possible for us today to continue to implement the principles of the 1955 agreement between the two Parties and settle our differences on the question of Chinese residents through consultations on an equal footing?

It is our belief that so long as the two sides deem it important to uphold the friendship between the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples and entertain the genuine desire

of settling the question before us, the current negotiations between the two governments will surely achieve satisfactory results.

Thank you.

**Statement by Chung Hsi-tung, Leader
of the Chinese Government Delegation,
at the Second Session
of the Sino-Vietnamese Talks**

(August 15, 1978)

Your Excellency Hoang Bich Son, Respected Head of the Government Delegation of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam,

Colleagues,

In my last statement, I explained the policy of the Chinese Government regarding Chinese nationals residing abroad and the basic spirit of the 1955 agreement between the Chinese and Vietnamese Parties on the question of Chinese nationals residing in Viet Nam. Today, I would like to explain further our view regarding the current differences between the two countries on the question of Chinese residents.

At present, the question of Chinese residents in Viet Nam has become an outstanding issue between China and Viet Nam. The fact that 160,000 Chinese residents in Viet Nam have been driven back to China amply testifies to the gravity of the situation. The expulsion of the nationals of a friendly country on such a massive scale finds few parallels in the history of international relations.

Why has this state of affairs come about? The essential reason, in our view, lies in the orchestrated systematic and deliberate discrimination against and ostracism, persecution and expulsion of the mass of Chinese nationals residing in Viet Nam perpetrated by the Vietnamese side. Once the Vietnamese side reverts to the position of the 1955 agreement between the Chinese and Vietnamese Parties and stops its discrimination against and its ostracism, persecution and expulsion of Chinese residents, this question of Chinese residents will naturally be resolved, this issue between the two countries will dissolve, the strained state relations arising therefrom will be eased and the traditional friendship between the two countries will be upheld.

As I pointed out in my first statement, the implementation of the 1955 agreement by the two sides had been good in the twenty years following its conclusion. The mass of Chinese residents fought shoulder to shoulder alongside the Vietnamese people, shedding their blood and making sacrifices in the extremely bitter wars of resistance against French and U.S. aggressors, and never deserted the Vietnamese people to return to China for the safety of their property or their person. On the contrary, they forged a militant friendship with the Vietnamese people during those wars. However, it is regrettable that following the nationwide liberation of Viet Nam in 1975, the Vietnamese side turned away from the 1955 agreement between the two Parties and pursued a policy of discrimination against and ostracism, persecution and even expulsion of Chinese residents in Viet Nam.

The Vietnamese side has stepped up its anti-China propaganda through the press, the radio, television, the theatre and various other channels to fan up anti-China

feelings among the Vietnamese people, poisoning our bilateral relations and subjecting the mass of Chinese nationals to great psychological pressures which caused much anxiety among them. Chinese nationals were baited or mocked at and questioned maliciously in factories, schools and even in their neighbourhoods by people who did this at the bidding of the Vietnamese authorities. The Vietnamese side tried at various meetings and in private conversations to get Chinese residents to take a stand on such questions as the repatriation of Chinese residents and Sino-Vietnamese relations, coercing them to speak against their conscience on pain of suffering personal abuses. Many Chinese nationals have had to return to China because they could not stand the political pressure and psychological ordeal.

The mass of Chinese nationals lost security in livelihood and were deprived of their minimum right of subsistence. Blue and white collar Chinese workers were shifted from their former posts and suffered corresponding cuts in pay and in food rations. Some had to buy food grains from the black market at exorbitant prices because their food rations had been cut entirely. Vietnamese public security personnel intruded into their homes from time to time ostensibly for making a "search," but actually for wilfully confiscating their hard-earned goods, including even such daily necessities as a few catties of rice or a few grams of gourmet powder. Small Chinese shop-owners and pedlars had always found it hard to support their families in spite of their daily routine of endless toil. Now many found it impossible to make a living in recent years, for the Vietnamese authorities kept increasing their taxes, so that they were paying some one thousand and several hun-

dred Vietnamese *dong* a month instead of the several hundred they paid formerly. Chinese farmers who had lived for generations in the rural areas of Viet Nam (especially in the north), among whom many were naturalized Vietnamese citizens, were also persecuted and expelled by the Vietnamese authorities. Large contingents of soldiers and police, militiamen and youth shock brigades sent by the Vietnamese authorities "stationed" themselves in their villages and drove many of these Chinese farmers and Vietnamese farmers of Chinese origin back to China. In some places, the Vietnamese authorities forbade Chinese farmers or Vietnamese farmers of Chinese origin to reap their own crops, including those on the small plots allotted to them for their personal use. Their due portion of food rations from the summer harvest were not distributed to them, thus depriving them of their means of subsistence. Chinese nationals and Vietnamese of Chinese origin who for many years had made their living as fishermen were also deprived of the right to earn a living. Fishery co-operatives run by Chinese nationals on Cat Ba Island had machinery on their boats dismantled and taken away, their fishing boats confiscated and the fishermen themselves were forbidden to go fishing on the sea. Many had no alternative but to return to China in small boats across the sea.

In recent months, the Vietnamese side has stepped up its political persecution of Chinese nationals. Vietnamese public security organs kept issuing unwarranted summons to Chinese residents to appear for questioning, wilfully arrested them on trumped-up charges, or tried to intimidate and coerce them into leaving Viet Nam. Since May, these incidents have occurred not only in Ho

Chi Minh City but in Hanoi, Haiphong and other cities and provinces as well. Because the Vietnamese side has used the state apparatus to exercise dictatorship over innocent Chinese nationals, the latter cannot live in peace and are in constant panic.

Beginning in early 1977, the Vietnamese side started flagrantly to drive border inhabitants and Chinese nationals back to China. At first, it did this in a systematic way through pushing a policy directed against China of "purifying the borders" in its provinces adjacent to China. Later on, such expulsions gradually expanded in scale, until it became a nationwide campaign to expel Chinese residents en masse.

The expulsion of Chinese residents by the Vietnamese side is not only orchestrated and systematic, but also openly conducted. Vietnamese public security personnel assembled Chinese residents and openly stated that "the meeting was called on instructions from central authorities to persuade the Hoa people to go home." Some Vietnamese public security officers said explicitly that "Our set policy is to expel all those who do not adopt Vietnamese nationality." In the case of Chinese nationals who had lived in Viet Nam for generations and did not want to return to China, Vietnamese public security personnel would go to their houses to intimidate them with such words as "If you won't return to China, we will put you in concentration camps watched over by the army," or "If and when war breaks out between Viet Nam and China, we will start by sending all of you to jail." When Chinese residents still refused to leave, some local authorities pulled down their houses, cancelled their residence registration or used similar methods to compel them to return to China. The Vietnamese side

also ordered Chinese residents to register for repatriation to China or fill in Applications for Exit Permits and fixed dates by which they must leave the country, forcing them to abandon their homes and return to China in the short period of a few days. At the same time, they cancelled their residence registration, food-ration certificates and job identification cards, thus making it impossible for them to continue to live in Viet Nam.

As of now, the number of Chinese residents driven back to China has exceeded 160,000. They are in dire misery. They suffered hardships and persecution in their forced exodus. Countless numbers of Chinese residents were robbed of their savings and other possessions earned through many years of hard work. Countless families were separated and many Chinese residents suffered harsh treatment from or were beaten up by Vietnamese soldiers and police. Some were even shot at and returned to China with open wounds.

It was under these circumstances that the Chinese Government decided to send ships to Viet Nam to bring back these Chinese nationals in distress and informed the Vietnamese Government of its decision. The sending of ships to bring back its nationals not only conforms with international practice, but is the exercise by the Chinese Government of its legitimate right to protect the interests of its nationals. It had been our expectation that the negotiations which started in the middle of June between the representative of the Chinese Embassy and the representative of the Consular Department of the Vietnamese Foreign Ministry on the repatriation of Chinese nationals would reach a speedy agreement, and that the Vietnamese side would co-operate with us and facilitate our work and stop its expulsion of Chinese residents

by the overland route. But contrary to our expectations, on the one hand the Vietnamese side obstructed the negotiations on the repatriation of Chinese nationals, making it impossible for those Chinese residents longing to return by ship to start the journey and even arrested those who had registered for the trip in Ho Chi Minh City, while on the other it continued to leave the border wide open in disregard of agreements between the two countries on border controls and did not slacken its expulsion of Chinese residents en masse by the overland route. Vietnamese public security personnel resorted to such measures as cancelling the residence registration and food-ration certificates of those Chinese nationals who had registered for repatriation by ship and compelled them to leave by the overland route within a specified time. They blatantly claimed that "Victory will be ours when Chinese ships are unable to bring back the Hoa people!"

From the time when the negotiations on bringing home the Chinese nationals started in the middle of June until they went into recess after achieving no results in late July, the number of Chinese nationals driven back along the overland route reached the figure of 32,000. The Vietnamese side's practice of holding negotiations while continuing with its expulsion of Chinese residents is quite unusual in normal international negotiations.

In an attempt to halt the expulsion of Chinese nationals by the Vietnamese side, the Chinese side reiterated on July 12, that it would enforce the provisions of the Sino-Viet Nam Border Control Accord between the two sides. The Vietnamese side, however, continued to drive large numbers of Chinese nationals to the Sino-Vietnamese border where they led a precarious existence under rough

conditions. Yet the Vietnamese side showed not the least concern for their health and safety. Some of the Chinese nationals went through the regular formalities and were in possession of Certificates for Returning to the Motherland issued by the Chinese Embassy, but these were confiscated by the Vietnamese side. Many Chinese nationals wanted to return to their original places of residence in Viet Nam, and some wanted to go to the Chinese Embassy to go through the formalities for repatriation to China, but the Vietnamese side deliberately created difficulties to wilfully obstruct them.

Even more serious is the fact that the Vietnamese side deliberately created incidents of crashing Chinese ports at Yu Yi Kuan and Peilun River Bridge from the Vietnamese side of the border. On August 1, the Vietnamese authorities dispatched public security personnel to the border near Yu Yi Kuan, who fired gunshots to frighten and expel Chinese nationals. Subsequently, on August 8, the date on which talks on the vice-foreign minister level between the Chinese and Vietnamese sides started, Vietnamese public security personnel created a serious incident of bloodshed when they stabbed Chinese nationals in distress on Peilun River Bridge to forcibly drive them into Chinese territory. And then right here in Hanoi, the capital of Viet Nam and the site of our negotiations, armed Vietnamese public security personnel created another violent incident on the evening of August 11th through to the following morning when they attacked a group of Chinese nationals going through formalities for repatriation with water hoses and tear gas and later abducted them to an unknown place. These were premeditated acts perpetrated by the Vietnamese side with the deliberate intention of poisoning the atmosphere and

setting obstacles in the way of the current negotiations. Isn't it a mockery of the good faith repeatedly professed by the Vietnamese authorities at the negotiating table when you create such incidents at this particular juncture? At the same time, these incidents show that the Vietnamese side is stepping up its persecution and expulsion of Chinese nationals right up to the present day.

Summing up the above, we have ample support in facts to conclude that the real reason why 160,000 Chinese nationals have returned to China from Viet Nam is because the Vietnamese side has completely abandoned the basic principles of the 1955 agreement between the Chinese and Vietnamese Parties and is pursuing a policy of discrimination against and ostracism, persecution and expulsion of Chinese nationals. As to why you are doing this, you yourselves will know it best.

However, in the May 27th statement of the spokesman of the Vietnamese Foreign Ministry on the question of the so-called "Hoa people in Viet Nam," in the negotiations between the representative of the Consular Department of the Vietnamese Foreign Ministry and the representative of the Chinese Embassy in Viet Nam on the question of the sending of ships by the Chinese Government to bring back Chinese nationals, and in the numerous news reports and articles turned out by Vietnamese propaganda organs in recent months, the Vietnamese side has tried its utmost to cover up the facts pertaining to its discrimination against and ostracism, persecution and expulsion of Chinese residents, denied the existence in Viet Nam of Chinese nationals in distress and levelled counter-charges in an attempt to shift the blame for the return of large numbers of Chinese nationals onto the Chinese side.

In its cover-up attempt, the Vietnamese side has already changed its version of the affair several times, none of which, however, offers a convincing explanation or makes out a good case.

At first, the Vietnamese side alleged that the mass exodus of Chinese nationals was due to rumours spread by "bad elements among the Hoa people" to the effect that "China is going to attack Viet Nam," "China has called on its nationals overseas to return to China," and alleged that this was "a premeditated campaign" and a "farce directed by the Chinese side."

This version is absolutely untenable. In the difficult war years, the mass of Chinese residents in Viet Nam withstood the rigorous trials together with the Vietnamese people, bearing all kinds of hardship and even risking their lives. The ordeals of war didn't make them return to China. Why should they be frightened now by incredible rumours and return to China en masse? Moreover, since the Vietnamese side claims that such rumours are floating around in Viet Nam, why don't you expose their absurdity, stop these rumours and reassure the people?

The fact is that there have indeed been certain rumours, but the rumour-mongers and rumour spreaders are none other than persons at the bidding of the Vietnamese authorities who consider the spreading of rumours a means of expelling Chinese nationals in accordance with instructions from the Vietnamese central authorities.

Earlier this year, when a Vietnamese diplomat called on a leading cadre of the Chinese Foreign Ministry, he levelled unwarranted complaints and charges against China, asserting that an "abnormal situation" had arisen

along China's border, that China was "calling for an attack on Viet Nam," and that China "increased the number of its troops on the border and issued additional arms and ammunitions to its militia." The similarity between these allegations and the rumours floating around in Viet Nam could not be a mere coincidence, but precisely shows that these rumours were deliberately concocted by the Vietnamese side.

The second version advanced by the Vietnamese side is that the mass repatriation of Chinese nationals is because "Hoa capitalists" were running away from the "socialist transformation" currently under way in south Viet Nam, and it slanders China for "protecting Hoa capitalists," "shielding exploiters," "abandoning the viewpoint of class struggle," "interfering in the internal affairs of Viet Nam," etc.

Anyone who respects facts will never believe this allegation. Facts are that of the current total of more than 160,000 repatriated Chinese nationals, 95 per cent are working people from north Viet Nam. Breaking down the figure of 38,900 Chinese residents who have crossed into China by way of Ha Khau, Yunnan Province, we find that 36,900, or over 94 per cent, are from north Viet Nam. Socialist transformation was carried out in north Viet Nam back in the 1950s, but Chinese residents there did not return to China on that account, so why should they leave en masse today when socialist transformation is being carried out in south Viet Nam? Speaking of south Viet Nam, a high-ranking Vietnamese official admitted that the Chinese nationals there are mostly common people, while comprador capitalists are a very small minority. Most of the Chinese nationals driven back to China from south Viet Nam in recent

months are working people, too. This being the case, we would like to ask: Why should working people run away from "socialist transformation"? Can it be that the working people are the objects of your socialist transformation?

Being itself aware of the untenability of the two versions cited above, the Vietnamese side has advanced yet a third version which is that "the Chinese leaders have called on the Hoa people to return and join in national reconstruction." However, it has failed to produce any concrete evidence as to when, where and which Chinese leader made a call on Chinese nationals residing in Viet Nam to return to China. This proves that the above allegation is purely fictitious.

The Vietnamese side asserts that the "Hoa people live in the big socialist family of Viet Nam," and that "in no other place have the Hoa people received more equal treatment than in Viet Nam," etc. If this were true, why should some 160,000-odd Chinese nationals, old and young, have left this wonderful "big family" upon hearing that "China has called on its nationals overseas to return to China" and have done so in such a hurry and at the risk of their lives? Is this convincing? Doesn't it worry the Vietnamese side that this version would negate its propaganda about that wonderful "big family"? Moreover, not all Chinese residents expelled by the Vietnamese authorities have returned to China. Quite a number braved the sea in small boats and made their way to some countries and regions in Southeast Asia and Oceania. Were they also responding to the call of the Chinese leaders to "come home and take part in national reconstruction"?

Of late, the Vietnamese side has invented a new version, i.e. the repatriation of Hoa people en masse is because the Chinese side has unfolded a campaign to "coerce the Hoa people to evacuate."

This version is even more preposterous. The "Hoa people," as the Vietnamese side calls them, live on Vietnamese territory. Whatever the extent of the Chinese Government's authority within its own territory, it is surely not in a position to "coerce" inhabitants in Viet Nam, much less to "unfold a campaign of coerced evacuation." As to the "confessions" of certain "evil-doers" concocted by the Vietnamese side alleging that there was a "supreme council headed by Ambassador Chen Chifang" in the Chinese Embassy "for directing the campaign to coerce the Hoa people to evacuate," this is sheer slander. It is a well-known fact that the Chinese Embassy in Viet Nam has all along strictly abided by the foreign policy of the Chinese Government and done a great deal to uphold the friendship between the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples. Even in the circumstances of the Vietnamese side expelling Chinese residents en masse, the Chinese Embassy invariably tried its best to persuade Chinese residents who came to file applications for returning to China to continue to stay in Viet Nam and live in amity with the Vietnamese people. Our Embassy in Viet Nam is open and aboveboard in all its activities. In calumniating the Chinese Embassy the Vietnamese side is only showing its embarrassment at the lack of justifications and arguments. Why don't the rumour-mongers pause to think what means of coercion there could be at the disposal of this "supreme council," enabling it to bring about the evacuation of as many as 160,000 Chinese?

As a matter of fact, it is the Vietnamese authorities who alone possess all the means to coerce their own inhabitants and Chinese residents. And, actually, the Vietnamese side did use its public security personnel, militiamen and soldiers, and its Party and government organs at all levels did give orders to expel Chinese residents by all sorts of coercive measures, including threats of force.

Around the time when China and Viet Nam decided to hold talks at the vice-foreign minister level for an all-round settlement of the question of Chinese residents in Viet Nam, the Vietnamese side dished up its fifth version. Through repetitious propaganda it alleged that the number one reason why "Hoa people" were returning to China in large numbers was because China pursued an "anti-Viet Nam policy." That it should have linked the question of Chinese residents with national policies and lines is very interesting. China has not changed its policy of friendship towards Viet Nam. No, it is the other way around. It is the Vietnamese authorities who have changed their policy of friendship towards China. Didn't Your Excellency, Head of Delegation Hoang Bich Son, say in your statement at the first session that the position of the Vietnamese side has been a "consistent one"? Yet back in 1976, barely one year after the nationwide liberation of Viet Nam, His Excellency Hoang Tung, member of the Central Committee of the Vietnamese Party told a Western journalist that "During the war, it was vital for Viet Nam that both China and the USSR helped North Viet Nam to the full. Today, it is no longer so vital for this country to follow that policy. . . . the rapprochement with the USSR plays a very important role for Viet Nam today. There is a tangibly strong Soviet

interest coinciding with Vietnamese interests — to reduce Chinese influence in this part of the world.” It was in these words that he stated explicitly and in full candour how the Vietnamese authorities have changed their China policy. What was the motivation of their switch over to an anti-China policy from their former one of friendship with China? They did so out of Viet Nam’s needs as well as Soviet needs. To be quite frank, when the Vietnamese side began to expel Chinese residents en masse, the Chinese people were puzzled for want of a rational explanation. The only explanation they found after much pondering is that Viet Nam’s ostracism of Chinese residents is a part of its anti-China policy, and it is pursuing this anti-China course out of its needs in domestic and foreign policy. This is the most essential reason why Viet Nam has discriminated against and ostracized, persecuted and expelled Chinese residents since its nationwide liberation.

The Vietnamese side’s orchestrated, systematic and deliberate discrimination against and ostracism, persecution and expulsion of Chinese nationals is an undeniable fact. Any attempt to shift onto China the blame for this large-scale forced repatriation of Chinese nationals is bound to be futile.

It is in all sincerity that the Chinese Delegation has come to Hanoi to negotiate an overall solution to the question of Chinese residents in Viet Nam with the Vietnamese Government. The question has cropped up because the Vietnamese side is pursuing a policy of discrimination against and ostracism, persecution and expulsion of Chinese nationals. The key for settling this question is to desist from such discrimination, ostracism, persecution and expulsion.

**Statement by Chung Hsi-tung, Leader
of the Chinese Government Delegation,
at the Third Session
of the Sino-Vietnamese Talks**

(August 19, 1978)

Your Excellency Hoang Bich Son, Respected Head of the Government Delegation of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam,

Colleagues on the Vietnamese Government Delegation,

Citing facts and arguing in a reasonable manner, I have in my two previous statements made it clear that the issue of Chinese residents in Viet Nam has arisen between China and Viet Nam because the Vietnamese side contravened the 1955 agreement between the Chinese and Vietnamese Parties on the question of Chinese nationals residing in Viet Nam, changed its once correct position and policies and adopted the erroneous approach of discrimination against and ostracism, persecution and expulsion of Chinese residents in Viet Nam.

Grave consequences have resulted from the Vietnamese side’s renunciation of the 1955 agreement between the two Parties. More than 160,000 Chinese residents have been driven back to China; another several thousand Chinese residents are stranded on the Vietnamese side at Sino-Vietnamese border ports, and they are in extreme

difficulties; large numbers of Chinese nationals are streaming into Hanoi from all parts of Viet Nam to apply for and go through formalities of repatriation at the Chinese Embassy; the mass of Chinese nationals residing in Viet Nam have great misapprehensions about the advisability of taking up Vietnamese nationality and staying on in Viet Nam and cannot take part in Viet Nam's economic and cultural construction with ease of mind; and Vietnamese citizens of Chinese origin also feel quite insecure. The mass of Chinese residents in Viet Nam have suffered greatly from this renunciation, and so have the Chinese Government and people as well as the Vietnamese people. The friendly relations between China and Viet Nam and the traditional friendship between the two peoples have been gravely impaired. This was the stark reality which promoted the Chinese side to propose to the Vietnamese side that negotiations on vice-foreign minister level should be held. If, as what Your Excellency, Head of Delegation Hoang Bich Son, said in your statement, the question of Chinese residents in Viet Nam had been settled long ago, and that no question existed at the present moment, why did you agree to our coming to Hanoi for negotiations? Are these negotiations merely for show and propaganda?

In your statement at the last session, Your Excellency, Head of Delegation Hoang Bich Son, claimed that "The Chinese and Vietnamese Parties have never reached agreement on the issue of Hoa people in south Viet Nam in 1955. The 1955 agreement was applicable only until the Hoa people in the north adopted Vietnamese citizenship. The agreement is invalid for the issue of the Vietnamese of Chinese origin in the south." This gives rise to a new question: Whether or not the principles and

spirit of the 1955 agreement between the two Parties should serve as the basis for settling the issue between our two countries on the question of Chinese residents?

I shall leave the question of Chinese nationals residing in south Viet Nam for another occasion and deal mainly with the question of Chinese residents in north Viet Nam.

Regarding the question of Chinese residents in north Viet Nam, does the statement of the Vietnamese side cited above mean that the 1955 agreement between our two Parties was no longer applicable? Yet only one year ago, a high-ranking Vietnamese leader said explicitly to a high-ranking Chinese leader in Peking that the 1955 agreement between the two Parties was most reasonable and that the best thing to do would be to revert to that agreement. After all, which one of the statements counts, the statement of the Vietnamese Vice-Foreign Minister at the last session or the statement of the high-ranking Vietnamese leader last year?

We firmly believe that the 1955 agreement between the Chinese and Vietnamese Parties on the question of Chinese residents in Viet Nam is entirely correct. Experience over the years has shown that the earnest implementation of this agreement accords with the fundamental interests of China and Viet Nam and those of the two peoples and the mass of Chinese nationals residing in Viet Nam, while acting in contravention of this agreement is injurious to the two countries, the two peoples and the mass of Chinese residents. Therefore, we hold that the key to a resolution of the dispute between China and Viet Nam on the question of Chinese residents is to revert to the 1955 agreement between the two Parties.

We have come to understand this in the course of the conclusion of the 1955 agreement between the two Parties and its subsequent implementation, from the experience — both positive and negative — accumulated over the last twenty-odd years.

Now, let us review briefly this segment of history. In 1955, the Chinese and Vietnamese Parties exchanged views on the question of Chinese nationals residing in Viet Nam, and an agreement in principle was reached after repeated friendly consultations. The two sides acknowledged that the Chinese residents in north Viet Nam, on condition of their enjoying equal rights as the Vietnamese and after being given sustained and patient persuasion and ideological education, may gradually become citizens of Viet Nam on a voluntary basis. This agreement defined in a clear-cut and specific manner such questions as the nationality, rights and duties of Chinese nationals residing in north Viet Nam.

The principle affirmed in the above-mentioned agreement of guiding all Chinese residents in north Viet Nam onto the course of gradually adopting Vietnamese nationality on a voluntary basis was advanced by the Chinese side which, proceeding from its principled stand of proletarian internationalism, wished thereby to strengthen the friendly relations and co-operation between China and Viet Nam and render support to the Vietnamese people in their struggle against imperialist aggression and for the unification of their country. To facilitate the attainment of the objectives in the agreement, the Chinese side offered to turn over gradually to the Vietnamese side the responsibility for work among the Chinese residents in north Viet Nam (including that concerning their organizations, newspapers, schools and hospitals as well

as their unemployment relief and social welfare), with the Chinese Embassy giving assistance where necessary. This fully demonstrates the trust the Chinese side places in, and the support it gives to the Vietnamese side.

The 1955 agreement between the two Parties on the question of Chinese residents accords not only with the actual needs of Viet Nam's revolution and construction but also with the specific condition of Chinese nationals residing in north Viet Nam. As the Workers' Party of Viet Nam has stated in one of its documents: Chinese nationals residing in north Viet Nam "are closely related to the land and people of Viet Nam. Sharing weal and woe with the Vietnamese people, they showed sympathy for and many took a direct part in Viet Nam's revolution, in its wars of resistance and national reconstruction. The Vietnamese and Hoa live in friendship and harmony as members of a family."

In keeping with the principles and spirit of the agreement between the two Parties, the Workers' Party of Viet Nam stated explicitly in one of its documents that it is a "general and long-term policy to lead all the Hoa people in the north to gradually change their nationality and become citizens of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. This could be achieved only in the course of a prolonged movement. It is imperative to do much prudent work, with particular emphasis on sustained and patient persuasion and ideological education. This objective cannot possibly be achieved within a short period of time or through administrative decrees." Following this general policy, the Vietnamese Party further pointed out that "At present, the guidelines of our movement concerning the Hoa people in north Viet Nam are to accord the Hoa people all the rights, political, economic,

cultural and social, as enjoyed by Vietnamese citizens and work energetically to secure for them all kinds of practical rights so that they may feel they are as well looked after and cared for in the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam as they would in China. This is the basis on which to persuade the Hoa people to stay permanently in Viet Nam. . . ." "While securing practical rights for the Hoa people, special stress should be laid on propaganda and ideological education . . . actively create conditions under which the Hoa people may adopt the citizenship of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam on a voluntary basis."

In the case of the "Ngai people" who have lived in Viet Nam for generations, the Vietnamese Party affirmed that they were Vietnamese citizens and stipulated that they would be accorded the same rights and encouraged to perform the same duties as other Vietnamese citizens. At the same time, the Vietnamese Party pointed out that "those who are not yet willing to adopt Vietnamese nationality are still allowed all rights and may not be discriminated against. It is absolutely impermissible to be rash, to compel them by means of orders or to slight them."

The Vietnamese Party also stated that "the Hoa people living in big cities, provincial capitals and towns shall be regarded as foreign nationals, but nationals of a fraternal socialist country. They are the Vietnamese people's close friends and future citizens of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. Hence, to the extent that it does not contravene the Constitution and laws of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, they, too, should be accorded nearly the same extensive rights and encouraged

to perform the same duties as Vietnamese citizens on a voluntary basis."

The Vietnamese Party stressed that "the principle which must be constantly kept in mind is that the adoption of Vietnamese nationality by the Hoa people should be a purely voluntary decision, and there should be no coercion whatsoever."

These stipulations of the Vietnamese side made in accordance with the 1955 agreement between the two Parties are also correct.

It should be pointed out that, when referring to the 1955 agreement between the two Parties, the Vietnamese side, in its last statement, cited only the points about its assuming leadership for the work among the Chinese nationals residing in north Viet Nam and about the gradual adoption by Chinese residents in the north of Vietnamese citizenship, but intentionally avoided mentioning other important points of the agreement. To cite the agreement between the two Parties in a one-sided way and out of context to meet a political need, this is quite a flippant practice.

The Chinese side has been consistent in its implementation of the principles of the agreement between the two Parties and has made unremitting efforts in this regard. For a long time, the Vietnamese side also acted in accordance with the principles of that agreement and the relevant provisions. That was why the Chinese residing in north Viet Nam resolutely stayed on in Viet Nam and fought shoulder to shoulder with the Vietnamese people no matter how hard life or how bitter the war was. Moreover, a goodly number have voluntarily adopted Vietnamese nationality and become Vietnamese citizens. It is quite certain that if the principles and spirit of the

agreement between the two Parties and the relevant provisions of the former days were still implemented, more and more Chinese residents would surely be encouraged to adopt voluntarily Vietnamese nationality and join the Vietnamese people in continuing to do their bit for the economic and cultural development of Viet Nam — the land on which they have lived for generations and which they have toiled to build and fought to defend.

However, following the nationwide liberation of Viet Nam, the Vietnamese side unexpectedly changed its policy towards the Chinese residents and totally renounced the 1955 agreement between the two Parties.

Chinese residents used to enjoy the same rights as Vietnamese citizens, politically, economically, culturally and in social life. Now they are discriminated against, ostracized, abused and persecuted, they are subjected to mental torment and deprived of their livelihood and safety of person.

Practical rights were accorded the Chinese residents, and they were persuaded to stay permanently in Viet Nam. Now they are deceived, coerced and driven back to China in a thousand and one ways, and even given a time limit to leave the country.

It is clearly stipulated in the agreement between the two Parties that the adoption of Vietnamese nationality by Chinese residents must be a voluntary decision, brooking no coercion. Now the Vietnamese side is coercing them into adopting Vietnamese nationality through a variety of illegal measures.

In its statement at the last session, the Vietnamese side said in defence that it had "strictly implemented"

the 1955 agreement between the two Parties over the past 23 years, and that there was no change in its policy towards the Chinese residents. If this were true, why has the question of Chinese residents become so complex and led to such a grave dispute? We have always held that the Vietnamese side, on the whole, had taken a serious and earnest attitude with regard to the agreement between the two Parties from its conclusion in 1955 up to Viet Nam's nationwide liberation and implemented it quite well. But this can in no way cover up the fact that the Vietnamese side has totally departed from that agreement in the last few years since its nationwide liberation. The Vietnamese authorities will never succeed in trying to cover up the grave situation existing today and deceive public opinion by referring to its past record of correctly implementing its policy on the Chinese residents.

In a word, the experience and lessons of the past twenty years show that implementation of the 1955 agreement between the two Parties benefits both our countries while renouncing it harms both countries. There is every reason for us to continue to uphold the principles and spirit of that agreement and none whatsoever to undermine and abandon them.

Since the problem arose because of the Vietnamese side's renunciation of the 1955 agreement between the two Parties, the only solution lies in reverting to that agreement. For the purpose of seeking a reasonable and rational solution to the question of Chinese residents in north Viet Nam, we make the following proposals in conformity with the principles and spirit of the 1955 agreement:

1. As the first step towards a solution, the Vietnamese side must stop forthwith its erroneous practice of

discrimination against and ostracism, persecution and expulsion of Chinese residents and, in keeping with the spirit of the 1955 agreement between the two Parties, create favourable conditions for their continued residence thereby guaranteeing their legitimate political, economic, cultural and social rights and interests. The Chinese side will, as always, continue to advise and encourage them not to have misgivings about living and working in Viet Nam and to take an active part in Viet Nam's economic and cultural developments.

2. In conformity with the spirit of the 1955 agreement between the two Parties, the Vietnamese side should desist from illegal measures to coerce Chinese residents into changing their nationality. Instead, it should guide them gradually onto the course of adopting Vietnamese nationality voluntarily through patient persuasion and education. The Chinese side will, as always, continue to encourage and advise the Chinese residents to take up Vietnamese nationality on a voluntary basis. The Chinese side has never asked people of Chinese origin who have already adopted Vietnamese nationality of their own accord again to make a decision on their nationality and it will, as always, respect their choice of the Vietnamese nationality and consider them as having forfeited their Chinese nationality. The Vietnamese side should truly accord them the same rights as Vietnamese citizens and should not discriminate against them. As to those who still elect to retain their Chinese nationality, it is our hope that the Vietnamese side will guarantee their proper rights and interests. The Chinese side, in conformity with China's consistent policy, will enjoin them to abide by the laws of Viet Nam, respect the customs and habits of the Vietnamese people, live in amity with them

and continue to work for the promotion of friendship between the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples.

3. The several thousand Chinese nationals driven by the Vietnamese side to areas in Vietnamese territory along the Sino-Vietnamese border and stranded there because they haven't gone through entry and exit formalities are in a most difficult plight, and this is a problem which calls for immediate solution. The Vietnamese side should try through persuasion to send them back to their original places of residence in Viet Nam. Their feelings are hurt because some Vietnamese personnel have used violence against them, and they view with utmost apprehension the prospect of staying on in Viet Nam. In view of this, the Vietnamese side should publicly guarantee and take measures to effectively ensure the safety of their person and resettle them properly after they return to their original places of residence in Viet Nam and guarantee their livelihood and employment and freedom from discrimination.

4. Because the Vietnamese side pursued a policy of persecution against and expulsion of Chinese residents in violation of the 1955 agreement between the two Parties, more than 160,000 people have been driven into Chinese territory, among whom there are Vietnamese citizens of Chinese origin and some Vietnamese including those of Viet Nam's minority nationalities. Out of humanitarian considerations, the Chinese side could not but make necessary arrangements to receive and resettle all these people including the Vietnamese citizens. It was very wrong for the Vietnamese side to drive large numbers of Chinese nationals back to China, but to drive its own citizens into China was absurd. What are the Vietnamese side's intentions regarding these Vietnamese citizens?

We believe the Vietnamese side is duty-bound to receive them back to Viet Nam and should make proper arrangements for resettling them. The Chinese side is willing to discuss this question in the concrete and reach an agreement with the Vietnamese side for a successful settlement of the question concerning these Vietnamese citizens, so that they may return to their homeland without any difficulty. The Chinese side is ready to provide them with all necessary facilities and send them across the border with courtesy.

Among the Chinese nationals driven back to China, there are many families who have lived in Viet Nam for generations and have very intimate ties with the Vietnamese people. Some of these families have now been separated. Many still have relatives in Viet Nam. The Chinese side will also provide facilities to those among them who wish to return to their original places of residence in Viet Nam, and it is hoped that the Vietnamese side will make proper arrangements to receive and resettle them and do not discriminate against them.

The foregoing proposals amply testify to our sincerity in seeking a settlement of the question. We hope to get a positive response from the Vietnamese side on this matter.

We are ready at all times to listen to the views of the Vietnamese side.

Thank you.

**Speech by Chung Hsi-tung, Leader
of the Chinese Government Delegation,
at the Fourth Session
of the Sino-Vietnamese Talks**

(August 26, 1978)

Your Excellency Hoang Bich Son, Respected Head of the Government Delegation of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam,

Colleagues on the Vietnamese Government Delegation,

This is the fourth session of the Sino-Vietnamese negotiations. It was supposed to discuss the draft "announcement" concerning the solution of the problem of the victimized Chinese stranded at the Sino-Vietnamese border ports submitted by the Chinese Government Delegation on August 23, and we were ready to listen carefully to the views of the Vietnamese side on this question. On August 25, however, the Vietnamese authorities suddenly massed large numbers of armed troops and police and created an extremely serious incident of cold-blooded suppression and expulsion of Chinese nationals on the Vietnamese side of the border near Yu Yi Kuan. Therefore, I am obliged first to bring up here this urgent and grave problem. At 10 to 11 a.m. Peking time, August 25, on instruction from the Vietnamese authorities some 200 Vietnamese army men

and security personnel pulled down the shelters of the persecuted Chinese on the Vietnamese side of the Yu Yi Kuan border. They used bayonets, daggers, sticks and stones in a crackdown to drive out the more than 2,000 Chinese stranded there. Four Chinese were killed on the spot. Of the scores of others injured, nine received serious wounds. One was bayoneted in the back to a depth of two inches; some had their hands or feet cut or fingers severed; some are in critical condition from gashes on the head or back causing profuse bleeding. The terrorizing acts of the Vietnamese armymen and police along both sides of the highway and on the slopes forced the Chinese nationals to flee over to the Chinese side of the border in great chaos. More than 1,600 crossed over to the Chinese side near Yu Yi Kuan while hundreds of others climbed the hills to reach Chinese check-points. Their belongings were seized or destroyed by Vietnamese security men. At the same time, Vietnamese security personnel rained stones on the Chinese functionaries on the Chinese side of the border, wounding one of them, Yuan Po-cheng, on the head and Dr. Yu Tai-lien on the chest.

This is a new crime committed by the Vietnamese authorities in practising premeditated bloody suppression against the victimized Chinese, and a new and most serious step taken by the Vietnamese side to deliberately sabotage the Sino-Vietnamese negotiations at vice-foreign minister level. Yesterday afternoon, our Government lodged a strong protest with the Vietnamese side in which we demanded that the Vietnamese Government should immediately stop persecuting, suppressing and expelling Chinese nationals, punish severely the culprits, return to the victimized Chinese all their belongings, and

ensure that there would be no recurrence of such incidents.

Hearing with astonishment of this incident, the Chinese Government Delegation was very indignant and lodged a strong protest with the Vietnamese Government.

It must be pointed out that this bloody suppression of Chinese nationals was taking place at a time when the two government delegations of China and Viet Nam were discussing a settlement to the problem of the stranded Chinese on the Chinese-Vietnamese border. The Chinese Government Delegation, sincerely wishing to settle this pressing problem, had put forward proposals at the beginning of the negotiations and had also set forth concrete proposals at the second and third sessions. At the third session on August 19, the Vietnamese side presented the draft of an "appeal" to be jointly issued by the delegation leaders of the two sides, and demanded that it be broadcast at the border passes at 6:00 p.m. that very day. However, at about six o'clock that afternoon, Vietnamese armymen and security forces used violence against the victimized Chinese on the Vietnamese side of the border at Yu Yi Kuan, wounding some of them. They rolled huge rocks down Kuei Lang Hill to create confusion and terror, then drove 200 or 300 Chinese nationals across the border to the Chinese side.

Although the Vietnamese side has resorted to the above-mentioned acts to undermine the negotiations, the Chinese Delegation, for the purpose of truly solving the questions, has displayed the utmost forbearance, and, after carefully studying the "appeal," proposed on August 23 for an emergency meeting between the heads of the two delegations and submitted a draft of an "announcement" to be jointly released. You volunteered to present

your viewpoint at the fourth session due to begin at 9:00 a.m., on August 25. The session was put off on account of an incidental reason. But just at this time, on August 25, you staged a new, shocking and bloody incident at Yu Yi Kuan.

You, while hypocritically proposing an "appeal" at the conference table, masterminded the violence of beating up and driving away victimized Chinese nationals during the afternoon of that same day; you, while expressing a willingness to discuss our draft "announcement," dispatched many troops and policemen to kill bare-handed victimized Chinese nationals and drive all of the thousands of them across the border onto the Chinese side. Are all these actions "coincidental"? Don't they all show that your "sincere" desire to settle the issue is nothing less than a fraud? Don't they show that you are self-contradictory and perfidious in your negotiations?

The incidents of August 19 and 25 are proof that both your suggestion for making an "appeal" and your professed intention to hold discussions on the "announcement" proposed by the Chinese side, are a hoax, a manoeuvre to cover up your persecution and expulsion of Chinese nationals by means of negotiations. The bloody incidents you devised in the border areas, especially yesterday's incident, are premeditated acts to undermine the negotiations.

It should also be pointed out that since the beginning of the Sino-Vietnamese negotiations at vice-foreign minister level on August 8, the Vietnamese authorities had engineered a series of violent incidents. On August 1, several days before the start of the Sino-Vietnamese negotiations at vice-foreign minister level, the Vietnamese authorities directed their security personnel near Yu Yi

Kuan to force over 2,000 victimized Chinese to cross the border to the Chinese side by firing shots to scare them. On August 8, the first day of the negotiations, Vietnamese security personnel acting on the order of the authorities attacked Chinese nationals on the Vietnamese side of the Peilun River Bridge with knives and drove over 700 victimized Chinese across the bridge into Chinese territory. On the evening of August 11 through to the following morning, armed Vietnamese security personnel attacked over 100 Chinese residents staying at Hanoi's railway station hotel with water cannon and tear gas and later abducted them, throwing some into prison. At Mong Cai and on the Vietnamese side of Yu Yi Kuan, many incidents have occurred recently in which large numbers of victimized Chinese nationals stranded in Viet Nam were abducted by force. These incidents fully prove that while agreeing to the Chinese Government's proposal for negotiations at vice-foreign minister level for an overall settlement of the question of Chinese nationals, the Vietnamese authorities do not really want to settle the Sino-Vietnamese disputes but are only using the negotiations as a means of hoodwinking the world public, in an attempt to whitewash your ugly image in the world created by your policy of discrimination, ostracism, persecution and expulsion of the Chinese nationals and cover up your crimes of continued persecution, expulsion and even bloody repression of the Chinese nationals.

At the same time, centring on these incidents, you have, either at the negotiating table or by means of your propaganda media, made all kinds of attacks and slanders concerning the Chinese side's sincerity in the negotiations. This fully proves that in deliberately engineering this series of incidents, you are trying to

achieve the following purpose: being afraid that your lack of sincerity in the negotiations would be exposed before the people of the world, you utilized the series of incidents to poison the atmosphere of the negotiations and place obstacles in their way and attempted to shift onto the Chinese side the responsibility for undermining the negotiations.

The Chinese Government Delegation came to Hanoi with the sincere hope of settling the question through negotiations. However, it is necessary that both sides be sincere in order to make the negotiations a success. At the negotiating table, you have spoken many fine words, but in actual deeds, you have deliberately engineered many incidents of violence. These have become graver and graver, each time escalating in severity. Where are you leading the negotiations?

At this point we ask Delegation Leader Hoang Bich Son to take the floor.

**Statement by Chung Hsi-tung, Leader
of the Chinese Government Delegation,
at the Fifth Session
of the Sino-Vietnamese Talks**

(September 7, 1978)

Your Excellency Hoang Bich Son, Respected Head of the Government Delegation of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam,

Colleagues on the Vietnamese Government Delegation,

There have been four sessions of the talks between the Chinese Government Delegation and the Vietnamese Government Delegation on the question of Chinese nationals residing in Viet Nam, but our negotiations have showed no progress owing to faults of the Vietnamese side. On August 25, the Vietnamese authorities committed a serious and bloody incident at Yu Yi Kuan when they used violence to suppress and expel Chinese nationals. Utmost indignation has been expressed by the Chinese people and upright world public opinion at this incident. This incident proves again that the Vietnamese authorities bear unshirkable responsibility for the persecution and expulsion of Chinese nationals. Yet, in his speech on September 1 at the mass rally in Hanoi marking Viet Nam's National Day, the Premier of the Vietnamese Government utterly ignored the facts and tried to shift

the blame for the forced repatriation of Chinese nationals en masse onto the Chinese side. Furthermore, he levelled unwarranted charges against China. This is most unjustified, and we cannot but express our deep regret. Nevertheless, motivated by a sincere desire to uphold the traditional friendship between the Chinese and Vietnamese people and seek a solution to the question of Chinese residents in Viet Nam, the Chinese Government Delegation has exercised great restraint and continued to hold talks with the Vietnamese Government Delegation. I was recalled to China on August 28 to report on my work, and I returned promptly to Hanoi on September 4. This, too, shows our sincerity and determination in regard to these talks.

In my statement at the third session, I spoke in explicit terms on the question of Chinese nationals in north Viet Nam. Today, I would like to concentrate on the question of Chinese nationals in south Viet Nam and state our views and suggestions.

It is a well-known fact that the great majority of Chinese nationals in Viet Nam reside in the south. Living in amity with the Vietnamese people for many generations, they have forged a profound friendship with the latter in the course of their common toils and endeavours. Over the last century, in the protracted revolutionary struggles against colonialism and imperialism and in the bitter years of the wars of resistance against French and U.S. aggression and for national salvation, the Chinese residents in south Viet Nam regarded the Vietnamese people's cause of national liberation as their own, fought shoulder to shoulder with them and made a positive contribution. Shedding their blood and giving their lives, they performed many heroic and inspiring deeds. Many

Chinese nationals, defying hardships and sparing no sacrifice, sheltered and protected Vietnamese leaders engaged in revolutionary activities. Some high-ranking Vietnamese leaders are living witnesses to this historical fact. In briefly reviewing this chapter of history today, I have intended mainly to show that the friendship between the mass of Chinese residents in Viet Nam and the Vietnamese people is no ordinary friendship, but one sealed in blood during long years of revolutionary struggles.

This friendship ought to have provided a good basis for the gradual resolution of the question of Chinese residents in south Viet Nam. At the time of the liberation of south Viet Nam in 1975, the mass of Chinese residents joined the Vietnamese people in jubilant celebrations, hoping that they would henceforth lead a more peaceful and happier life. But contrary to their expectations, the long-awaited liberation failed to give them the minimum degree of stability or guarantee their proper rights and interests; instead, it brought on them discrimination and persecution worse than before. Moreover, the situation has kept deteriorating. As a result, the mass of Chinese residents are suffering great torment and misery, the Vietnamese people are bewildered and worried, and the Chinese Government and people are thrown into anxiety.

There have existed for some time certain differences between the Chinese and Vietnamese sides on the question of Chinese nationals in south Viet Nam. These mainly concern three questions: Does the 1955 agreement between our two Parties cover the question of Chinese nationals in south Viet Nam? Are there or are there not Chinese nationals in south Viet Nam? And then there is the question of discrimination against, and ostracism,

persecution and even expulsion of Chinese nationals by the Vietnamese authorities. I will now explain our views on these issues in the hope that it will help the two sides find a way to remove the differences and work out a fair and reasonable solution.

1. Does the 1955 agreement between the Chinese and Vietnamese Parties cover the question of Chinese nationals residing in south Viet Nam?

Your Excellency, Head of Delegation Hoang Bich Son, stated at the second session that "The Chinese and Vietnamese Parties never reached agreement on the issue of Hoa people in south Viet Nam in 1955. . . . The agreement is invalid for the issue of the Vietnamese of Chinese origin in the south." These statements do not accord with facts.

In fact, consultations between the Chinese and Vietnamese Parties held in 1955 on the question of Chinese nationals did cover all Chinese nationals residing in Viet Nam. As south Viet Nam was then under the reactionary rule of a U.S.-puppet regime and conditions were not ripe for solving the question of Chinese residents there, the Chinese and Vietnamese Parties after consultations reached the following agreement: The Chinese side would be temporarily responsible for leading the work among the Chinese nationals in south Viet Nam, and the question of Chinese residents was to be postponed until after the liberation of south Viet Nam when the two countries would seek a solution through consultations and education would be carried out among the Chinese nationals for their gradual adoption of Vietnamese nationality.

However, right after the liberation of south Viet Nam, the Vietnamese authorities, departing from the agreement between the two Parties, unilaterally took a series of

measures to coerce Chinese nationals into adopting Vietnamese nationality. And now you categorically deny the part of the 1955 agreement between the two Parties dealing with the question of Chinese residents in south Viet Nam. Obviously, you have done so out of political needs and ulterior motives. First, you attempt thereby to deprive the Chinese Government of its say in any solution of the question of Chinese residents in south Viet Nam. Secondly, you not only claim that the 1955 agreement is no longer applicable in north Viet Nam, but assert that it is not valid at all in south Viet Nam either, thereby making it plain that you have fundamentally and completely repudiated the principles and spirit of the 1955 agreement between the two Parties. With this approach, you thought that you could have a free hand in taking unilateral measures to wilfully force the Chinese residents in south Viet Nam to adopt Vietnamese nationality or even in discriminating against and persecuting and expelling them. This is your true motive.

2. Are there or are there not Chinese residents in south Viet Nam? And what "historical legacy" does the Vietnamese Government wish to inherit?

In 1956 and 1957, the reactionary Ngo Dinh Diem clique promulgated decrees compelling the Chinese nationals to adopt Vietnamese nationality. These were strongly opposed by the Chinese residents. The Commission of Overseas Chinese Affairs of the People's Republic of China issued a statement which strongly denounced and sternly protested this action. At that time, the Vietnamese Government actively endorsed and supported this just stand of the Chinese Government. The organ of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Viet Nam published an article denouncing the Ngo Dinh Diem

clique's action as "a dictatorial and fascist act in serious contravention of international law." Subsequently, in its policy statements regarding the Chinese residents in the south and other related documents during the period from 1960 to 1968, the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation explicitly laid down that "all reactionary decrees of the U.S.-puppet regime for persecuting Chinese residents shall be abrogated," that "Chinese residents have the freedom and right to choose their nationality," etc. These are all historical facts and are in full accord with the principles and spirit of the 1955 agreement between the two Parties. At that time, the basic stand of the two Parties and Governments on the question of Chinese residents in south Viet Nam was identical: they both regarded all decrees and measures adopted by the reactionary Ngo Dinh Diem regime to coerce Chinese nationals into adopting Vietnamese nationality as illegal, null and void and not to be recognized on any account. In January 1976, the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Viet Nam notified Chinese residents there that they could register their nationality as they wished. In 1977, a high-ranking Vietnamese leader gave a Chinese leader the figure of the Chinese nationals residing in south Viet Nam. As shown by the facts we have cited here, there is ample reason to say that there actually are Chinese nationals in south Viet Nam. This is an objective fact which can in no way be denied by the Vietnamese side no matter how hard it may try.

After the liberation of south Viet Nam, if the Vietnamese side had consulted with the Chinese Government and taken reasonable measures in conformity with the agreement between the two Parties, the question of the nationality of Chinese residents would not have been

hard to resolve. But the Vietnamese side unilaterally took a series of erroneous measures in contravention of the agreement and even sent public security personnel to threaten and intimidate Chinese residents who elected to retain Chinese nationality. The Vietnamese Government confidently assumed that it could solve the question of the nationality of Chinese residents in this way, but these arbitrary acts, as was inevitable, backfired. In your statement at the second session, Your Excellency Head of Delegation Hoang Bich Son said that the majority of the Chinese nationals residing in the south had become "Vietnamese of Chinese origin" except for a few holding identity cards issued in Taiwan and Hongkong, and claimed that "this is a historical fact." On hearing these assertions of the Vietnamese side, one feels obliged to ask: are the policies and decrees concerning Chinese nationals promulgated by the Vietnamese Government in the past, including the previous statements of your high-ranking leader, still valid? What historical legacy is it that you are now inheriting — the historical legacy of the forced naturalization imposed by the reactionary Ngo Dinh Diem clique on the Chinese residents, or the historical legacy of allowing Chinese residents to choose their nationality on a voluntary basis, which was a policy often reiterated by the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam? Don't you feel embarrassed by the fact that you have totally repudiated the correct stand and promises you once announced and are insisting on taking over in their entirety the reactionary policies pursued by the traitorous Ngo Dinh Diem clique some twenty years ago to forcibly naturalize Chinese residents? Isn't this a mockery of your oft-

repeated claim that your policy towards Chinese residents has been "consistent," and that "a change of heart has never been in our character"?

3. There is no denying the fact that the Vietnamese authorities have discriminated against and ostracized, persecuted and expelled Chinese residents in south Viet Nam.

The fundamental reason why the question of Chinese residents in south Viet Nam has become so acute lies in the fact that the Vietnamese Government, after the nationwide liberation of Viet Nam in 1975, has pursued a policy of discrimination against and ostracism, persecution and expulsion of the mass of Chinese residents. Instances in this regard are too numerous to cite. Already in February 1976, the Vietnamese side proclaimed that all Chinese residents in south Viet Nam had to register under the nationality illegally imposed upon them during the reactionary rule of Ngo Dinh Diem. When Chinese residents in the south went to Viet Nam's Foreign Nationals Bureau and applied to register as Chinese nationals, showing as proof their old passports, entry visas and other documents, not only were their cases rejected by the Vietnamese side, but they were subsequently persecuted and made to suffer serious consequences. Many were fired or demoted with consequent cuts in their pay; their food rations were withheld or their food-ration certificates impounded; their residence registration was cancelled and their belongings and houses were confiscated. This year, the Vietnamese authorities used "socialist transformation" as a pretext to plunder and persecute families of Chinese small shop owners, pedlars and even workers. Government functionaries dispatched by the Vietnamese authorities often barged into the homes of

Chinese residents and ransacked and plundered their belongings in the name of making a "registration of properties." On the slightest pretext, these inspectors would turn their chests and closets inside out, dig into the ground or tear away the walls, practise unbridled extortion, or even evict Chinese residents. In mid-June of this year, the Vietnamese authorities ostensibly told Chinese residents that they could register for repatriation. But subsequently, among those who had done so, they arrested some and forcibly shipped others, along with persons subjected to "socialist transformation," to uninhabited "new economic zones" to fare as best they could. Under such persecution, many Chinese residents lost everything, members of their family and their worldly possessions and were even deprived of a livelihood. Even the family members of some revolutionary martyrs were not spared such persecution. Besides, tragic incidents have occurred from time to time of whole families drowning themselves, or people committing suicide by jumping from high buildings or burning themselves alive. In desperation, many Chinese residents from Ho Chi Minh City, Da Nang and other cities fled the country in small boats at great risks. Since the beginning of this year, thousands have had to return to China by way of north Viet Nam. Many who took part in your wars of liberation with their then Vietnamese comrades-in-arms have now become your victims. Why don't the Vietnamese authorities pause and give serious thought to the fact that the mass of Chinese residents, who made their contribution to the Vietnamese revolution, managed to stick it out and did not flee en masse from Viet Nam when they were under the rule of the U.S.-puppet regime, and yet are doing so now because they have been so persecuted as to have no other way to

turn to. What else does this signify other than that your policy towards Chinese residents in south Viet Nam is even more unbearable than the reactionary policy of the Ngo Dinh Diem regime? Shouldn't you bear full responsibility for this state of affairs?

A fair and reasonable solution to the differences and controversies between China and Viet Nam on the question of Chinese residents in south Viet Nam can still be found through consultations on an equal footing provided the two sides respect objective facts and share the genuine desire to uphold the traditional friendship between the two countries and peoples. It is in this spirit that the Chinese side proposes to the Vietnamese side that in seeking a settlement of the question of Chinese residents in south Viet Nam, the principles and spirit of the agreement between the two Parties on the question of Chinese residents in north Viet Nam should serve as the guide. Specifically, our suggestions are:

1. The Vietnamese Government should stop forthwith its discrimination against and ostracism, persecution and expulsion of the mass of Chinese residents in south Viet Nam. In the case of those displaced Chinese nationals who have suffered persecution and are without means of livelihood, the Vietnamese Government should allow them to return to their original places of residence in Viet Nam if they so desire and undertake to resettle them properly. Those who have been illegally arrested and put in jail should be freed at once. Illegally confiscated properties, particularly means of livelihood, accrued through labour by Chinese nationals should be returned or restituted, and the livelihood of the mass of Chinese residents should be guaranteed so that they may have no misgivings about staying on in south Viet Nam.

2. In conformity with the spirit of the 1955 agreement between the two Parties and in the light of the actual conditions in south Viet Nam, both the Chinese and the Vietnamese sides should try, through education and guidance, to effect the gradual adoption by Chinese residents there of Vietnamese nationality on a voluntary basis. With the understanding that the forced naturalization under the reactionary Ngo Dinh Diem regime is not to be recognized, the Chinese side will respect the desire of all those who have adopted Vietnamese nationality of their own free will either before or after the liberation of south Viet Nam. In order to create favourable conditions for the voluntary adoption of Vietnamese nationality by Chinese residents who have not yet done so, the Vietnamese Government should, for a certain period, follow the approach it took towards the Chinese residents in the North, accord them equal treatment, refrain from discrimination and, through patient persuasion and education, gradually guide them onto the course of adopting Vietnamese nationality. The Chinese side will render its co-operation and assistance in this regard and will actively encourage and urge these Chinese residents to adopt Vietnamese nationality, in line with its consistent policy.

As regards Chinese nationals who insist on retaining Chinese nationality, the Chinese side will enjoin them to abide by Vietnamese laws, respect local customs and habits and live in amity with the Vietnamese people. The Vietnamese side should protect their proper rights and interests.

It is hoped that the Vietnamese side will give serious consideration to the above suggestions.

In conclusion, I wish to reiterate that our two sides are holding negotiations under the premise that there are

Chinese nationals in south Viet Nam and that there are urgent questions there calling for solution. We consider this to be a most serious matter, and it is hoped that the Vietnamese side will not try to evade the issue.

Thank you.

**Statement by Chung Hsi-tung, Leader
of the Chinese Government Delegation,
at the Sixth Session
of the Sino-Vietnamese Talks**

(September 12, 1978)

Your Excellency Hoang Bich Son, Respected Head of the Government Delegation of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam,

Colleagues on the Vietnamese Government Delegation,

At the former sessions, we fully expounded the Chinese Government's consistent policy on overseas Chinese affairs and, with accurate facts and ample logic, refuted all the slanders and charges the Vietnamese side directed against China on the question of the Chinese nationals residing in Viet Nam. We also solemnly pointed out that the fundamental cause of the dispute between China and Viet Nam on the question of Chinese nationals is the Vietnamese policy of discrimination against and ostracism, persecution and expulsion of Chinese residents, which is in violation of the 1955 agreement between the Chinese and Vietnamese Parties. It is the Vietnamese side that has made things deteriorate to such an extent. The erroneous actions of the Vietnamese Government have gravely impaired the relationship of friendship and solidarity forged over many years by the two countries and

peoples. The Chinese Government and people are greatly pained by this situation, and we stand for friendly consultations to achieve an early and satisfactory solution to this question, holding that it will only do harm to the fundamental interests of our two peoples if the differences and disputes on the question of Chinese residents are allowed to develop.

The Chinese Government Delegation has come to Hanoi with the sincere desire to uphold the traditional friendship between the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples and seek an overall solution to the question of the Chinese residents. We genuinely hope that, with joint efforts of the two sides, the talks on Chinese residents between China and Viet Nam will yield positive results.

The Chinese Government Delegation has repeatedly and earnestly appealed to the Vietnamese side to return to the 1955 agreement between the Chinese and Vietnamese Parties on the question of the Chinese nationals, and it has explicitly proposed to take that agreement as the basic guide for an overall solution to the question of the Chinese residents in Viet Nam in these bilateral talks. Reality over the last twenty years or so fully proves that the 1955 agreement is in the fundamental interests of our two peoples. Even in the present state of Sino-Vietnamese relations it is still not difficult to find a proper solution to the question provided the 1955 agreement is strictly abided by.

At today's session, the Chinese Government Delegation would accordingly like to concentrate on our propositions for the settlement of the question of the Chinese residents in Viet Nam.

First, as the first step towards the settlement of this question, the Vietnamese side should forthwith stop its

discrimination against and ostracism, persecution and expulsion of Chinese residents. The Vietnamese side should receive, and make arrangements for the proper resettlement of, those Chinese nationals who have been driven by the Vietnamese side back to China and who are now willing to return to their original places of residence in Viet Nam. The Vietnamese side has the duty to take back to Viet Nam those Vietnamese citizens who have been driven to China by it.

Secondly, regarding the Chinese residents in north Viet Nam, the Chinese side, following the principles of the 1955 agreement between the two Parties, favours and encourages them, as before, to adopt Vietnamese nationality on a voluntary basis. As for those of Chinese origin who have already adopted Vietnamese nationality of their own accord, the Chinese side respects their choice of the Vietnamese nationality. The Vietnamese side is duty-bound to observe the provisions of that agreement and create favourable conditions for the Chinese residents to adopt Vietnamese nationality. The choice of nationality by Chinese residents must be based on the voluntary principle, and no coercion should be used to change their nationality. The comparatively few Chinese residents who insist on holding Chinese nationality can retain it after completing the necessary procedures.

Thirdly, regarding the Chinese residents in south Viet Nam, it was the agreed understanding at the 1955 discussions between the Chinese and Vietnamese Parties on the question of Chinese residents in Viet Nam that their problem would be resolved through consultations by the two countries after the liberation of south Viet Nam.

We propose that the Chinese and Vietnamese sides issue a joint statement, declaring illegal and null and void the

former decree of the reactionary Vietnamese Ngo Dinh Diem regime compelling Chinese residents to adopt Vietnamese nationality. The Chinese side is willing to abide by the 1955 understanding and principles agreed on between the two Parties in solving the question of Chinese residents in south Viet Nam. The Chinese Government encourages the Chinese residents in south Viet Nam to adopt Vietnamese nationality on a voluntary basis. In order to create favourable conditions under which they may adopt Vietnamese nationality, the Vietnamese Government should, in a certain period of time, act similarly as they did towards Chinese residents in north Viet Nam, give them equal treatment, refrain from discrimination and use patient persuasion and education to gradually guide them into adopting Vietnamese nationality of their own accord.

As for those people of Chinese origin who did adopt Vietnamese nationality of their own accord before or after the Ngo Dinh Diem regime published the above-mentioned decree, the Chinese Government will respect their choice and recognize them as being Vietnamese citizens without Chinese nationality. Those who insist on holding Chinese nationality can retain it after completing the necessary procedures.

Fourthly, as for those Chinese nationals residing in north and south Viet Nam who retain Chinese nationality, the Chinese Government will enjoin them to abide by Vietnamese laws, respect the Vietnamese people's ways and customs and live in amity with them. The Chinese Government hopes that the Vietnamese Government will safeguard the proper rights and interests of the Chinese residents in employment, education, medical care and

other welfare measures, and refrain from discrimination against them.

The above Chinese propositions for a proper solution to the question of Chinese residents in Viet Nam are based on the basic principles agreed on by the Chinese and Vietnamese Parties in 1955 on the question of Chinese residents in Viet Nam. They are in conformity with the fundamental interests of the two peoples and have taken into account the actual condition of the Chinese residents in Viet Nam. They embody the Chinese side's consistent and sincere desire to cherish and uphold the traditional friendship between the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples. They are most fair and reasonable.

We sincerely hope that the Vietnamese side will seriously study and consider these propositions of the Chinese side, taking into account the deep-seated desire of our two peoples. Provided this is done, it will not be difficult to find an answer to the questions referred to in the four points raised by the Vietnamese Government Delegation at the September 7 session. The Chinese Delegation is ready at all times to listen to comments by the Vietnamese side, and will do its best to facilitate good results from these talks.

Thank you.

**Statement by Chung Hsi-tung, Leader
of the Chinese Government Delegation,
at the Seventh Session
of the Sino-Vietnamese Talks**

(September 19, 1978)

Your Excellency Hoang Bich Son, Respected Head of the Government Delegation of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam,

Colleagues on the Vietnamese Government Delegation,

Since the beginning of the talks between the Chinese and Vietnamese Government Delegations on settling the question of Chinese nationals residing in Viet Nam, the Vietnamese side has in the talks again and again falsely accused China of "using the question of the Hoa people as a political trump card in pursuing a policy of hostility towards Viet Nam." Is it the Chinese side that uses the question of Chinese nationals as a "political trump card" to oppose Viet Nam? Or is it the Vietnamese authorities that use this question as a "political trump card" in pushing an anti-China policy? This issue must be clarified. Today, I would like to expound the position and views of the Chinese side on this issue.

1. The Chinese Government's policy towards overseas Chinese brooks no vilification.

In order to promote and develop friendly relations with countries hosting overseas Chinese and correctly resolve the question of overseas Chinese, the Chinese Government has never favoured the maintenance of dual nationality by overseas Chinese, but has been actively encouraging them to adopt the nationality of the country of their residence on a voluntary basis. Those people of Chinese origin who have acquired the nationality of the country of their residence no longer hold Chinese nationality. As for those overseas Chinese who retain Chinese nationality, the Chinese Government enjoins them to abide by the law of the country of their residence, respect the ways and customs of the people there and live in amity with them. Their proper rights and interests should be guaranteed by the government of the country of their residence. Of course, the Chinese Government has the duty to protect them, too. It is the hope of the Chinese Government that overseas Chinese serve as a bridge of friendship between the Chinese people and the people of the countries concerned. Such is China's consistent and fundamental policy on the question of overseas Chinese.

In your statements, Your Excellency Hoang Bich Son, Head of the Vietnamese Government Delegation, has said many times that from the mid '60s onward, that is, when "Viet Nam's War of Resistance Against U.S. Aggression and for National Salvation was at a tough and critical stage," China "exported its Cultural Revolution to Viet Nam" through the "Hoa people" in Viet Nam, and thus "created many complications for Viet Nam." This is a vicious slander and attack against China.

The Chinese Party and Government have always held that the revolution of a country is the business of its own

people. We have never exported revolution nor have we made use of overseas Chinese to export revolution. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China was the Chinese people's own business, we have never asked others to follow suit, nor have we interfered in other people's policies or lines. There was not the slightest slackening of our support and assistance to Viet Nam in its War of Resistance Against U.S. Aggression and for National Salvation although the leadership of the Vietnamese Party held differing views from the Chinese Party on certain questions. During the Great Cultural Revolution, though the Chinese people had many difficulties we still fulfilled our proletarian internationalist duty and did what we should in supporting and aiding the Vietnamese people. At that time, the Chinese people regarded the Vietnamese people's needs and desires as their own and gave what they had to Viet Nam first and tried their best to get for Viet Nam what they did not have. We can say without qualms that the Chinese people never balked at making the greatest sacrifices in their all-out assistance to the Vietnamese people in their War of Resistance Against U.S. Aggression and for National Salvation.

As to the errors made by individual Chinese comrades working in Viet Nam in contravention of the consistent policy of the Chinese Party and Government as a result of the interference of Lin Piao and the "gang of four" in the early period of the Cultural Revolution, the Chinese side adopted measures and had them corrected long ago. Chinese leaders spoke to the Vietnamese leaders about them many times, and the question was then settled. However, the Vietnamese side has now turned out much propaganda about this transitory and isolated phenom-

enon and wilfully distorted and exaggerated the facts, and fabricated a lot of things to accuse China of sabotaging the Vietnamese War of Resistance Against U.S. Aggression and for National Salvation. These clumsy acts were perpetrated out of a most vicious intention. That is, the Vietnamese side is making use of the question of Chinese nationals and the occasion of the talks to denigrate China's foreign policy and her policy towards overseas Chinese and to cover up its vicious anti-China and anti-Chinese conduct.

The Vietnamese Government Delegation has also asserted that the Chinese side "is fanning up feelings of 'blood heritage' among the Hoa people to stir up a campaign for Chinese nationality." This assertion is without foundation. You cannot find any evidence for that in statements of the Chinese Government and leaders or in any of the proposals put forward by the Chinese Government Delegation at these talks, nor can you find it in the activities of the Chinese Embassy.

The Chinese Government's consistent policy towards overseas Chinese was given expression in the 1955 agreement between the Chinese and Vietnamese Parties. This agreement affirms that the Chinese residing in Viet Nam should, on a voluntary basis, gradually become Vietnamese citizens after being given sustained and patient persuasion and education. During the current negotiations, the Chinese Government Delegation maintains that the disputes between the two countries on the question of Chinese residents should be solved on the principles and in the spirit of the 1955 agreement between the two Parties and in the light of the actual situation today. Even at a time when the Vietnamese authorities are aggravating its anti-China and anti-Chinese acts, the

Chinese side still stands for the gradual adoption of Vietnamese nationality by Chinese residents in Viet Nam on a voluntary basis. This was made clear in our four-point proposal put forward at the sixth session. The Chinese Government Delegation has time and again stated that as for those people of Chinese origin who have already adopted Vietnamese nationality of their own accord, both in south and north Viet Nam, the Chinese Government respects their choice of Vietnamese nationality. How can this be described as "fanning up feelings of blood heritage." You shut your eyes and turn a deaf ear to these proposals of the Chinese side. Doesn't this show that you are deliberately using this assertion to discredit China's policy towards overseas Chinese? As for the fact that some Chinese residents have misgivings about adopting Vietnamese nationality as a result of the Vietnamese authorities' erroneous policy and wrong practices towards Chinese residents after the nationwide liberation of Viet Nam, it is the Vietnamese authorities, and not the Chinese side, which should bear the full responsibility.

The Vietnamese Government Delegation has said in its statement that the Chinese side utilizes the "Hoa people" to oppose the transformation of industry and commerce in south Viet Nam, and slanderously accused China of "shielding and protecting Vietnamese capitalists of Chinese origin." This is wholly groundless. The Chinese side has never commented on and much less interfered with the policies pursued by the Vietnamese Government in industry and commerce and other domestic affairs. But on the pretext of industrial and commercial "transformation," the Vietnamese authorities have adopted the policy of plundering and persecuting the broad

mass of working Chinese residents who shed sweat and blood for the liberation of Viet Nam, and even deprived them of their means of subsistence and drove them back to China en masse. It was only in these circumstances that the Chinese side, in order to protect the proper rights and interests of Chinese residents in Viet Nam, asked the Vietnamese side to stop the persecution and expulsion of them. How can this be interpreted as opposing and sabotaging Viet Nam's industrial and commercial transformation? How can it be interpreted as "shielding and protecting Vietnamese capitalists of Chinese origin"?

The Vietnamese assertion about a so-called "secret-organization network" run by the Chinese side among the Chinese residents in south Viet Nam is sheer fabrication and vicious libel. About the question of Chinese residents in south Viet Nam, I already made clear explanations at the fifth session. The fact that you have time and again raised this trumped-up charge at the negotiations shows clearly that you are seeking a pretext for further persecuting and expelling the mass of Chinese residents in south Viet Nam and trying to poison the relations between China and those countries in which there are Chinese residents.

It is our position that the Chinese residents in Viet Nam should stay on there and live in amity with the Vietnamese people. Our position is not only in the interests of the Chinese who have lived in Viet Nam for generations but in those of the Vietnamese people as well, and, what's more, it will help uphold the friendship between the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples and improve the relations between the two countries. Our attitude is open and aboveboard. On your part, however, you have expelled more than a hundred thousand nationals of a friendly

neighbouring country and are continuing with the expulsion. From August 30 to September 6, at the border area in Tunghsing, Kwangsi alone, more than a thousand victimized Chinese nationals, including 216 in fifty households from Luc Lam Township, Mong Cai County, were driven back to China by the Vietnamese authorities. For military purposes, the Vietnamese authorities dispatched over two thousand military personnel from Haiphong to Xuan Hoa and Xuan Hai Townships, Mong Cai County, to "reclaim land," and ordered the Chinese nationals residing there to evacuate. The expulsion of Chinese nationals en masse by the Vietnamese authorities is unpopular at home and indefensible before international opinion. That is why you have tried to cover up the true story of your persecution and expulsion of Chinese nationals and hoodwink public opinion both at home and abroad by cooking up such lies as the Chinese leaders "have called on the Chinese nationals to go back to China," and "have initiated a campaign to force the Hoa people to migrate," and thus "created difficulties" for the construction of Viet Nam.

If the persecution and expulsion of Chinese nationals have brought shocks and disorder to the Vietnamese society and economy besides causing sufferings to the Chinese residents, it is very clear where the responsibility lies. It is the inevitable outcome of the anti-China and anti-Chinese policy pursued by the Vietnamese authorities. This is "reaping what you have sown." Yet, the Vietnamese side slanderously accused China of making use of the problem of the "Hoa people" to "create difficulties and disorder" for the Vietnamese side. This is shifting blame onto others. The Vietnamese authorities intend by this means to divert the Vietnamese people's

dissatisfaction with their anti-China and anti-Chinese policy and shift their responsibility onto the Vietnamese people. This is an attempt to fool your own masses.

Another thing must be pointed out. Among the more than 160,000 people driven back to China by the Vietnamese authorities, there are some Vietnamese citizens. Therefore, the Chinese side suggested that the Vietnamese side take them back. This is the Vietnamese side's bounden duty. But strangely, the suggestion was smeared as a "vicious plot" by the Vietnamese authorities who repeatedly announced that "those who have left Viet Nam for China may not return to Viet Nam." They also asserted that China already created difficulties for Viet Nam by luring away those people and now wants to create more difficulties for Viet Nam by sending them back. It even fabricated the big lie that the Chinese side "assembled tens of thousands of Hoa people and got ready thousands of rafts for illegal intrusion into Viet Nam," so as to support your assertion that China made use of those people to undermine the public order in Viet Nam. Here, the Vietnamese side deliberately mixed up Vietnamese citizens (including those of minority nationalities) and Chinese residents in Viet Nam with the purpose of shirking its responsibility towards its citizens as well as to confuse public opinion. If taking back those Vietnamese citizens would bring about public disorder and be a "threat to Viet Nam's security," wouldn't this show you have lost the minimum trust in your own citizens? You have driven your citizens to China and now refuse to re-admit any of them, wouldn't this be too inhuman?

2. Who is using the question of Chinese residents as a "political trump card"?

At the current negotiations, the Vietnamese side has again and again falsely accused the Chinese side of "using the problem of the Hoa people as a political trump card in pushing an anti-Viet Nam policy." But facts turn out to be just the opposite. It is none other than the Vietnamese authorities who have used the question of Chinese residents as a political trump card in pushing their anti-China policy. It is exactly to serve their anti-China policy that the Vietnamese authorities have been subjecting Chinese residents in Viet Nam to ostracism and expulsion.

After nationwide liberation, the Vietnamese authorities, out of their domestic and foreign policy needs, have changed their policy of friendship with China into one of hostility to China. But this fundamental change in policy goes against the will of the Vietnamese people and hence is unacceptable to them. The profound friendship between the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples forged through mutual support in the protracted revolutionary struggle and the intimate relations between the broad masses of the Chinese residents in Viet Nam and the Vietnamese people established in the long years of revolution and construction have taken root among the people. They inevitably constitute an obstacle to the Vietnamese authorities' pursuance of the anti-China policy. Therefore, the Vietnamese authorities have not only adopted high-handed measures to sever these relations but also made use of the question of Chinese residents in Viet Nam to incite national chauvinism among the Vietnamese people so as to instil into them hatred for the Chinese people. They have even used vicious language to slander and attack leaders of the Chinese Party and state and created tension and war horrors in an attempt to undermine the

traditional friendship between the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples.

The Vietnamese Government Delegation has fabricated a series of so-called border incidents to vilify the Chinese side as "carrying out harassing and provocative activities in Vietnamese border areas." For instance, it alleged that "China dispatched 100 odd hoodlums armed with weapons and cudgels to Vietnamese border area and made provocation" against the Vietnamese personnel who were on duty; it also alleged that "the Chinese side opened fire with sub-machine guns along the border line for as long as 30 minutes" and added that on its side of the border the Chinese side "tollled bells and blew whistles to create tension." You manufactured these "incidents" and exaggerated them in order to make them sound sensational, then you took up at the conference table these fabricated incidents which were outside the scope of negotiations on the questions of Chinese residents, and dwelt extensively on them. What does this really mean? Doesn't this prove that you are trying to turn this conference into an anti-China forum? Now you are not only using the question of the Chinese residents in Viet Nam to attack China but also creating more border incidents and aggravating the tension along the Sino-Vietnamese border in an attempt to incite national feelings among the Vietnamese people and attract their attention to your anti-China propaganda so as to attain your unspeakable aim.

What's more sinister is that the Vietnamese authorities have exerted themselves to foment discord between China and the Southeast Asian countries by making use of the question of overseas Chinese. It is known to all that owing to historical reasons there reside in Southeast

Asian countries vast numbers of overseas Chinese. In pursuance of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and its consistent policy towards overseas Chinese, the Chinese Government has already settled the question of overseas Chinese fairly well with some of these countries through friendly consultations. China is daily strengthening its friendly relations with them. However, the Vietnamese authorities, whether at the negotiation table, in their propaganda, or on diplomatic occasions are most vociferous in slandering China, accusing it of using the question of overseas Chinese to "interfere in the internal affairs of Viet Nam." The Soviet propaganda machine, on its part, is tirelessly mouthing similar anti-China nonsense. You have spread so many lies out of ulterior motives in an attempt to poison the friendly relations between China and the Southeast Asian countries. But all your attempts will be futile.

It is no longer a secret internationally that the Vietnamese authorities are using the question of Chinese nationals to oppose China. Like the Sino-Vietnamese border disputes and other disputes between the two countries, the question of Chinese residents in Viet Nam is being used as an excuse by the Vietnamese authorities for their anti-China activities, and as a part of their anti-China strategy.

Head of the Vietnamese Delegation Hoang Bich Son said: "Why should Viet Nam be anti-China? Viet Nam cannot benefit at all by this." The question is well put. Indeed, the Vietnamese authorities will do nothing good for the Vietnamese people by abandoning the policy of friendship with China and adopting an anti-China and anti-Chinese policy. Besides, we believe that this is by no means the will of the Vietnamese people. But the

present Vietnamese authorities assess it in an entirely different light. After the victory of the War of Resistance Against U.S. Aggression, the Vietnamese authorities thought that, with a powerful army and a huge stockpile of munitions, they could realize their long-cherished plan of "the Indochina federation" and proceed to establish their hegemony in Southeast Asia. To this end, the Vietnamese authorities have launched a war of aggression against Democratic Kampuchea in a plot to subvert its revolutionary regime and stationed massive troops in some country in an attempt to control the whole of Indochina and then go on to expand to Southeast Asia.

In seeking regional hegemonism, the Vietnamese authorities have the need of a patron. As a matter of fact, it has long made up its mind to make the Soviet Union its ideal patron. As for the Soviet Union, it wants to push its global hegemonism and control the Southeast Asian countries as well as the routes linking the Pacific and the Indian Ocean, thus threatening the oil transport routes to Japan and other countries and strengthening its strategic position in its rivalry for hegemony with the United States in the West Pacific. Therefore it needs the service of Viet Nam's regional hegemonism and wants it to play the "role of an outpost in Southeast Asia." The Soviet Union has the need to use Viet Nam while Viet Nam has the need of Soviet patronage, and such is the relationship between the two. China is a socialist country, and China is resolutely opposed to hegemonism practised by any country and, therefore, it has become a tremendous obstacle to hegemonism. This is the true background and root cause of the anti-China activities jointly perpetrated by the Soviet Union and Viet Nam.

As I stated at the previous sessions, the Chinese Government Delegation has come to Hanoi to negotiate with the Vietnamese side for the purpose of seeking an overall solution to the disputes on the question of Chinese nationals residing in Viet Nam. I did not intend to speak at the negotiation table on issues not related to the present negotiations. However, the Vietnamese Delegation launched a vicious all-round attack on China at the fifth session and slandered China by saying that "the Chinese authorities are carrying out a scheme of expansionism and big-power hegemonism," therefore I cannot but make the necessary reply.

Thank you.

**Statement by Chung Hsi-tung, Leader
of the Chinese Government Delegation,
at the Eighth Session
of the Sino-Vietnamese Talks**

(September 26, 1978)

Your Excellency Hoang Bich Son, Respected Head of the Government Delegation of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam,

Colleagues on the Vietnamese Government Delegation,

The talks on the question of Chinese nationals residing in Viet Nam between the Chinese and Vietnamese Government Delegations have lasted for nearly two months.

The mass of Chinese residents in Viet Nam, the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples and all people in the world who are concerned about Sino-Vietnamese relations are following closely the current talks with anxiety. They earnestly hope that the talks will yield positive results so that the friendship between China and Viet Nam will be maintained and their relations improved. The Chinese Government Delegation is keenly aware of the responsibility incumbent on the two sides for these talks. We should by no means fail to live up to the expectations of the people of our two countries and the people of the whole world.

The Chinese Government has always maintained that disputes between nations should be settled through negotiations in a spirit of friendly consultation, mutual understanding and mutual accommodation. It is from this position that the Chinese Government has settled fairly well with several countries the question of overseas Chinese in these countries in accordance with its consistent policy on this question. This is a fact known to all.

As to the disputes between China and Viet Nam on the question of Chinese nationals, the Chinese Government, proceeding from the same position, had the hope of seeking a prompt solution through private consultations and made unremitting efforts to this end. However, the Vietnamese side did not respond to the goodwill and efforts of the Chinese side. On the contrary, it has escalated its anti-China and anti-Chinese activities and intensified its discrimination against and ostracism, persecution and expulsion of Chinese nationals. As a result, over 160,000 Chinese nationals and Vietnamese citizens have been driven to China. Although there emerged such a grave situation, the Chinese Government still took the initiative to propose the holding of talks at the vice-foreign minister level between the two Governments for an overall settlement of the question of Chinese nationals.

Throughout these talks, the Chinese Government Delegation has explained patiently and in detail China's consistent policy towards overseas Chinese and analysed in earnest the cause of the disputes between China and Viet Nam over the question of Chinese residents. Proceeding from the actual situation and the sincere desire for a settlement, the Chinese Delegation has put forward

principled propositions and a series of fair and reasonable proposals for a comprehensive settlement of the disputes between China and Viet Nam on the question of Chinese residents, including proposals on specific matters calling for immediate solution. Regrettably, however, these propositions and proposals were completely negated and rejected by the Vietnamese side.

(1) We hold that there are Chinese nationals residing in both north and south Viet Nam. With the nationwide liberation of Viet Nam, the Vietnamese authorities completely changed the policies they used to adopt towards Chinese residents and took erroneous measures of discrimination against and ostracism, persecution and expulsion of them. This gave rise to very grave consequences, created many complexities and led to disputes between China and Viet Nam on the question of Chinese nationals. This is the stark reality which no one can deny by any means. And that is why it was necessary for the two sides to sit down and seek a reasonable solution through negotiations. However, the Vietnamese side has flatly denied the existence of Chinese nationals in north and south Viet Nam, asserting that all Chinese nationals "have already become Vietnamese citizens" except a few who hold identity cards issued in Taiwan and Hongkong, that the question was solved long ago and there is no longer any need to discuss it and that if the Chinese side wants to discuss it, that is "interference in Viet Nam's internal affairs."

(2) We have pointed out that there is the 1955 agreement between the Chinese and Vietnamese Parties on the question of Chinese nationals residing in Viet Nam. The practice of the past twenty years and more has proved that this agreement provides the correct guidelines for

solving the question of Chinese residents in Viet Nam. As the Vietnamese side, after the nationwide liberation of Viet Nam, went back on the 1955 agreement between the two Parties and adopted an erroneous policy, there has arisen the present grave situation with regard to the question of Chinese residents in Viet Nam. Therefore, the key to a settlement of the disputes between the two countries over this question is to revert to the 1955 agreement between the two Parties. The Vietnamese side, however, has assumed the attitude of completely negating the 1955 inter-Party agreement. It maintains that the agreement is outdated and no longer applicable to the Chinese residents in north Viet Nam. As for the Chinese residents in south Viet Nam, it denies that any agreement has been reached on them at all, not to speak of implementing it.

(3) We have justly demanded that, as the first step towards a solution, the Vietnamese side should stop its erroneous practice of discrimination against and ostracism, persecution and expulsion of Chinese nationals and guarantee their proper rights and interests. This is merely asking the Vietnamese side to act on general international principles. Nevertheless, the Vietnamese side slanderously dubs the above-mentioned Chinese proposal as "unreasonable and truculent" and alleges that "this question will never be solved."

(4) Regarding the nationality of the Chinese residents in north Viet Nam, we have proposed that the Vietnamese side should, in keeping with the spirit of the 1955 agreement between the two Parties, gradually guide Chinese nationals towards adopting Vietnamese nationality on a voluntary basis by patient persuasion and education and not by coercion. The Chinese Government

will, as always, continue to encourage and advise the Chinese there to adopt Vietnamese nationality on a voluntary basis. Regarding all those of Chinese origin who have adopted Vietnamese nationality of their own accord, the Chinese side will respect their choice of Vietnamese nationality. But the Vietnamese side refuses outright to give any consideration to this proposal which has solid legal grounds and is based on goodwill and sincerity.

(5) Regarding the nationality of the Chinese residents in south Viet Nam, we have proposed that the two sides, in keeping with the spirit and principles of the 1955 inter-Party agreement and in the light of the actual conditions in south Viet Nam, should advise and guide them gradually towards adopting Vietnamese nationality on a voluntary basis. With the proviso that forced naturalization under the reactionary Ngo Dinh Diem regime is not to be recognized, the Chinese side will respect the desire of all those who adopted Vietnamese nationality of their own free will either before or after the liberation of south Viet Nam. In order to create favourable conditions for the voluntary adoption of Vietnamese nationality by Chinese residents who have not yet done so, the Vietnamese Government should, during a set period, accord them equal treatment as it did to the Chinese residents in the north. The Chinese side will render its co-operation and assistance and will actively encourage and urge them to adopt Vietnamese nationality. This is a rational proposal which accords with the reality in south Viet Nam; but it, too, was rejected by the Vietnamese side.

(6) As regards those Chinese residing in north and south Viet Nam who insist on holding Chinese nationality, the Chinese Government enjoins them to abide by the

laws of Viet Nam, respect the local ways and customs and live in amity with the Vietnamese people. It hopes that the Vietnamese Government will safeguard their proper rights and interests in employment, education, medical care and other welfare measures, and will refrain from discriminating against them. In fact, the rights and interests the Chinese side requests the Vietnamese side to ensure the Chinese nationals residing in Viet Nam are far less than those the Chinese Government has long granted to the Vietnamese nationals residing in China. Even so, the Vietnamese side turns a deaf ear to the Chinese proposal.

(7) Regarding the Vietnamese citizens who have been driven into China by the Vietnamese authorities, the Chinese side has held that the Vietnamese side is duty-bound to receive them back to Viet Nam and proposed that consultations on this specific problem be held so that an agreement may be reached. As for Chinese nationals driven back to China by the Vietnamese side who still have relatives in Viet Nam, the Chinese side asks the Vietnamese side to receive and properly resettle those among them who wish to return to their original places of residence in Viet Nam. This is a just demand which the Chinese side made with a view to alleviating the grave consequences caused by the Vietnamese authorities' pursuance of the policy of persecuting and expelling Chinese nationals, but the Vietnamese side categorically turned it down and repeatedly asserted that "those who have gone to China may not return to Viet Nam."

In a word, the Vietnamese side has insolently rejected all the principled propositions and important proposals put forward by the Chinese side, arbitrarily dismissed them as "of no practical significance" and slandered us

as "making use of the question of the Hoa people to realize the scheme of opposing and antagonizing Viet Nam." The crux of the Vietnamese side's "four points" is its demand that China should "stop using the Hoa people to interfere in the internal affairs of Viet Nam," which in essence harbours the design to use this trumped-up charge as a pretext for anti-China propaganda. As to the second and third of the four points, which deal with the exit procedures for "Hoa people" and Chinese residents wishing to leave Viet Nam for China, they in fact represent an attempt to legalize continuation of the expulsion of Chinese residents by the Vietnamese authorities. The Vietnamese side has all along failed to put forward any principled and constructive proposals for a comprehensive settlement of the question of Chinese residents in Viet Nam. In this way it has shut the door to negotiations.

But this is not all. Throughout the talks the Vietnamese side has created a series of violent incidents of expelling, kidnapping, arresting and even killing Chinese nationals at border passes and in its capital Hanoi. Negotiation has become a fraud used by the Vietnamese side to camouflage violence. A typical example is the Vietnamese "proposal" at the talks for settling the question of the victimized Chinese who are stranded at the border.

Regarding the victimized Chinese nationals driven away by the Vietnamese side and stranded on the Vietnamese side of the Sino-Vietnamese border, the Chinese side has suggested many times that the Vietnamese side should through persuasion send them back to their original places of residence, resettle them properly and take effective measures to ensure their personal safety, livelihood and employment. The problem could have been solved properly according to the above-mentioned

Chinese proposal. However, the Vietnamese side, while suggesting on August 19 that the leaders of the two Delegations jointly issue a draft "appeal" which was actually aimed at shifting onto the Chinese side the responsibility for the state of the victimized Chinese stranded at the border, in the afternoon of the same day created at Yu Yi Kuan the violent incident of assaulting victimized Chinese and driving two or three hundred of them across the border to Chinese territory. While indicating its readiness to comment on the Chinese draft "announcement" at the fourth session scheduled for August 25, the Vietnamese side amassed nearly one thousand troops and police in a secret emergency deployment to ruthlessly suppress and expel victimized Chinese nationals, thus creating a grave incident of bloodshed at Yu Yi Kuan on the same day. Then, the Head of the Vietnamese Delegation Hoang Bich Son declared at the fourth session held the next day that the Chinese draft "announcement" was "unacceptable," thus erasing this item from the agenda at the negotiating table, an item the Vietnamese forces had "settled" by violence.

Similar incidents also occurred when Chinese nationals residing in various parts of Viet Nam were compelled to go to Hanoi to complete the procedures for repatriation. Employing the tactics of fabrication and blame-shifting at the negotiating table, the Vietnamese side demanded that the Chinese side "should not incite the Hoa people to pour into Hanoi from other parts of Viet Nam to disturb order in the capital." Meanwhile it dispatched armed public security personnel in the night of August 11-12 to use water hose and tear gas against the hundred-odd Chinese nationals in a hotel near the Hanoi railway station and forcibly took them away and put some of

them in prison. In this way, the Vietnamese authorities replaced negotiation with force and "settled" by force the question of victimized Chinese who were supposed to go to Hanoi to complete formalities for their repatriation.

The above-mentioned facts suffice to prove that the Vietnamese authorities do not have any intention to settle questions through negotiation. What they believe in is force. The Vietnamese authorities put forward proposals at the negotiating table only to shield their acts of violence. The violent incidents created by the Vietnamese side were premeditated schemes designed to undermine the talks.

The process of the talks also reveals that, for the Vietnamese authorities, the real purpose of the talks is not to settle the question of Chinese nationals but to vilify China and fool the Vietnamese people and world opinion. The talks have been used as a forum for anti-China propaganda by the Vietnamese authorities.

As a matter of fact, every session and every statement of the Vietnamese Delegation has provided the Vietnamese press, radio and T.V. with important materials for their anti-China propaganda, and have kept busy the Vietnamese authorities and their diplomats throughout the world. Moreover, the Vietnamese propaganda machine has supplemented the statements of the Head of the Vietnamese Delegation by churning out vilifications and rumours of its own. With the rapid escalation of the Vietnamese authorities' anti-China activities and their measures to undermine the talks, the Vietnamese side eventually revealed its true purposes by casting away its graceful disguise at the negotiating table and pouring out abuses. It slandered the Chinese Delegation as using the

same language as the "personnel of the CIA, comprador capitalists, active counter-revolutionaries and incorrigible personnel of the puppet army and government." It also tried to stick on China the labels of "expansionism," "hegemonism" and "international reaction" and resorted to flagrant personal attacks against Chinese Party and state leaders. Thus the Vietnamese side has turned solemn diplomatic negotiations between governments into a forum for its despicable anti-China propaganda.

In short, the basic attitude of the Vietnamese side at these talks is: First, having absolutely no intention to solve through negotiations any dispute between China and Viet Nam on the question of Chinese nationals. Secondly, using the talks to camouflage violence, and using violence to undermine the talks. Thirdly, turning the talks into a forum for its anti-China propaganda.

The above-described attitude of the Vietnamese authorities towards the talks is by no means accidental. It is the offspring of their basic anti-China and anti-Chinese policy. The deterioration of the talks to such an extent in less than two months' time is correlated to the escalation of the anti-China activities of the Vietnamese authorities over the same period. In particular, the drastic escalation of their anti-China activities round the time of the National Day of Viet Nam has inevitably been reflected at the negotiating table.

Reviewing the whole process of the Sino-Vietnamese talks at vice-foreign minister level, we cannot help feeling deeply grieved and drawing the following conclusion against our will: The Vietnamese side has no intention to resolve through negotiations either important matters of principle, or any specific and urgent matters. We have been waiting all the time. But the talks have so far yield-

ed no results and, for the moment, we see no signs that things will take a turn for the better.

We pointed out before that the ostracism of Chinese nationals by the Vietnamese authorities was part of its anti-China policy. Your switch from a policy of friendship towards China to an anti-China policy was prompted by the needs of Viet Nam and also by those of the Soviet Union. Your attitude at these talks further proves that the anti-China policy is your established policy. In order to push regional hegemonism, the Vietnamese authorities need to use the question of Chinese nationals to sow discord between China and the Southeast Asian countries, and so at these talks they repeatedly accused China of using the "Hoa people" as a "political trump card" for interfering in the internal affairs of other countries. The Soviet Union, in order to seek hegemony in Southeast Asia, has also tried hard to attack China on the question of Chinese nationals, slandering overseas Chinese as a "fifth column." Echoing each other, you are playing the same tune on different instruments. Now we have grounds for saying further that sabotage of the talks is likewise based on the needs of Viet Nam and those of the Soviet Union. The Soviet authorities have been gleeful over the fact that the Vietnamese authorities have escalated their anti-China activities and closed the door on negotiations.

The *Izvestia Weekly* said bluntly in its August 28 issue that "the present Chinese leaders pose a grave danger to the cause of peace. One should not be reconciled with them, nor should one abet them by any means." It is by no means accidental that you are singing in harmony, one in the south and the other in the north. From the above-mentioned facts the Vietnamese people, the

Chinese people and the people of the whole world will get to the underlying cause for the lack of progress at these talks.

It must be pointed out that the Vietnamese authorities' practice of following the Soviet Union's anti-China policy, turning a blind eye to reality and refusing to solve any problem has not only brought long sufferings to the masses of Chinese residents in Viet Nam. It runs counter to the fundamental interests of the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples. It is of no help to upholding the traditional friendship between the two peoples and does not conform with the desires of the people of the world who are concerned about peace in Southeast Asia.

As the Vietnamese side has simply no intention of discussing and solving problems, and has closed the door to negotiations, it is impossible for the talks to go on. This state of affairs is the making of the Vietnamese side alone. The Chinese Government Delegation deeply regrets it. Faced with this reality, we are forced to suggest the need of an adjournment of the talks between the Chinese and Vietnamese Vice-Foreign Ministers. The Chinese Delegation will soon return to China to report on its work. However, we still have hopes for an eventual settlement of the question of Chinese residents in Viet Nam through negotiations. Our sincerity is consistent. We sincerely hope that the Vietnamese side will give earnest and serious consideration to the Chinese side's propositions and proposals. Whenever the Vietnamese side shows a sincere desire to settle the disputes on the question of Chinese residents in Viet Nam through negotiations, makes a positive response to the Chinese propositions and proposals or puts forward its own principled and constructive suggestions for a comprehensive settlement of

the question — that will be welcome to us. On China's part, the door to negotiations is always open.

It is our earnest hope that the Vietnamese Government will create no more incidents on the question of Chinese residents but will truly safeguard their personal safety and proper rights and interests.

A long journey tests a horse's strength, a long acquaintance shows you a man's heart. The Chinese Government's consistent policy towards overseas Chinese can stand tests. The Chinese Government's sincerity for settling the Sino-Vietnamese disputes on the question of Chinese residents through negotiations can stand tests. The Chinese Government's patience on this question can also stand tests. We will never spare our efforts.

The Chinese Government and people always value the friendship and unity between the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples. We are sure that the desire of the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples and the people of the whole world for a settlement of the Sino-Vietnamese disputes through friendly consultations will be satisfied.

Thank you.

Lies Cannot Cover Up Facts

by Renmin Ribao Commentator

The Vietnamese authorities' ostracizing and persecuting Chinese nationals, which have been going on for some time, have shocked the Chinese people. They are greatly pained by the Vietnamese authorities' unbridled acts of trampling underfoot the profound friendship sealed between the peoples of China and Viet Nam during protracted revolutionary struggles, and extremely angered at the flood of anti-China slanders unleashed by the Vietnamese authorities.

The Vietnamese authorities early last year set about a purposeful and planned line of action on instructions to ostracize, persecute and expel large numbers of Chinese nationals in Viet Nam. The actions to drive out Chinese nationals have gone from bad to worse since last April. They have been escalated into a large-scale movement to ostracize and oppose the Chinese. By June 7, the number of victimized Chinese nationals who have been driven out by the Vietnamese authorities and have reached China exceeded 110,000. The Vietnamese authorities have at the same time used all mass media and every kind of sophistry and denial in arbitrarily distorting facts and fabricating lies to mislead world public opinion and have even tried to shift the responsibility onto the Chinese side.

But lies cannot cover up facts.

With regard to Chinese residing abroad, the Chinese Government has consistently favoured and encouraged their voluntarily choosing the nationality of their countries of residence and taken exception to the practice of compelling them to change their nationality; overseas Chinese who have voluntarily chosen and acquired the nationality of their countries of residence automatically lose their Chinese nationality; those who keep their Chinese nationality are urged to obey the laws of their countries of residence, to respect the local people's customs and habits and to be on friendly terms with the people there; the Chinese Government has the duty to protect the legitimate rights and interests of overseas Chinese and also hopes that their countries of residence protect these legitimate rights and interests. This is the consistent principled stand of the Chinese Government on the question of overseas Chinese; Chinese nationals residing in Viet Nam are no exception.

In order to justify their ostracizing and persecuting Chinese nationals, the Vietnamese authorities have asserted that the two Parties of China and Viet Nam agreed through consultation in 1955 that "Chinese nationals in Viet Nam will be under the leadership of the Vietnamese Workers' Party and gradually be naturalized," as if China had taken a certain stand on the question of Chinese nationals in Viet Nam which was at variance with China's consistent stand. This is a sleight of hand aimed at deliberately distorting the content of the agreement between the two Parties of China and Viet Nam.

The facts are: In 1955, the two Parties of China and Viet Nam, as close fraternal Parties, acknowledged after consultation that Chinese residing in north Viet Nam, on

condition of their enjoying the same rights as the Vietnamese, and after being given sustained and patient persuasion and ideological education, may by steps adopt Vietnamese nationality voluntarily. These principles, which were agreed upon by the Chinese and Vietnamese sides, fully conform to the consistent principled stand taken by the Chinese Government on the question of overseas Chinese. Now, proving unworthy of the trust and goodwill that the Chinese side reposed in the Vietnamese side, the Vietnamese authorities describe the Chinese nationals in north Viet Nam as in effect "having all become Vietnamese citizens," thus creating a false impression that the Chinese nationals in north Viet Nam have all become Vietnamese citizens automatically. They evade the principle of voluntary choice which must be followed in taking Vietnamese nationality. In doing this, the Vietnamese authorities are deliberately going back on their word and distorting the agreement between the Chinese and Vietnamese Parties.

What is still more absurd is that the Vietnamese authorities have gone so far as to assert that "back in 1956 almost all the Chinese residents in south Viet Nam adopted Vietnamese nationality. They are no longer Chinese nationals but Vietnamese of Chinese origin." This is unadulterated nonsense.

Everybody knows that south Viet Nam in 1955 was still under the rule of the Ngo Dinh Diem traitorous clique. The Chinese and Vietnamese Parties agreed then that the question of the Chinese residing in south Viet Nam was to be solved through consultations between the two sides after the liberation of south Viet Nam. In 1956 and 1957 the Ngo Dinh Diem traitorous clique repeatedly promulgated reactionary decrees compelling the Chinese

residents in south Viet Nam to change their nationality. The Chinese side issued a statement in May 1957 strongly condemning and protesting against the south Vietnamese authorities' practice of violating the principle of voluntary choice and unilaterally and unreasonably forcing Chinese residents to change their nationality, and expounding the principled stand of the Chinese Government on the question of the nationality of overseas Chinese. In the wake of the statement of the Chinese side, *Nhan Dan*, organ of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Viet Nam, carried a number of articles and news reports in May and June of 1957 supporting China's stand and strongly condemning the intrigues of the Ngo Dinh Diem clique. From 1960 to 1968 the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation issued several proclamations announcing the abrogation of all decrees and measures by the puppet regime of south Viet Nam with regard to Chinese nationals and giving them the right of voluntary choice of nationality. The many declarations and guarantees previously given by the Vietnamese authorities for the reasonable solution of the question of Chinese residents in south Viet Nam are written down and recorded and can in no way be erased.

But the Vietnamese authorities now go so far as to declare to the whole world that the Ngo Dinh Diem traitorous clique's reactionary policy towards the Chinese residents is their own policy. They even proclaim that they have inherited all the reactionary policies and decrees of the south Vietnamese puppet regime to force the Chinese nationals to be naturalized and all the consequences that follow, thus casting all their own promises, declarations and guarantees to the winds. We may ask the Vietnamese authorities: What honour will you

gain by putting yourselves on a par with the Ngo Dinh Diem clique? Such acts of perfidy on the part of the Vietnamese authorities, which are rarely seen in present-day international relations, and their vilification of the Chinese side as "distorting the Vietnamese Government's policy towards Chinese in Viet Nam," are by no means open and aboveboard.

It is an indisputable fact that there are large numbers of Chinese nationals in both north and south Viet Nam. If the Vietnamese authorities abide by the principle agreed upon between the Chinese and Vietnamese Parties, the overseas Chinese question can be properly solved in both north and south Viet Nam. Although the Chinese side called this to their attention and made representations, the Vietnamese authorities, to serve their domestic and foreign policy needs, have intensified their acts of discriminating against and persecuting Chinese residents, depriving large numbers of Chinese residing in Viet Nam of their livelihood and even compelling them to return to China. All this has been deliberately brought about by the Vietnamese authorities.

Shirking their responsibility, the Vietnamese authorities allege that the exodus of Chinese residents is caused by "rumours" spread by "certain bad elements among the Hoa people" and is "a deliberate act" and a "farce" "directed by the Chinese side." These are crude fabrications of the Vietnamese authorities.

During the years of arduous war in Viet Nam the masses of Chinese residents stood every severe test and went through thick and thin with the Vietnamese people without complaint and none wavered or asked to return to China. Why is it then that today, they can be fright-

ened by certain "rumours" and return? How can such unreasonable arguments be convincing?

Furthermore, if there are such "rumours" floating around in Viet Nam as the Vietnamese authorities claim, why don't they explain the agreement between the Chinese and Vietnamese sides on the overseas Chinese question to the Chinese residents and give the lie to such "rumours" by treating the Chinese residents correctly and thereby stopping the circulation of such "rumours" and setting their minds at ease? Can it be that the Vietnamese authorities are unable to deal with so trifling a thing as "rumours"?

The facts are that large numbers of Chinese residents are leaving for China not because of "rumours" but because of the Vietnamese authorities' set policy of ostracizing and opposing the Chinese. Rumours do exist, but the rumours were fabricated and spread by none other than the Vietnamese authorities themselves. According to revelations by expelled Chinese nationals who have reached China, there have been circulating in Viet Nam for some time quite a lot of calculated, anti-China rumours to the effect that "China supports Kampuchea in opposing Viet Nam," and that "war will break out between China and Viet Nam," etc. Not a few Vietnamese officials and public security personnel have used these rumours to intimidate or coerce Chinese residents into leaving for China. Ever since the outbreak of conflict on the border of Viet Nam and Kampuchea, some Vietnamese diplomatic officials have launched unjust accusations and attacks against China. They also say that an "abnormal situation" has arisen along the Sino-Vietnamese border and that China is "calling for an attack on Viet Nam." The Vietnamese mass media have stepped

up their innuendoes against China to exacerbate Sino-Vietnamese relations. That all this echoes so well the rumours going around in Viet Nam fully shows that the rumours were deliberately concocted by the Vietnamese authorities.

The Vietnamese authorities insist that they "have not discriminated against the Chinese residents in the least" and that "compared with the rights enjoyed by overseas Chinese living in other countries, nobody of Chinese descent anywhere enjoys more equal treatment than those in Viet Nam and the same rights." We would like to ask: If the conditions are as "wonderful" as you say, why have as many as over 100,000 Chinese residing in Viet Nam returned to China at the risk of their lives in so short a time? Is it because they are reluctant to enjoy the "preferential" treatment you have given them in the land where they have lived for so many years? It is known to all that since early last year the Vietnamese authorities have resorted to every trick to discriminate against and persecute Chinese nationals politically, economically and culturally, causing them great hardships and misery. They forced Chinese residents to register as Vietnamese nationals on the pretext of taking a general census. Many Chinese residents who insisted on keeping their Chinese nationality were deprived of the right to employment and education. They were sacked for no reason at all. Their residence registration was annulled and their food ration stopped. Local Vietnamese authorities and public security personnel wilfully and illegally broke into their houses, ordering them to fill out the "Form of Voluntary Repatriation" and taking the opportunity to search and extort. Property accumulated through hard work over the years by the Chi-

nese was illegally confiscated and many Chinese families had no way to feed and clothe themselves and could hardly keep body and soul together. Such is the "preferential" treatment given the Chinese residents by the Vietnamese authorities! Such "preferential" treatment has left the Chinese residents no way out, and yet the Vietnamese authorities claim that they have shown "extreme patience and magnanimity towards Chinese residents." This is the height of hypocrisy!

To cover up their crimes of persecuting Chinese residents in south Viet Nam, the Vietnamese authorities say that they are carrying out "socialist transformation" and waging "class struggle" there and attack China's objection to the persecution of Chinese residents as an act of "interfering in internal affairs." This is malicious slander. Anyone with an elementary knowledge of Marxism-Leninism knows that the target of the socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce is the capitalists and the way to achieve this is to deprive them of the private ownership of the means of production. Hoang Tung, Member of the Vietnamese Communist Party Central Committee, admitted recently in Japan that among the "Hoa people" in south Viet Nam, "the number of working people makes up the overwhelming majority, about 100 times that of the capitalists." This clearly shows that the overwhelming majority of the Chinese residents in south Viet Nam are working people and not capitalists. Apart from forcing all Chinese residents to adopt Vietnamese nationality, the Vietnamese authorities are depriving large numbers of Chinese working people of their means of livelihood and then driving them out in dire poverty. This constitutes an undisguis-

ed persecution and plunder of Chinese residents and makes a mockery of socialism.

Both history and reality prove beyond doubt that the Vietnamese authorities' ostracizing, persecuting and expelling of Chinese residents are planned and deliberate acts of perfidy. Though they have a guilty conscience, the Vietnamese authorities still pretend to be upright and honest, trying to pass off black as white and shift the blame onto others. They tamper with at will and deny outright the agreement they made after consultations; they shove onto others the responsibility for atrocities which they themselves have committed; they slander others as having a "deliberate" plan when they have devised an elaborate plan for ostracizing and persecuting the Chinese residents; they charge others as "inconsistent," when they break old friendship; they feign to be so temperate, kind, courteous, restrained and magnanimous and demand that negotiations be held concerning the problem of the "Hoa people," when they unscrupulously persecute the Chinese residents. Not open and aboveboard in the least, such acts are double-dealing pure and simple.

It must be pointed out that the Vietnamese authorities' acts of ostracizing large numbers of Chinese residents and forcing them to leave for China have brought great difficulties to China. The Vietnamese authorities, however, put the blame on China, alleging that China wanted to "create difficulties for Viet Nam's socialist construction." This trick of the Vietnamese authorities putting the blame on the victim is really shocking. The Chinese people who lived frugally never stinted tremendous national sacrifices to aid the Vietnamese people in their wars against French and U.S. aggression and later

in their post-war rehabilitation and reconstruction. The Vietnamese authorities know better than anybody else how much aid the People's Republic of China has given Viet Nam. Now you are not only deliberately ostracizing and opposing Chinese residents but even slandering China as "creating difficulties" for Viet Nam. This vile behaviour of yours is enough to cast a chill over one.

It should be noted that the anti-China activities of the Vietnamese authorities have received support and drawn applause from Soviet social-imperialism. The Soviet press slanders China as "inciting" the overseas Chinese question and "interfering in the internal affairs of Viet Nam," and so on. When the Vietnamese authorities were busy with their wholesale expulsion of Chinese nationals in April this year, the Soviet propaganda machine worked in co-ordination by whipping up ill feelings against the victims and went so far as to call overseas Chinese "enemies" and supported the persecution to the hilt. Furthermore, the Soviet Union has published many articles and news items to spread rumours and vilify Chinese residing in Southeast Asia in an attempt to sow discord in relations between China and Southeast Asian countries. All these activities demonstrate that Soviet social-imperialism is the behind-the-scenes provocateur and the supporter of the Vietnamese authorities in ostracizing Chinese residents and attacking China.

The Chinese and Vietnamese peoples have a long tradition of friendship. In the hard times of the war against the French colonialists and the war of resistance to U.S. aggression, the peoples of the two countries shared weal and woe, and supported and encouraged each other. Chinese residents in Viet Nam have lived for generations in friendship with the Vietnamese people and have taken

an active part in the revolution and construction of Viet Nam. It was Chairman Mao Tsetung and President Ho Chi Minh who personally nurtured this profound friendship during their lifetime. It has taken deep roots among the peoples of the two countries. It is in the basic interest of the peoples of China and Viet Nam, and it is also their common aspiration, to consolidate and develop their revolutionary friendship and unity. Many Vietnamese people have shown great sympathy and given great help to Chinese residents when they were persecuted and forced out by the Vietnamese authorities. This shows that the expulsion of Chinese residents and sabotaging of China-Viet Nam friendship by the Vietnamese authorities are against the will of the Vietnamese people, too. The Chinese people will continue to make sustained efforts to safeguard their traditional friendship with the people of Viet Nam. We sincerely hope that the Vietnamese authorities will immediately stop all acts of ostracizing, persecuting and expelling Chinese residents and refrain from actions detrimental to the friendship and sentiments of the two peoples. If the Vietnamese authorities are bent on keeping to their present path they will in the end only hurt themselves.

(June 10, 1978)

Who Is the Instigator?

by Renmin Ribao Commentator

What is the role of the Soviet leadership in the campaign of ostracizing, persecuting and expelling Chinese residents launched by the Vietnamese authorities? Anyone who respects facts can see how Moscow is exulting at Viet Nam's campaign against China and Chinese residents in Viet Nam, as if it had come across a windfall. With the escalation of Viet Nam's campaign, the Soviet Union has come on the scene to bluster and cheer, so much so that Moscow is obviously regarding itself as Viet Nam's guardian. The Kremlin is openly urging Viet Nam to press ahead with its anti-China and anti-Chinese activities to the very end. It is now very clear that the Soviet leadership is the main backer and instigator of the anti-China and anti-Chinese campaign in Viet Nam.

Viet Nam's large-scale expulsion of Chinese residents began in April this year, and it was then that the Soviet Union collaborated closely with Viet Nam over the question of Chinese nationals residing in Viet Nam and venomously vilified China. Major Soviet mouthpieces such as *Pravda*, *Izvestia*, *Red Star*, TASS and Radio Moscow opened up with a barrage of anti-China commentaries, articles and features. Evidently, they are making it their job to attack China on behalf of the Vietnamese authorities. What is particularly significant is that the attacks

against China by the Soviet and Vietnamese mass media are so identical in tone and so closely synchronized that one cannot be distinguished from the other.

Here are the facts:

The Vietnamese authorities claimed that they did not expel the Chinese residents and their leaving Viet Nam en masse was "caused by the Chinese side." The Soviet propaganda machine immediately declared that the issue was started by "Peking's current campaign concerning the position of Chinese emigrants in Viet Nam."

The Vietnamese authorities distorting facts said that "a number of bad elements among the Hoa people have deceived, instigated, threatened and coerced Hoa people to leave Viet Nam." The Soviet propaganda machine picked this up and blared that "hostile elements have put pressure on the Chinese nationals" and that "those who do not return will be regarded as traitors."

The Vietnamese authorities attacked the Chinese actions taken to protect the legitimate rights and interests of the Chinese residents as being "aimed at creating difficulties to the construction of socialism in Viet Nam." The Soviet propaganda machine at once asserted that China's purpose "is to create additional difficulties of various kinds for the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam."

The Vietnamese authorities assailed China for "the mobilization of a big country's huge information and propaganda machine to stir up unhealthy and unfriendly sentiments towards the Vietnamese people." The Soviet propaganda machine repeated this almost word for word: China's "massive propaganda machine is mobilized to fan up unhealthy and unfriendly feelings towards the Vietnamese people." And so it goes on.

One cannot help asking whether these similar and mutually reinforcing tunes and arguments of the Soviet Union and Viet Nam were a mere coincidence or formulations based on consultations. Was one closely following the other or giving instructions?

Moscow has given a clear answer. It did not disguise its frenzied incitation. Moscow said that Viet Nam should persist "no matter how many difficulties are encountered today and tomorrow, no matter how tortuous the future road will be," and that "the heroic Viet Nam's long-tested loyal friends, first of all, the Soviet Union, are giving great assistance." With ulterior motives Moscow even extolled Viet Nam's "militant spirit" in "resisting" the Chinese "aggressors" in the Han, Tang, Sung, Yuan, Ming and Ching dynasties, etc. Obviously, Viet Nam's intensified anti-China and anti-Chinese campaign has its domestic and international causes. The international background of the issue is the sinister role played by the Soviet instigator.

To bolster and support Viet Nam's anti-China and anti-Chinese activities, the Soviet propaganda machine fiercely attacked China's handling of the question of Chinese nationals residing in Viet Nam as "interference in Viet Nam's internal affairs," "an attempt to continue to aggravate the situation" and "a manifestation of great-power hegemonism," etc. This trick of turning around and charging the victim is nothing clever. But the Vietnamese authorities and their propaganda machine have parroted the Soviet tune. Such slanders must be refuted.

Clearly, it was the Vietnamese authorities which carried out large-scale persecution of the Chinese nationals and only when all attempts to dissuade had proved ineffective, and the situation had become intolerable did

the Chinese Government take some essential measures to safeguard the legitimate rights and interests of the Chinese nationals. It published a statement on the real facts, provided accommodation for the Chinese nationals forced out by Viet Nam and sent ships to bring home the persecuted Chinese nationals. How can this be described as "interference in Viet Nam's internal affairs" and "attempt to aggravate the situation"! According to Moscow's logic, the Chinese Government would not have been regarded as interfering in Viet Nam's internal affairs and would have been easing tension only if it had applauded the persecution of Chinese nationals by Viet Nam, ignored victimized Chinese nationals driven out of Viet Nam and refused to let them into the country. It is absolutely preposterous!

As to those gentlemen in Moscow, their talk about opposition to hegemony only raises derisive laughter. Isn't the word "hegemony" taboo to you? Did you not fly into a rage when opposition to hegemony was mentioned in a proposed bilateral treaty which has nothing to do with you at all? It is no one else but the Soviet hegemomists who want to strain Sino-Vietnamese relations so as to fish in troubled waters and achieve hegemony in Asia.

Undisguised Soviet incitement and instigation in Viet Nam's campaign of persecuting Chinese nationals and opposing China is a new trend in Asia and in the international situation and it deserves close attention. The Soviet Union has a vicious motive in doing so.

For years the Soviet Union has been trying to poison China's relations with Southeast Asian countries on the issue of overseas Chinese. Now, it avails itself of the anti-Chinese campaign in Viet Nam to hurl scurrilous

charges against China, alleging that China is using overseas Chinese to "interfere in the internal affairs of other countries" and "engage in subversive activities," and slandering the overseas Chinese as "a fifth column" which poses "a grave menace" to Southeast Asian countries. It leaves no stone unturned in doing so because it feels ever more acutely that China stands solidly in the way of its penetration, control and expansion in Southeast Asia and Asia as a whole.

China resolutely supports the Southeast Asian countries' stand of maintaining national independence and guarding against hegemonism, firmly calls for the preservation of peace, security and stability in the region and ruthlessly exposes the Soviet Union's divisive and subversive machinations in the Asian and Pacific region, machinations to gain control there. That is why the Soviet Union sees China as a thorn in its flesh.

As for the Chinese nationals residing in the Southeast Asian countries, the Chinese Government's policy has been consistent. It supports and encourages the overseas Chinese voluntarily to take the citizenship of the countries in which they have made a new home, but it opposes any attempt to compel them to change their citizenship. All those who have voluntarily acquired the citizenship of their country of domicile, as well as those who are already citizens, automatically forfeit their Chinese citizenship. As for those who decide to keep their Chinese citizenship, the Chinese Government expects them to abide by the law of the country in which they reside and live amicably with the people there. While it is the duty of the Chinese Government to protect their legitimate rights and interests, it is hoped that safeguards to this effect will be provided by the countries concerned.

This stand of the Chinese Government is open and aboveboard and has won widespread approval. And Moscow will get nowhere in its attempt to make use of the issue of Viet Nam's anti-Chinese campaign to poison China's friendly relations with Southeast Asian countries, relations which are being consolidated and are growing steadily. China is a socialist country which always means what it says. We are confident that the Southeast Asian countries will see through the Soviet manoeuvres to estrange them from China.

Seen in the international context, the Soviet Union's instigating Viet Nam to persecute Chinese nationals and oppose China evidently is a major step in the Kremlin's intensified effort to penetrate into and expand its influence in Southeast Asia. It is well known that Moscow's strategic emphasis is still on Europe, but Asia, including Southeast Asia, is an area long coveted by the Kremlin. At present, Moscow is stepping up its strategic dispositions along the arc from Africa through West Asia to Southeast Asia so as to dominate the Indian Ocean, gain a hold over the Pacific and have an edge on the United States in their contention for hegemony. To this end, it is using Cuba to engage in large-scale expansion in Africa, the Middle East and the Red Sea region, increasing its military presence in the region of the Pacific and the Indian Oceans and carrying on subversive activities in the littoral states; and it is also anxiously seeking a base it can count on in Southeast Asia. It backs up the anti-Chinese and anti-China campaign in Viet Nam with a view to bringing that country into its strategic framework for world domination. It is a move both to oppose China and to edge out U.S. influence, gain control over Southeast Asia and improve its own strategic

position in the world. It is for this reason that the Southeast Asian countries and those interested in peace, security and stability in the region are closely watching developments there and are on their guard against this strategic manoeuvre of the Soviet Union.

China and Viet Nam are good neighbours linked by mountains and rivers. For decades, the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples have supported each other and fought side by side in protracted revolutionary struggles and built up a profound friendship between comrades-in-arms. The Chinese people have done their best to support the Vietnamese revolution. They believe that in doing so, they are fulfilling their bounden internationalist duty. They have done nothing wrong and have no qualms about their relations with the Vietnamese people.

China exercised restraint for quite a long time after Viet Nam started its anti-Chinese and anti-China campaign. It took the first step only when Viet Nam had taken the 11th step. Soviet meddling and instigation is one of the principal factors in the Vietnamese authorities' current unbridled anti-Chinese and anti-China campaign and their moves to poison relations with China. The Kremlin has spared no efforts to bind independent Viet Nam to its chariot for global expansion and has Viet Nam pull its chestnuts out of the fire for it. Press comments in some countries pointed out that Viet Nam has become "a fertile ground" for Moscow's anti-China operations and that "the Soviet Union is casting a long shadow over Viet Nam."

But things will develop independently of the will of Moscow. The Vietnamese people, who have waged protracted and valiant struggles for national liberation and who so deeply cherish their national independence, will

certainly not allow their destinies to be manipulated by a superpower. The peoples in Southeast Asia are on the alert against Soviet expansionism in Asia. Soviet social-imperialism will reveal to the hilt its features as an expansionist and aggressor, and serve as a teacher by negative example in its attempts to bring Viet Nam under its control and thereby menace the whole of Southeast Asia. It will come to no good end.

(June 17, 1978)

China's Policy Is Open, Aboveboard, Consistent

**— Refuting Soviet Slanders on China's
Policy Towards Overseas Chinese**

Renmin Ribao Editorial

The Soviet leaders have lost no time in using the strident anti-Chinese and anti-China campaign stirred up by the Vietnamese authorities to hint, inveigh and insinuate with regard to the question of overseas Chinese. They have left no stone unturned to spread lies and manufacture canards. China, so they said, has organized overseas Chinese into "fifth columns" "to engage in subversive activities" and used them as "active pawns" and "hatchet men" to carry out China's "big-power ambitions." And so on and so forth. These vile slanders are designed to malign China as having changed its long-standing policy towards the overseas Chinese and given this policy an aggressive twist. It is obvious that the Soviet leaders have wholeheartedly embraced Goebbels' dictum: "Lies ring true if they are repeated a thousand times."

Towards the Kremlin's anti-China ballyhoo our attitude has always been one of letting Moscow abuse as much as it pleases and replying in measured terms as the occasion requires. In this article, we wish to spell out the principles which underpin China's stand as re-

gards its policy towards the overseas Chinese and related matters in order to expose the sinister manoeuvres of the Soviet instigators and their followers.

Shortly after the founding of the People's Republic, the Chinese Government formulated a correct policy towards the overseas Chinese under the good care of Chairman Mao Tsetung and the direct guidance of Premier Chou En-lai. Since the Bandung Conference in 1955, China has time and again expounded its basic policy concerning overseas Chinese, in talks with many countries aimed at settling the question of dual nationality of the overseas Chinese, in talks with others concerning the establishment of diplomatic relations, in bilateral contacts and at international conferences. This policy may be enunciated in the following four points:

1) In order to promote and develop friendly relations with countries in which overseas Chinese have made a new home and settle the question of their nationality, which is a legacy from the past, the Chinese Government has never approved of overseas Chinese holding dual nationality and has always been ready to work energetically for a solution to this issue.

2) The Chinese Government supports and encourages overseas Chinese voluntarily to opt for the nationality and citizenship of the country in which they have made a new home. Such a move benefits themselves and the country in which they are domiciled.

3) Any Chinese who has acquired the nationality of the country in which he resides becomes a citizen of the host country and is no longer qualified to hold Chinese citizenship. He is therefore entitled to enjoy the rights and obliged to fulfil the obligations of a citizen of that country. If any such person should wish to take Chinese

citizenship, he is required to go through the legal formalities of the country in which he resides and his application must further be approved by the Chinese Government.

4) As regards those who decide to retain their Chinese nationality, the Chinese Government expects them to abide by the laws of the country in which they reside, respect the customs and ways of its people, refrain from being involved in the political activities of that country and live amicably with its people. Their legitimate rights and interests should be safeguarded by the country in which they reside.

The above-mentioned four points give expression to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, to the solicitude of our government for the vital interests of the numerous overseas Chinese and to the desire of our country to treat on equal terms all countries in which overseas Chinese reside and develop friendly relations with them. This policy is open and aboveboard and consistent. After many years of practice, this fair and reasonable stand strictly adhered to by our government won the approval and understanding of the very many countries in which overseas Chinese reside. We are very glad to note that many overseas Chinese have voluntarily taken the nationality of their country of domicile and settled down there. We are also very glad to note that they have contributed to the development and prosperity of the economy and culture of those countries and at the same time played their part in promoting friendly relations between those countries and China.

The Soviet propaganda media have recently deliberately put overseas Chinese on a par with people of Chinese origin who have already acquired the nationality

of the host country in a move to distort the policy of our government towards overseas Chinese as meaning to get "every Chinese, wherever he lives and whatever citizenship he takes" to render service to China. Moscow has even made the barefaced insinuation that, "as for the citizenship of the people of Chinese origin residing abroad, anxiety has always been felt by the countries in Southeast Asia." The Vietnamese authorities are also using the question of overseas Chinese in Viet Nam to work in cahoots with this provocative Soviet propaganda. This tactic of distorting the policy of our country in order to create confusion is despicable in the extreme.

A cardinal principle of China's policy with regard to overseas Chinese is disapproval of dual nationality. China approves and encourages overseas Chinese to choose the nationality of their country of domicile on a voluntary basis. Those of Chinese origin who have acquired the nationality of the host country are no longer "overseas Chinese." There is only one choice between the two. With a change in nationality there is a change in kind. Overseas Chinese who have acquired the nationality of the host country are no longer Chinese citizens whether they have been of Chinese origin for one generation or more.

We do not approve of lopsided consanguinity. There are many instances of people of the same extraction that are scattered in different countries of the world. Some of the high government officials in the United States are of Polish, Jewish or other extraction. This is a common thing in many countries. A considerable number of people of Chinese origin who live in the Southeast Asian countries have through years of residence voluntarily acquired the nationality and citizenship of those countries.

In Singapore, for instance, citizens of Chinese descent form a great proportion of the population; they speak and write in Chinese, while they also speak and write in English. They are no longer overseas Chinese but citizens of Singapore. These Singapore citizens of Chinese origin do not fall within the framework of China's policy towards overseas Chinese, but are under the jurisdiction of Singapore. The Soviet Union has its own ulterior motive in creating confusion on this question. It is still within living memory that after the war a Soviet marshal of East European origin was sent by the Soviet Union to an East European country to control the army there but was finally driven back to Moscow. Therefore, isn't it the Soviet Union itself that interfered in the internal affairs of another country by playing the game of dual nationality, asserting at one time that the marshal was a national of his own country and at another that he was a national of the Soviet Union?

While we favour and encourage overseas Chinese to choose the nationality of the country in which they reside, we cannot refuse them if they opt for Chinese nationality. We have consistently maintained that those overseas Chinese who are unwilling to take the nationality of their country of domicile must refrain from participating in local political activities, abide by the laws of the host country and be on good terms with the local people. This is a fact recognized by the people and the countries in which overseas Chinese reside. It is a matter of course that the Chinese Government holds itself responsible for protecting their legitimate rights and interests. What is happening in Viet Nam today is that the Vietnamese authorities are persecuting Chinese residents on a large scale and in a planned and organized way. It

is in these circumstances that the Chinese Government has decided to deal with the matter. Far from altering its consistent policy towards overseas Chinese, the Chinese Government abides by the spirit of upholding the principle of this policy to protect the legitimate rights and interests of overseas Chinese. This protection of the legitimate (of course not the illegitimate) rights and interests of the overseas Chinese fully accords with the norms of international law and international practice. What is there for the Soviet Union and Viet Nam to make such a fuss about?

In the past few centuries, tens of millions of Chinese, for various reasons, emigrated to other countries to earn a living. Most of them made a new home in Southeast Asia. Owing to ties of kinship and national culture, they, whether taking the nationality of their country of domicile or remaining Chinese nationals, maintain certain contacts with China, such as visiting China as tourists. This is quite natural and a common enough thing in international intercourse. It will certainly continue. It is conducive to the promotion of mutual understanding and friendship.

As a socialist country China advocates and abides by the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence in relations with other countries. It does not and will never permit such contacts to be used for scheming activities or machinations against the government of the country in which overseas Chinese reside.

The Soviet propaganda machine is trying to sow discord between China and countries in Southeast Asia. But this is futile. It falls flat on its face when it says overseas Chinese or the citizens of Chinese origin in those countries have "ethnic feelings" for China. Ethnic

feelings are in evidence in many countries. There are many people of Irish descent in New Zealand and the United States. Can one logically conclude that Ireland thus entertains aggressive ambitions towards New Zealand or the United States?

There cannot be many who are naive enough to buy the story of the blustering Soviet crusaders against China that China "is ready to take over" Southeast Asian countries "with the help of a 'fifth column' formed from overseas Chinese." TASS waxed even more sensational when it declared in all seriousness that "the present Chinese leaders have drawn up and are secretly putting into operation a massive scheme" to enlist "millions of overseas Chinese from Singapore to California" for "subversive activities" in dozens of countries. Indeed, the Kremlin has excelled in producing an 18-carat lie with this talk about "fifth columns" of millions of overseas Chinese and about a secret plot to seize the whole of the Asian and Pacific region from Singapore to the U.S. state of California. But lies have short legs. Those smart-alecks in Moscow cannot produce a shred of evidence to substantiate their fantastic charge that China has a "secret" plot to use overseas Chinese to "subvert" a large number of countries covering nearly half the earth from Singapore to the United States across the Pacific. Since they have been in the cloak-and-dagger business so long in every corner of the globe, they tend to think it wise to scare people that others are doing the same. It is a clumsy move. The Kremlin is not the first to flaunt this "fifth column" scare. The Ngo Dinh Diem clique in its time, when driven to a tight corner, often used this red herring to distract public attention. Can the Soviet leadership win any credit for itself by emulating the

scare tactics adopted by political mummy Ngo Dinh Diem in his attempt to discredit China?

The Soviet news media are working overtime to churn out rumours and cock-and-bull stories, with great emphasis placed on the question of the Chinese nationals in Southeast Asian countries. Their vicious intention is to sow discord in the relations between overseas Chinese and their countries of domicile, between China and Southeast Asian countries, and to vilify China's policy towards overseas Chinese and its foreign policy. What Moscow is after is a foothold in the Southeast Asian region which it has coveted for a long time. Those who shout themselves hoarse about China harbouring ambitions against Southeast Asia are precisely those who are trying hard to gain control of this region. What the polar bear's presence in this region means is only too clear. People who are zealous for the independence, security and tranquillity of the region are alert and vigilant. They will not allow the clumsy tactics of the Soviet Union to succeed.

China is not responsible for, nor is it pleased by, the current serious developments — the persecution and expulsion of Chinese residents in Viet Nam and the consequent deterioration in relations between the two countries. We still sincerely hope that the Vietnamese authorities will make a genuine effort to put a stop, by deeds and not just by words, to its policy of discrimination, ostracism, persecution and expulsion towards Chinese residents and that they will not again do anything harmful to the traditional friendship of the two peoples. We believe that if the Vietnamese authorities follow such a course, then large numbers of Chinese residents will not readily leave the land in which they have lived for

generations, since they cherish deeply the ties of warm affection established with the Vietnamese people in years of struggle together.

We reaffirm: The policy of our country towards overseas Chinese including the Chinese residents in Viet Nam remains unchanged. Those who voluntarily take the nationality of Viet Nam will be respected. But, if the Vietnamese authorities persist in discriminating against, ostracizing and expelling Chinese residents, no matter what tactics they use or how they change them, then the Chinese Government is obliged to take measures appropriate to the occasion. The Chinese people will wait and see how the Vietnamese authorities act in dealing with Chinese residents.

At the First Session of the Fifth National People's Congress, Comrade Hua Kuo-feng, the wise leader of the Chinese people, reiterated on behalf of our government: "The policy of our government has been consistent; it supports and encourages the overseas Chinese voluntarily to take the citizenship of the countries in which they have made a new home, but it opposes any attempt to compel them to change their citizenship. All those who have voluntarily acquired the citizenship of their country of domicile as well as those who are already citizens automatically forfeit their Chinese citizenship, but their ties of kinship with the Chinese people remain. As for those who decide to keep their Chinese citizenship, we expect them to abide by the laws of the country in which they reside, respect the customs and ways of its people and live amicably with them. While it is the duty of the Chinese Government to protect their legitimate rights and interests, it is hoped that safeguards to this effect will be provided by the countries concerned." China is

a socialist country that means what it says, and we shall continue to follow the consistent, principled stand on the question of overseas Chinese. Facts have proved and will continue to prove that no provocation or slander can detract one iota from the merits of China's policy towards overseas Chinese.

(July 3, 1978)

Who Is Arousing National Hatred?

by Renmin Ribao Commentator

While indulging in a massive anti-China, anti-Chinese campaign to injure the relations between China and Viet Nam, the Vietnamese authorities have made false charges that China is pursuing "a policy contrary to the tradition of solidarity and friendship between the two peoples" and that China "has carried out provocative propaganda among the Chinese people in an attempt to arouse hatred between the two nations," etc. Their purpose is to place at the door of China their own responsibility for undermining the traditional friendship between the two peoples and to stir up national enmity. However, all fair-minded people can see that it is none other than the Vietnamese authorities who have long had their propaganda machines in motion and employed various other means to instil into the minds of the Vietnamese people hatred towards the Chinese people. This defies the traditional bonds of friendship between the two peoples and is at the expense of their fundamental interests.

One important means employed by the Vietnamese authorities to whip up an anti-China campaign is the use of historical problems.

For a long period, Vietnamese newspapers and radios have dwelt excessively and deliberately on historical facts about Chinese feudal rulers' aggression against

Viet Nam. They have eulogized those cabinet ministers and generals in Vietnamese feudal dynasties who resisted Chinese feudal rulers as heroes better than those of the proletariat. Every year, the Vietnamese authorities have organized memorial activities, put on stage historical dramas, published stories, feature articles, posters and pictures and organized middle school students in collecting historical data to propagate the ancient Vietnamese history of opposing Chinese feudal dynasties and play up the so-called "aggression from the north." To boost the morale of the Vietnamese authorities, Soviet social-imperialism has echoed their propaganda and showered praise on their "militant spirit" in resisting the aggressive forces of the Han, Tang, Sung, Yuan, Ming and Ching dynasties.

What is the aim of the Vietnamese authorities in using ancient events as insinuations for the present?

It is historically true that Chinese feudal rulers committed aggression against Viet Nam. But did the foreign aggression of Chinese feudal rulers have anything to do with socialist China or its people? The Chinese people in feudal society were themselves subjected to the oppression of the feudal rulers. Therefore they did not and could not bear any responsibility for the doings of the feudal rulers, still less must they today shoulder the responsibility for the actions of the feudal rulers hundreds and even thousands of years ago. When our respected and beloved Premier Chou En-lai visited Viet Nam in 1956, he specially went to the Trung Sisters' Temple in Hanoi and paid homage to the two ancient Vietnamese heroines who had resisted Chinese feudal rulers. The homage call indicates that the Chinese people, like the Vietnamese people, are opposed to Chinese feudal rulers'

aggression against Viet Nam. It testifies vividly to China's efforts to consolidate the traditional friendship between the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples.

Our line of reasoning is applicable to the Vietnamese people too. Historically speaking, Viet Nam was not only a victim of aggression but also committed aggression against others. Vietnamese feudal rulers invaded some areas in China's Kwangtung and Kwangsi, as well as Laos and Kampuchea. Is it possible that the Vietnamese people should be held responsible for this? In their anti-China propaganda, the Vietnamese authorities have time and again slandered China for lacking a "class standpoint" as if they themselves can boast much of a "class standpoint." People cannot help asking the Vietnamese authorities what they have done with their "class standpoint" in arousing national hatred and calling for precautions against "aggression from the north" through their propaganda over Chinese feudal rulers' aggression against Viet Nam.

It is beyond reproach for a country to study the history of its own nation. Marxists should analyse and study historical questions from the standpoint of historical materialism and be opposed to the distortion and fabrication of history and the use of historical questions to stir up national chauvinism. Not long after the victory of the October Revolution in Russia, Lenin denounced the British, French and U.S. imperialist powers which "tried to arouse Poland's ancient hatred towards her great-Russian oppressors, tried to transfer the Polish workers' hatred of landowners and tsars, a hundred times deserved, to the Russian workers and peasants, and tried to make the Polish workers think that the Bolsheviks, like the Russian chauvinists, dream of conquering Poland." What

common points are there between the present attitude of the Vietnamese authorities towards the historical questions between China and Viet Nam and Lenin's attitude towards historical questions? And what common points are there between the Vietnamese authorities' attitude and historical materialism?

It is obvious that the incessant propagation by the Vietnamese authorities of Chinese feudal rulers' aggressions against Viet Nam is aimed at utilizing these historical questions to fan up national chauvinism among the Vietnamese people and imbue them with hatred towards the Chinese people.

Such anti-China propaganda conducted by the Vietnamese authorities never came to a halt even during the Vietnamese war against U.S. aggression when the Chinese people offered large quantities of aid to Viet Nam. This shows that it has become an established policy of the Vietnamese authorities to stir up national hatred for the purpose of realizing their ulterior aims. Out of its desire to safeguard solidarity between the two countries, China has on many occasions tendered well-intentioned advice to the Vietnamese side through recognized channels hoping that they would stop doing so. However, the Vietnamese authorities have wilfully clung to their course and gone farther and farther down the anti-China road, escalating their attacks against China from historical to current issues, from insinuation to open attack by name. Since the beginning of this year, the Vietnamese authorities have seized upon every opportunity to make a hue and cry. Anti-China articles, commentaries and reports produced by the Vietnamese propaganda media have been unprecedented in their quantity and variety, in venom of language, vileness of tactics and absurdity of rumour-

mongering. The Vietnamese authorities also organized various meetings and forums to distort facts and stir up the winds of discord. They babbled the nonsense that China "nurtures great ambitions in Southeast Asia," practises "big-nation chauvinism" and a "gun-boat policy," is "imperialistic and an international reactionary," etc. They even made an all-round distortion of and attack on China's domestic and foreign policies. Their despicable conduct in whipping up a large-scale and sinister anti-China campaign, arousing national hatreds and poisoning the relations between the two countries in a deliberate and contrived way is obvious to all. Any attempt to deny it is futile.

The Chinese and Vietnamese peoples have nurtured a profound traditional friendship in their protracted struggle. Maintenance of this friendship and solidarity conforms to their fundamental interests and common desire. The Chinese Government and people have all along treasured the friendship between the two peoples, have done nothing harmful to this friendship and have exercised self-restraint and forbearance towards the Vietnamese authorities' acts in opposing China and ostracizing Chinese residents in Viet Nam. Now, the Vietnamese authorities have gone far enough on their anti-China and anti-Chinese road. China has had to take its first step when the Vietnamese authorities have taken 11 steps. It is precisely for upholding the traditional friendship between the people of the two countries that China has openly exposed the Vietnamese authorities' perverted action and expressed the hope that they would put an end to their demagogic propaganda against China before it is too late. We advise the Vietnamese authorities to cherish the friendship between the Chinese and Vietnamese peo-

ple and do some honest things, conducive to the improvement of relations between the two countries. The practice of intensifying demagogic propaganda against China and at the same time trying to lay the responsibility at China's door by making false counter-charges will not help white-wash their own inglorious image.

(July 16, 1978)

Can Escalating the Anti-China Campaign Get the Vietnamese Authorities Off the Hook?

by Renmin Ribao Commentator

Since the August 25 incident of killing and expelling Chinese nationals on the Vietnamese side of the Sino-Vietnamese border in front of Yu Yi Kuan, all indications show that the Vietnamese authorities are plotting a new anti-China wave to meet the needs of their domestic and foreign policies.

After the Yu Yi Kuan incident on August 25, the Vietnamese propaganda machine went full steam ahead to make groundless charges that Chinese had rushed "to cross the border into Vietnamese territory" to drive the Chinese nationals stranded there "to the other side of the border in Chinese territory." Immediately after this, the Vietnamese authorities used the incident engineered by themselves to whip up a hysterical anti-China campaign, holding mass meetings, issuing statements and staging demonstrations. A certain Vietnamese leader kept hurling abuses at China all the way from Hanoi to Havana and back. At the same time, he bragged about how correct the line of the Vietnamese authorities is and how they are backed by their "friends." He called on the Vietnamese people to "get highly mobilized" to "build and defend" Viet Nam.

While all this was going on, the Vietnamese authorities stepped up tension in the border area. On the very day of the incident in which Chinese nationals were killed or expelled, Vietnamese armed forces occupied Ponien ridge on the Chinese side of the border near Yu Yi Kuan. Then the Vietnamese authorities again cranked up their propaganda machine accusing the Chinese side of having "concentrated tens of thousands of Hoa people" from Tunghsing to Hokou and preparing "to send them illegally into Vietnamese territory." The allegation was made to lay the ground for creating further border incidents.

The exhibition staged by the Vietnamese authorities makes it absolutely clear that the killings of Chinese nationals near Yu Yi Kuan were premeditated and planned actions. They are a logical development of the Vietnamese efforts to get themselves out of their present difficulties by escalating their anti-China campaign.

The facts are clear. The bloodbath took place on the Vietnamese side of the border, on Vietnamese soil, where the Chinese cannot go in and out at will. In the past few months, the Vietnamese authorities have massed large numbers of military and security men in the border areas. They wanted to drive thousands of Chinese nationals who had been displaced from other parts of Viet Nam over to the Chinese side of the border. They tried to do what they always have done: compelling China to accept what they have brought about and repeating the performance to expel still more Chinese nationals, in order to create more difficulties for China. China on its part demanded that the Vietnamese side send these stranded Chinese nationals back to their original residential areas and resettle them properly and, in the case of those who really have difficulties, extend to them facili-

ties to enable them to return to China after completion of the necessary entry formalities. China's reasonable proposal put the Vietnamese authorities in an embarrassing position. In the circumstances they had recourse to bayonets and stones and terrorized more than 2,000 Chinese nationals into stampeding over to the Chinese side of the border in great chaos.

And now, the Vietnamese authorities described their closely guarded border as an area where the Chinese can dispatch at will "hundreds of plainclothes troops and security men" to do what they like. Can people believe such a story? The over 2,000 Chinese nationals milling about on Vietnamese soil near Yu Yi Kuan had never been given any help or care by the Vietnamese side. On the contrary, they were persecuted in more ways than one. They had anxiously been looking forward to the day when they could return to their motherland. How can it be that China suddenly had to send large numbers of personnel to drive them back? In the past month or two the Vietnamese authorities, acting the sentimental philanthropist, have indicated their "sympathy" for the Chinese nationals stranded on the Vietnamese side of the border, accusing China of refusing to take them in. Isn't it odd that China suddenly had to force them back as if afraid they were reluctant to return to China?

The Vietnamese authorities, of course, cannot give any answer to these questions. Since all the strange happenings took place on Vietnamese soil, they could easily tamper with the evidence to transform by a sleight of hand the incident into an unsolved case and shift the responsibility for their sanguinary crime onto China. Having wiped off the crocodile tears they shed for the victimized Chinese, they are gleefully admiring the fish

they caught in the troubled waters before Yu Yi Kuan. In the eyes of the Vietnamese authorities, this is a big fish which can be used, externally, to curry favour with their "friends" and hoodwink world opinion and, domestically, to "mobilize" the Vietnamese people and fan up national enmity, thereby getting themselves out of their present straits.

Certain Vietnamese leaders admitted at an anti-China rally held after the Yu Yi Kuan incident that they found the going pretty tough, what with one thing they had to persist in the aggression against Kampuchea and another to tackle the political, economic and social disorder at home. However, they laid the blame for their predicament on China which, they alleged, was at the bottom of all their difficulties.

Isn't it ridiculous? Did China dragoon the Vietnamese troops into fighting Kampuchea? Was it China that brought about political, economic and social disorder in Viet Nam? The Vietnamese authorities know better than anyone else that the difficulties facing them are not caused by China but by their regional hegemonist policy.

After the victory of the war of resistance against U.S. aggression, the Vietnamese authorities became swell-headed over the powerful army and great quantities of munitions they had. They wanted to strike while the iron was hot, realize at one stroke their fond dream of building an "Indochina federation" and become the overlord of Southeast Asia. To this end, they have to launch aggression against Kampuchea and undermine the friendship between China and the Southeast Asian countries. More, they have to find a patron. And they have found one in Soviet social-imperialism which is frenziedly opposing China and keeping a covetous eye on Southeast

Asia. In 1976 Hoang Tung, then alternate member of the Vietnamese Workers' Party Central Committee, said to a Western correspondent: ". . . The rapprochement with the USSR plays a very important role for Viet Nam today. There is a tangibly strong Soviet interest coinciding with Vietnamese interests — to reduce Chinese influence in this part of the world." This is the Vietnamese authorities' frank confession to their collusion with the Soviet Union in opposing China.

With the Soviet Union aiding and abetting them, the Vietnamese authorities unleashed the war of aggression against Kampuchea, and slithered further down the road of opposing China. They not only slandered China on the question of Chinese residents, but blatantly interfered in China's internal affairs. They lashed out at China on all its political movements, openly calumniated China's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in an attempt to exonerate Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and the "gang of four," and even obliquely attacked China's socialist system as "fascist." The Vietnamese authorities also follow the Soviet Union's footsteps closely in attacking China's foreign policy, alleging that the Sino-Japanese Peace and Friendship Treaty is meant to "draw Japan into China's anti-Soviet strategy." They even sang in duet with the Soviet Union, saying that the mention of hegemonism by the wise leader of the Chinese people Chairman Hua in his speeches in East Europe "obviously means the Soviet Union." (Knowing that this is too unbridled an attack, the Vietnamese authorities tried to cover it up by replacing the story with another one. But this only serves to reveal more clearly their anti-China features.)

Things have not been going the way the Vietnamese authorities expected. Their aggression against Kam-

puchea is not going in their favour and their anti-China antics are becoming more and more discredited. This has thrown them into an impasse which they cannot but acknowledge. In order to extricate themselves from this predicament, they need on the one hand to escalate their anti-China campaign in exchange for more Soviet money and munitions, and on the other to scare the Vietnamese people with a China "spectre," forcing them to die for the Vietnamese authorities' hegemonist ambitions and suppressing their discontent. This is the true background to the slaughter of the Chinese residents on Vietnamese soil before Yu Yi Kuan.

Immediately after the Yu Yi Kuan incident, the Soviet Union expressed its appreciation of what the Vietnamese authorities had done. But the Vietnamese people who have a profound traditional friendship with the Chinese people will not easily be taken in by the Vietnamese authorities' anti-China antics. Their escalation of anti-China campaign is no panacea. It cannot extricate them from their difficulties, but will tie them tighter to the apron strings of social-imperialism.

(September 4, 1978)

Soviet Strategy Shows Through the Vietnamese Authorities' Anti-China Actions

by Hongqi Commentator

As the Vietnamese authorities go on antagonizing China, many people are asking, "Why"?

China and Viet Nam are neighbours sharing mountains and rivers. The people of the two countries shared joy and sorrow, sympathy and support for each other in long revolutionary struggles against imperialism, welding profound brotherhood. During the Vietnamese people's wars against French and then U.S. imperialism, the Chinese people provided powerful support, the vast expanse of China's territory becoming their reliable rear area. China gave many-sided help, not hesitating to make tremendous national sacrifices. Even immediately after the founding of the new China, when unhealed wounds of war, prolonged imperialist blockade and embargo followed by Soviet revisionist relentless pressure for instantaneous repayment of loans placed heavy burdens on the People's Republic, China's support and aid to Viet Nam never waned. Weapons and ammunition removed from China's own army and types of military equipment not yet issued to Chinese units were sent for Vietnamese troops' use. Thousands of Chinese shed their blood beside their Vietnamese comrades-in-arms in the Viet Nam war.

China continued aiding Viet Nam in the period of her reconstruction despite tremendous internal difficulties caused by the sabotage of the "gang of four" coupled with serious natural disasters. China herself is a developing socialist country with very little to spare. Yet the Chinese people tightened their belts and worked hard to ensure the Vietnamese army's and people's food and clothing supply, besides many other manufactured goods, continuing on to help them with post-war capital construction. In granting aid, China attached no conditions, put in no claims, but performed a proletarian internationalist duty in the common struggle against imperialism. We have no qualms or regrets.

Such is the history of China's support and fraternity with Viet Nam. But for many years the Vietnamese authorities have been undermining the relations between the two countries by taking and inciting various anti-China actions. China has replied with restraint, patient advice and struggle by consultation between the two countries according to China's consistent principle in settling disputes. Only after they stepped up their anti-China activities including deliberate, unprecedented incidents of persecuting and expelling large numbers of Chinese nationals, only after they seriously damaged the friendly relations between the two countries and created conditions and an atmosphere that made it impossible to continue economic and technical assistance, was China obliged to take this first step in response to the 11th already taken by Viet Nam.

Why, before the whole world, have the Vietnamese authorities perpetrated these unbridled anti-China acts? They have not acted alone, but the giant shadow of Soviet social-imperialism is behind each act. From the time the

Soviet renegade clique put a hand in Viet Nam it has actively poisoned the relations between Viet Nam and China. For many years Vietnamese anti-China activities escalated with each tightening of Soviet control. Disputes with China were stirred up, no effort was spared to create public opinion supporting the Vietnamese authorities' persecution and expulsion of Chinese nationals and their uninhibited disruption of the relations between Viet Nam and China. The Soviet Union's praise of Viet Nam for "taking a firm stand" in the anti-China and anti-Chinese nationals incidents, pledging "firm support" to Viet Nam, has brought the Soviet Union increasingly into the open as plotter and director. Soviet social-imperialism is accustomed to wielding its baton. It is now doing that before everybody's eyes.

The reason why the Soviet Union incites and supports the Vietnamese authorities in their anti-China activities has also become more clear. Causing splits and antagonism between Viet Nam and China serves its purpose of bringing Viet Nam within its orbit of hegemonism. Brezhnev has extolled Viet Nam as a so-called "firm outpost of socialism in Southeast Asia," and an "important factor of peace and progress in Southeast Asia and even in Asia as a whole." Now the Soviet Union asserts that "Viet Nam has now become a reliable bulwark of socialism in this region of the globe," and that the Vietnamese authorities joined the "Council for Mutual Economic Assistance" during the peak of anti-China activities. The Soviet Union declares that this has "created a new stage in all-round co-operation," and that the "friendship" between Viet Nam and the Soviet Union is today of "a new type and depth." The Vietnamese newspaper *Nhan Dan* echoed that the Vietnamese

authorities "are determined to play the role of a firm outpost of the socialist system in Southeast Asia."

Actually, no socialist front exists in the world today, the so-called "socialist big family" meaning Soviet social-imperialism and colonialism. One may ask what kind of "outpost" and "factor" the Soviet Union wants in Southeast Asia. The "outpost" Moscow wants is one that will dominate this region through the rigging up of an "Indochina federation." The Soviet revisionist renegade clique has always posed as a consistent supporter of the people of this region struggling against U.S. imperialism and for national salvation. Facts show, however, that when Khrushchov was in power, Soviet support to the Vietnamese people resisting U.S. imperialism was opposed and withheld. After Brezhnev took power, following successive victories of the Vietnamese people, the Soviet revisionists changed their policy to one of seeking the advantage and attempting to bring this region into their sphere of influence. Such was the inspiration for their urging the Vietnamese authorities to rig up an "Indochina federation." Soviet opposition and disruption of the Kampuchean people's war of national liberation is even more revealing. The Soviet Union all along colluded with the traitor Lon Nol clique and maintained diplomatic relations with it till its doom. When the Kampuchean people won their liberation war, the Soviets proposed on behalf of the Vietnamese authorities the forming of this "Indochina federation" and demanded that Kampuchea accept its humiliating terms. When Kampuchea refused this hegemonism, the Vietnamese authorities attacked the country with arms and plotted subversion against her. Openly siding with Viet Nam against Kampuchea, the

Soviet Union fanned the flames in the conflict between the two countries. Isn't it as clear as daylight that the Soviet social-imperialists are plotting to place this region under its control through the "Indochina federation" to be rigged up by Viet Nam?

Moscow needs an "outpost" in its quest for control in Southeast Asia and Asia proper. Southeast Asia, commanding the strategic passage of the Pacific and Indian Oceans, and rich in strategic material, is an object of contention between Soviet social-imperialism and U.S. imperialism. In the past few years the Soviet Union has greatly expanded its Pacific fleet and strengthened its naval forces permanently stationed in the Indian Ocean. The distance between its Pacific fleet on its own territory and the Indian Ocean is great, and it needs a powerful and reliable base between. This explains the Soviet Union's covetous eye on Viet Nam as a military base, especially on its Cam Ranh Bay, already equipped for military use by the ousted U.S. aggressors. The Soviet Union needs Viet Nam as a "firm outpost" to strengthen its contention with U.S. imperialism in the Asian, Pacific and Indian Ocean areas, to pose a direct threat to seize this strategically important Southeast Asian region.

After U.S. imperialism was defeated in Southeast Asia, the Soviet Union lost no time in stepping in and urging an "Asian collective security system," through which to create a Soviet sphere of influence in Southeast Asia and Asia proper. But, finding no market for its "collective security system," the Soviet Union next sought an agent to continue its scheme in disguised form. The Vietnamese authorities have at times claimed that "Southeast Asia belongs to the Southeast Asians" and at others have offered to take the initiative in building "genuinely

independent regional co-operation of a new type." Now they aver willingness to discuss proposals on a Southeast Asian zone of peace, freedom and neutrality. Just what the Soviet Union needs, and that country has declared that the Vietnamese authorities have made "constructive contribution" to the settlement of Southeast Asia problems. This two-man act became more obvious after the Vietnamese authorities joined the "Council for Mutual Economic Assistance." Peddling the idea to other countries, the Vietnamese authorities claimed still to be following the policy of "independence," that they were prepared to co-operate with the "Association of Southeast Asian Nations" (ASEAN) and hold talks with its members. At the same time, contrary to its past attitudes of open hostility and attack on ASEAN, the Soviet Union showed "goodwill" towards this Association. Its next step was to urge ASEAN to expand its sphere to include Viet Nam and other countries. All this exposes the Soviet Union's "goodwill," as well as the "independence" mouthed by the Vietnamese authorities.

Far from a "socialist outpost" or "factor for peace and progress" in Southeast Asia, the Soviet social-imperialists are to create an "outpost" for big-power control and a "factor" to create war and chaos, a threat to the independence and security of the Southeast Asian countries. As a socialist country, China firmly supports the countries of Southeast Asia in their just struggles against big-power control and interference, for maintaining independence and sovereignty and advocating a neutral Southeast Asia. The Soviet Union, which regards China as an obstacle to its plans for superpower control, has always pushed for expansion via vicious slanders against China. The Vietnamese authorities, who want

to establish regional hegemonism by setting up an "Indochina federation" first and then expand to Southeast Asia, likewise regard China as a great obstacle. Incited by the Soviet Union and following closely behind it, they level unbridled attacks on China. The Vietnamese regard the Soviet superpower hegemonists as their protector in expansion, while the latter use the Vietnamese as a tool in theirs. Such is the "all-round co-operation" between the two.

Soviet social-imperialist activity in Southeast Asia forms a part of its global strategic deployment. In its contention with U.S. imperialism for world domination, its strategic focal point is Europe. In order to outflank Europe and isolate the U.S., it is scrambling for strategic raw material-producing and militarily strategic places in the Middle East and Africa. They seek also the strategic passages between the Pacific and Indian Oceans, between the Indian Ocean, the Mediterranean Sea and Atlantic Ocean, and between Soviet territory and the Indian Ocean. Recent fierce contention and local wars, conflicts and incidents of subversion have marked these areas. The war in the Horn of Africa to the second invasion of Zaire, the successive acts of subversion committed in the countries of South and West Asia to the assassinations in the Arabian Peninsula, and the Vietnamese authorities' armed aggression against Kampuchea to their blatant anti-China activities are all links in a chain, with the same sinister hand behind all. The Soviet Union's impetuosity, utter lack of scruples and utter disregard of everything indicate a stepping up by the Soviet Union of its global strategic deployment in preparation for a new world war, and that the danger of war is growing. This bears close watching by the people of the world, who

would do well to heighten their vigilance and take this matter seriously.

The Soviet Union's use of an agent to fight in its front lines of aggression and expansion is typical in the international sphere. Cuba is one such agent fostered by Soviet social-imperialism. Cuban mercenaries are often present wherever Soviet social-imperialism stretches its sinister hands. It directs Cuba to fly the banner of "supporting national liberation movements" to cause rifts and conflicts, infiltrate, control and subvert third world countries. It uses Cuba to sell "non-alignment" among third world countries and to sow dissension and disruption into the non-alignment movement. Perhaps its success with Cuba has whetted its appetite for similar agents in Southeast Asia among other places. The people of the world, however, through their press are exposing and condemning Cuba for its role of Trojan horse acting as an agent of war and disruptor of the non-alignment movement for the Soviet Union. But such cat's paws, whether in the West or in the East, can come to no good end.

There is no "international friendship" between the Soviet social-imperialists and their agents, as they claim, but a combination of big and small hegemonists in which in the end the big will trample underfoot the small. Cuba has been reduced to an appendage of the Soviet social-imperialists economically, militarily and politically, the appearance of Cuban mercenaries indicating this status. The more Cuba relies on Soviet "aid," the more it is forced to work for Soviet global strategy; the more cannon-fodder it provides for Soviet invasion, the more tightly it is controlled. Viet Nam would do well to take warning from the course Cuba is following.

The Soviet Union is an excellent teacher by negative example in the world today. It repeatedly tells the people through its own deeds how it is carrying out expansion in all parts of the world and how frantic it is in its preparation for war. It has become a most aggressive, adventurous and insidious superpower and the most dangerous source of a new world war. As the African and Arab peoples are drawing lessons from Soviet machinations in their areas, so are those of Viet Nam and the other countries of Southeast Asia and Asia proper bound to be alerted by the trouble-making Soviet shadow there.

The Soviet Union may sing its own praises over the fact it is poking its nose into Southeast Asia. In fact, this interference only places a new noose around the neck of social-imperialism. Nor does China fear the Soviet threat of encirclement; the Chinese revolution has always developed out of encirclements. As the international united front against big-power domination with the third-world countries as the main force develops and grows stronger, the Soviet social-imperialist colossus with feet of clay will with time be encircled by oceans of the people in the world.

In the end, the traditional militant friendship forged between the peoples of China and Viet Nam is bound to prevail, built as it is on the common interests of both. In the past, the peoples of China and Viet Nam have fought side by side against imperialism and for national liberation. China feels that friendship and solidarity with Viet Nam is in the interest of both peoples, that division and antagonism only benefit common enemies. As in the past, we will do all in our power to safeguard the traditional friendship between the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples. We feel that this is the desire of the Vietnamese people

also. The Vietnamese people who fought long and valiantly for their national liberation are not likely now to tolerate big-power domination nor dissension and antagonism between their country and China. China feels that the Vietnamese authorities' perverted acts will not be countenanced for long by the Vietnamese people along with those of Southeast Asia and Asia proper, nor by the people of the world.

(From Hongqi, No. 8, 1978)

Untenable Arguments of Vietnamese Authorities

Commentary by Hsinhua Correspondent

As many as 160,000 Chinese nationals in Viet Nam have returned to China in the last few months. The obvious reason for this is that the Vietnamese authorities have been pursuing a policy of discriminating against, persecuting and expelling Chinese nationals.

These Chinese nationals had been reduced to poverty and ruin. They had been compelled to move from place to place without jobs or homes and even at the risk of their life. If the Chinese nationals could still manage to keep body and soul together in Viet Nam, why should they leave the places where they and their forefathers had lived and worked, say good-bye to the Vietnamese people with whom they had shared joy and sorrow, and go back to China?

The Vietnamese authorities have tried their utmost to deny and conceal the truth about their persecution and expulsion of Chinese nationals. They have racked their brains to produce one "reason" after another to explain the return of these Chinese residents, but none of these reasons is convincing.

At the outset, the Vietnamese leaders contended that there were "a number of bad elements among the Hoa people" who were spreading rumours such as, "war will

break out between China and Viet Nam” and “China is calling the Hoa people to go back.” They claimed that large numbers of “Hoa people” returned to China because they believed in these rumours. This contention is untenable. The magic of the few rumours would be potent indeed, even miraculous, if they could lead to the exodus of more than one hundred thousand people! Moreover, could a sovereign country be so incompetent as to fail to cope with a few rumours? This argument failed to convince anybody.

Next, the Vietnamese authorities changed their emphasis and argued that “some Chinese leaders are calling the Hoa people back to build the country.” But the Vietnamese authorities could produce no facts whatsoever to prove that any Chinese leader had ever made such a call. Nor can any data-processing institution in the world find such a statement in its files. This serves as counter-proof that it is none other than the Vietnamese authorities themselves who are spreading the rumour that “China is calling the Hoa people to go back.”

The Vietnamese authorities claimed that the “Hoa people” and Vietnamese “live in concord and mutual attachment, in a great socialist family in Viet Nam,” that “Hoa people enjoy the same rights as Vietnamese,” and that “no Hoa people are more equally treated elsewhere than in Viet Nam.” Now, if all this is true, would it not be something astounding in world history that more than 100,000 overseas Chinese should have given up their exceedingly happy “great socialist family” and vied to return to their motherland, bringing with them the aged and the young, immediately after they were “called” by Chinese leaders? In uttering such nonsense, are the Vietnamese authorities

not afraid of having their much-vaunted “policy of benevolence” towards the “Hoa people” thoroughly repudiated?

Besides, not all of the expelled Chinese nationals have returned to China. Many had braved turbulent waves in boats and drifted to some other countries or regions in Southeast Asia and Oceania. Can it be said that these Chinese nationals have also responded to the “call” of Chinese leaders to go “back to build the country”?

The third argument of the Vietnamese authorities is that large numbers of “Hoa people” fled because “Hoa capitalists” opposed the “socialist transformation” in industry and commerce being carried out in south Viet Nam. This is still less tenable. According to investigations, over 95 per cent of the 160,000 Chinese nationals who have thus far returned are working people from north Viet Nam where socialist transformation was completed fundamentally in 1960. This fact suffices to belie the argument of the Vietnamese authorities. Furthermore, the overwhelming majority of the Chinese nationals coming from south Viet Nam are likewise working people.

Of late, the Vietnamese authorities cooked up a new argument. At the last two meetings of the current Sino-Vietnamese negotiations in Hanoi, the representative of the Vietnamese Foreign Ministry repeatedly insisted that the return of large numbers of “Hoa people” to China was the result of a “forced evacuation campaign” launched by the Chinese side. This is a more glaring absurdity. The “Hoa people,” as the Vietnamese authorities call them, are living within the territory of Viet Nam. No matter how much power the Chinese Government may wield within the boundary of China, it cannot “force” the

residents in the territory of Viet Nam, let alone conduct a "forced evacuation campaign." In fact, the Vietnamese authorities possess all means of coercion towards the residents in their country. They actually forced the Chinese nationals to leave Viet Nam by sending out security personnel, militiamen and armed forces and giving instructions to Party and government organs at all levels to do so, and by resorting to such coercive measures as cancelling the identity cards of Chinese nationals, stopping their food rations, depriving them of the means of livelihood and ordering them to leave within a time limit. The farms opened up with so much toil by the Chinese nationals in south Viet Nam were confiscated and given to "immigrants" from the north at an order of "evacuation." While in north Viet Nam, steps were taken as early as at the beginning of last year "to clear up the border areas." In other words, the Chinese nationals were forced to move out and were expelled en masse. This was repeated in other places all over Viet Nam. Anyone with common sense can easily give an answer to the question: Who should be blamed for the "forced evacuation"?

The failure to produce a plausible explanation and their self-contradictory statements which are full of loopholes have obviously given the Vietnamese authorities a headache. However, they have to cling desperately to their last position, that is, refusal to admit the fact of their large-scale persecution and expulsion of Chinese nationals. Once this defence line is broken through, all their anti-China hue and cry and actions based on this fictitious foundation will collapse. This will expose before the world the truth that the Vietnamese authorities' ostra-

cism of the Chinese nationals is an established policy to meet their internal and external needs and to follow the Soviet Union in opposing China.

(July 25, 1978)

“Socialist Transformation” or Anti-China, Expel-the-Chinese Campaign?

Commentary by Renmin Ribao Correspondent

The premeditated, planned anti-China campaign of sudden massive persecution and expulsion of Chinese nationals launched by the Vietnamese authorities upon instruction plunged Chinese residents in Viet Nam into misery, at the same time creating tremendous difficulties for China. However, standing facts on their heads the Vietnamese authorities have slanderously counter-charged that China opposes Viet Nam’s “socialist transformation” and “protects the Chinese capitalists” there. Soviet social-imperialism also chimes in, accusing China of “interfering in Vietnamese internal affairs,” “making things hard” for Viet Nam, etc., etc. This reversing of facts by the Vietnamese authorities and their backer, the Soviet Union, this shifting the blame onto others, cannot but arouse the Chinese people’s indignation.

The facade of “socialist transformation,” though erected in all its glory, can in no way cover up the criminal persecution and expulsion of Chinese nationals by the Vietnamese authorities.

As is widely known, socialist transformation was carried out in north Viet Nam early in the fifties, whereas it began in the south only in March this year. Chinese

residents did not return to China in large numbers when socialist transformation was initiated in north Viet Nam. Why the exodus when “socialist transformation” is in progress in the south?

In fact, of the more than 160,000 victimized Chinese who have returned to China so far, over 95 per cent are from the north where socialist transformation has already been completed. Why is it that these are being unwarrantedly driven back to China in increasing numbers? Can it be that they are “escaping from socialist transformation” 20-some years after the event, and from a place where they are not affected?

Obviously, persecuted Chinese nationals have returned to China en masse not to escape from “socialist transformation” as the Vietnamese authorities would have people believe. It is rather the outcome of the anti-China policy implemented by the Vietnamese authorities to expel ethnic Chinese, and has nothing to do with Viet Nam’s “socialist transformation.”

According to Hoang Tung, member of the Vietnamese Communist Party Central Committee, among the one million Chinese nationals in south Viet Nam only about one per cent are capitalists residing in Ho Chi Minh City. The Vietnamese authorities have repeatedly declared that the “socialist transformation” they practise in the south today is “the same policy” as that adopted in the north in the fifties. This being so, why is it that what did not happen in the fifties should have happened today? Moreover, the vast majority of the thousands of Chinese who have returned to China from south Viet Nam are working people who would not logically try to “escape from socialist transformation.”

Since the Vietnamese authorities have said so much about large numbers of Chinese returning to China in order to "escape from socialist transformation," it might be well to review their acts against Chinese residents in Viet Nam to see if they were aimed at serving the needs of socialist transformation.

Shortly after the liberation of south Viet Nam, the Vietnamese authorities took over the Ngo Dinh Diem clique's reactionary policy of discrimination against Chinese residents and forcing them to adopt Vietnamese nationality by such procedures as "taking a general census" and "renewing identity cards." This type of persecution began in the north only after the conclusion of the war of resistance to U.S. aggression. One may ask: Did the Vietnamese authorities force Chinese residents to adopt Vietnamese nationality to facilitate socialist transformation? Does Chinese residents' opposition to such coercion mean opposition to Viet Nam's socialist transformation?

Also, how was the Vietnamese socialist transformation served by dismissing Chinese nationals from their jobs, forcing them to retire, demoting them and reducing pay, withholding jobs, striking their names from residence registration, cutting food rations and even detaining and arresting them? It should be borne in mind that these Chinese nationals driven to desperation include no few who shed their blood and sweat in the war that defeated U.S. aggression and also in Viet Nam's national construction.

In line with their "foreign policy," the Vietnamese authorities in April 1977 adopted a decision on "the policy towards foreigners residing and making their living in Viet Nam," which was directed mainly against Chinese residents. This decision forbade Chinese to engage in

fishery, forestry, printing, wireless repair, bus driving and passenger ship piloting, bans which deprived many Chinese nationals of their means of livelihood. Were such measures necessary for Viet Nam's socialist transformation?

In the name of exchanging the old for the new Vietnamese currency, the Vietnamese authorities had the homes of Chinese residents raided and their property seized, depriving them of their hard-earned savings overnight. Scarcely socialist transformation.

These measures, as events show, were designed to ostracize, plunder, persecute and expel Chinese nationals, that the Chinese returned to China not in order to escape from socialist transformation but to escape from their daily worsening, intolerable situation. Herein lies the real cause of large numbers of Chinese being forced to leave north and south Viet Nam — something which did not happen during the socialist transformation in the fifties in the north.

It is historical fact that China showed great concern for Viet Nam's socialist transformation when it was carried out in the north in the fifties, and gave it generous assistance. A Vietnamese leader said in 1960 that the Chinese people had given unstinted assistance of many kinds to the Vietnamese people in their socialist construction in the north, for which he expressed profound love and thanks to them. One may ask why now should China oppose Viet Nam's socialist transformation in the south? Certainly Viet Nam's claims that China is against her socialist transformation and has "made things hard" for her are sheer slander.

The allegation that China "protects" Chinese capitalists in south Viet Nam is also fabricated. The Chinese

Government has always expected overseas Chinese, whether capitalists or working people, conscientiously to abide by the law of the country in which they reside. It never defends Chinese abroad who violate the law of their country of domicile. Viet Nam's accusations against China of urging her nationals to oppose Viet Nam's socialist transformation and "protecting" Chinese capitalists are groundless.

It is quite clear that the exodus of large numbers of Chinese from Viet Nam is due to the anti-China campaign launched by the Vietnamese authorities against Chinese residents to meet their internal and external policy needs. It also makes it impossible for Chinese nationals to stay on in Viet Nam. It is only natural that the Chinese Government should take measures to protect the legitimate rights and interests of its nationals abroad. The Vietnamese authorities will not succeed in using any "socialist transformation" to deprive the Chinese Government of this legitimate right. The fact that Soviet social-imperialism lustily cheers the Vietnamese authorities in their persecution and expulsion of Chinese nationals only shows it up as the behind-the-scenes inciter and supporter of Viet Nam's anti-China campaign.

(July 28, 1978)

Vietnamese Violence and Slanders

Commentary by Hsinhua Correspondent

The past two weeks witnessed three incidents in which armed Vietnamese public security men used violence against Chinese nationals while the Sino-Vietnamese negotiations at vice-ministerial level were underway.

On August 8, when the negotiations started, armed Vietnamese public security personnel stabbed or struck with stones 14 Chinese nationals on the Vietnamese side of the Peilun River bridge and drove over 700 others stranded on the Vietnamese side of the bridge across to the Chinese side of the border.

On the evening of August 11 through to the following morning, armed Vietnamese public security personnel raided a group of over 100 Chinese nationals staying in a hotel in Hanoi, the site of the negotiations. These Chinese nationals who came to Hanoi to go through the formalities for return to China were attacked with water hoses and tear gas and later abducted to an unknown place.

On August 19, Vietnamese public security personnel beat up and struck with stones victimized Chinese stranded on the Vietnamese side of Yu Yi Kuan and tried to force them to storm through the pass, injuring three of them.

In all these incidents armed Vietnamese public security personnel were pitted against innocent Chinese na-

nationals who were obviously the victims. But how did the Vietnamese propaganda machine describe these incidents? It said that "Chinese ruffians carrying knives" "used violence" against Vietnamese public security personnel, that "bad elements instigated by the Chinese embassy" "used violence against and wounded by beatings Vietnamese personnel on duty, including cadres and security men," and that "ruffians" directed by Chinese public security personnel "flung stones at Vietnamese frontier guards." This is typically a case of the murderer making complaints and the scoundrel filing a suit.

The Vietnamese vilifications were meant to show that the incidents had something to do with the Chinese side and the Sino-Vietnamese negotiations and therefore Viet Nam would be in a position to question China's sincerity in the negotiations and shift the blame onto China when Viet Nam eventually wrecks the negotiations.

But vilifications are vilifications. They are bound to betray loopholes even if they were worked out with the greatest care. All these incidents took place on Vietnamese territory, but the Vietnamese mass media alleged that they were "fabricated," "organized" and "directed" by the Chinese authorities. A Vietnamese paper said that two Chinese trucks loaded with stones, sticks, and daggers drove from the Tunghsing town on the night of August 7 to arm the Chinese nationals stranded on the Vietnamese side of the Peilun bridge. What a clumsy fabrication! How is it possible that the armed Vietnamese military and police on guard with full vigilance at a frontier pass should allow two Chinese trucks to pass by and send weapons to the victimized Chinese nationals. Were the Vietnamese military and police trifling with their duty? What is more, stones and sticks are every-

where to be found, and there is no lack of them on the Vietnamese side of the Peilun River either. Was it necessary for these things to be sent across the border by truck? As for daggers, there was only one the Chinese side found on the bridge. It had been left there by Vietnamese public security personnel who had used it to attack the Chinese nationals.

The incident at the railway station hotel in Hanoi was clearly a premeditated act concocted single-handed by the Vietnamese authorities for making a slanderous accusation against China. V.N.A. reported, "Hundreds of Hoa people from several localities have over recent days come to Hanoi and gathered in front of the Hang Co central railway station, committing nuisance and other acts disturbing public order." It added, "The Vietnamese authorities had to settle them in hotels at the station. . . . However, bad elements among the Hoa people, instigated by the Chinese embassy, last night (August 11) and in the small hours of August 12 opposed that fair and reasonable policy, used violence against and wounded by beatings Vietnamese personnel on duty, including cadres and security men." This was a low and clumsy accusation against the Chinese embassy. Firstly, the Chinese nationals came to Hanoi to make applications for return home because they had been deprived of all means of subsistence by the Vietnamese authorities. The fact that they had to sleep in the open air near the station shows that they were in a miserable state because of Vietnamese persecution and exploitation, for which the Vietnamese authorities should bear full responsibility. Secondly, it was the Vietnamese authorities who, by means of pressure and cajolery, moved these Chinese nationals from the railway station to the hotel

the day before the incident. The "kindness" and "concern" shown to the Chinese nationals by the Vietnamese authorities, which had all along been relentless towards them, were dramatized precisely for abducting them by surprise attack later. Thirdly, it was the armed Vietnamese public security personnel who broke open the gate of the hotel at midnight to "carry out their duty" of abducting the Chinese nationals in distress, using water hoses and tear gas prepared in advance. This shows that the incident at the railway station was completely a pre-meditated act of the Vietnamese side. It had nothing to do with any "instruction" from the Chinese embassy. The Vietnamese side even called such cajolery, pressure, attack and abduction "fair and reasonable." What a humbug!

The Vietnamese authorities have deliberately created one incident after another since the opening of the Chinese-Vietnamese negotiations and then shifted the blame onto the Chinese side. Furthermore, they have linked these incidents with the negotiations and made a big fuss about them, slanderously accusing the Chinese side of not showing good will in the negotiations. A case in point is the title of an article by the commentator of the Vietnamese paper *Nhan Dan* of August 13, which runs, "the Good-Will Professed by the Chinese Authorities Cannot Cover Up Their Wicked Nature."

From the hullabaloo of the Vietnamese propaganda machine in the past few days, one can smell more gunpowder than at the negotiating table. The attack on the Chinese Government Delegation that it lacked good-will in the negotiations is a reminder that the arrival of the Chinese delegation in Hanoi has brought hope to many people for an all-round settlement of the issue of Chinese

residents in Viet Nam but has aroused alarm among those forces which fear that the negotiations might achieve success. These forces, therefore, have been trying to create obstacles in the way of the negotiations, poison the atmosphere and even plant a "time bomb" to undermine them. They have fabricated such charges as the "lack of good-will" just to prepare public opinion for their sabotage of the negotiations.

All people in the world who wish success to the Chinese-Vietnamese negotiations should be careful and guard against any more machinations.

(August 27, 1978)

Bloody Scheme Under Cover of "Appeal"

Commentary by Hsinhua Correspondent

A grave incident took place at Yu Yi Kuan on August 25 when armymen and police called out by the Vietnamese authorities suppressed the victimized Chinese nationals with sanguinary violence and drove them out by force. This bloody incident fully exposes the hypocritical and sinister proposal of Hoang Bich Son, leader of the Vietnamese Government Delegation, that an "appeal" be issued by the leaders of the Government Delegations of China and Viet Nam "to call on those people who are unable to leave for China to return to their former places of residence." It is quite clear now that the proposal of the Vietnamese authorities is put forth not for solving properly the question of the Chinese nationals stranded on Vietnamese territory in the border area, but as a glaring fraud to camouflage the premeditated bloody suppression and expulsion of a large number of Chinese residents.

It is the Vietnamese authorities who have caused a large number of victimized Chinese residents to be stranded in the Sino-Vietnamese border. These Chinese nationals, exposed to the sultry sun and torrential rains, are in a terrible plight. Moreover, personnel of the Vietnamese side insulted and scolded them, hit or stabbed them, and created one incident after another. The Chinese side had to send food and water, doctors and medicine

to them every day, and send those injured by personnel of the Vietnamese side to hospital. Thus, it has become an urgent matter to solve the problem of the Chinese nationals stranded in the border area. The Chinese side has time and again called for an immediate solution of this problem at the negotiation sessions between the two countries. At the third negotiation session, it concretely proposed that the Vietnamese side should persuade and send the victimized Chinese back to their former places of domicile and resettle them properly.

This proposal of the Chinese side is reasonable and just and practicable as well. Should the Vietnamese side give an active response to it, the question of the stranded Chinese nationals could be solved relatively satisfactorily. However, the response of the Vietnamese side has only been a series of tricks.

At the conference table, the Vietnamese side, without giving the proposal of the Chinese side careful consideration, demanded at the second negotiation session that China "open the border to let them enter China." This demand is tantamount to asking China to acquiesce in the Vietnamese authorities' practice of continued expulsion of Chinese nationals in large numbers. This is of course unreasonable. In fact, the Chinese side did not close the border passes, but only reiterated that the Sino-Vietnamese border control accord must be strictly observed and the returning Chinese nationals must go through entrance and exit formalities. At the same time, the Vietnamese side also demanded that China "let the Vietnamese side take these Hoas back to their former places of domicile and must neither covertly nor overtly incite them to stay out and wait at the checkpoints." This is even more absurd. The victimized Chinese were driven

by the Vietnamese side to the border passes, and if the Vietnamese side agreed to take them back now, why should China put up any objection? Furthermore, the victimized Chinese are stranded in Vietnamese territory under the close watch of Vietnamese army men and police, how can the Chinese side "incite" them under such circumstances? The Vietnamese demand is simply designed to shift entirely onto China the responsibility for the stranding of victimized Chinese in the border area, which was engineered by the Vietnamese side single-handedly.

Actually, the Vietnamese authorities arrested and detained victimized Chinese returning inland from the border area, jailed and tortured them, forced them to fill in forms or write materials or "confessions" derogatory to China and these materials or "confessions" were tape-recorded and broadcast. Many of the victimized Chinese were forcibly carried by trucks to remote places to be tormented. It is utterly impossible for them to return to their former places of residence.

While proposing to issue an "appeal" to the victimized Chinese stranded in the border area, the Vietnamese authorities intensified their persecution, expulsion and suppression of the Chinese. How heinous! On August 8, Vietnamese public security personnel stabbed Chinese nationals in distress on Peilun River bridge near Tung-hsing and forcibly drove over 700 of them into Chinese territory. On August 1 at Yu Yi Kuan, Vietnamese military and police personnel opened fire and drove 2,000 victimized Chinese to storm the border pass. On August 19, the Vietnamese public security personnel again beat up the Chinese nationals, forcing them to storm the border pass. After that, the Vietnamese authorities, acting like a desperate gambler, mobilized and deployed several

hundred armed military and police personnel at the Vietnamese side of Yu Yi Kuan and outrageously launched an attack on the bare-handed victimized Chinese on August 25, ruthlessly beating and bayoneting the victimized Chinese irrespective of age or sex and causing heavy casualties, and drove over 2,000 victimized Chinese into Chinese territory. This sanguinary outrage committed by the Vietnamese authorities can only show that they are playing double-faced tactics and deliberately suppressing and expelling the Chinese nationals in distress in an attempt to sabotage the Sino-Vietnamese negotiations and aggravate the relations between the two countries.

The bloody suppression of the Chinese nationals by the Vietnamese authorities has mercilessly torn off their hypocritical masks and exposed their "proposals" and "appeal" as a sinister plot to hoodwink the world public.

(August 27, 1978)

Vietnamese Anti-China Propaganda Unpopular and Untrue

Commentary by Hsinhua Correspondent

The Vietnamese authorities have launched a large-scale propaganda campaign against China. As part of this they have made all-round attacks on China's domestic and foreign policies, used lies and slanders, and even attacked Chinese leaders in person. Such vile propaganda will only evoke resentment from people throughout the world and will in effect ruin the image of the Vietnamese authorities themselves.

Such propaganda is voluminous. The paper *Nhan Dan* alone published a minimum of 122 anti-China articles from August 1 to 18 — an average of seven a day. The following are the recent characteristics of Viet Nam's anti-China propaganda:

Firstly. Spreading rumours and fabricating slanders are old tricks of the Vietnamese authorities. It is well known that they have discriminated against, ostracized, persecuted and expelled Chinese nationals in large numbers. However, they accused China of "opposing Viet Nam" and of having "started a large-scale campaign aimed at enticing and coercing some one hundred thousand Hoa people to go to China." They alleged that there was a "supreme council headed by Ambassador Chen Chih-fang" in the Chinese embassy "for directing the campaign

to coerce the Hoa people to evacuate" and that there was a "secret network." This allegation that the Chinese embassy was omnipotent and had the power to give orders within Vietnamese territory to coerce more than one hundred thousand Chinese residents to return to China is a fantasy.

On August 25, the Vietnamese authorities brought about an incident involving bloodshed when they killed and expelled Chinese nationals from the Vietnamese side of Yu Yi Kuan. The Vietnamese authorities, however, alleged that this incident was perpetrated by Chinese policemen and army men and that "the Chinese side herded the Hoa people stranded in this area to the other side of the border in Chinese territory" and that it was they who "pulled down tents of the Hoa and smashed their things."

Such rumours are ridiculous, and have become a source of amusement.

Secondly. Finding themselves bereft of arguments, the Vietnamese authorities have resorted to mud-slinging. They have not hesitated to use phrases such as "black heart," "inhuman and brutal," in describing China, and they have labelled China as a "big-nation expansionist," a "son of heaven," likened China's policies to "Hitler's racial superiority designs," and described them as "opportunistic," and "reactionary," etc.

Thirdly. It is well known that the Vietnamese authorities have committed armed aggression against Kampuchea, dispatched troops into other's territory, and played a role as "Asia's Cuba" in pursuit of their own hegemonistic ambitions in Southeast Asia. However, they have made counter-charges that China "seeks hegemonism," "nurtures the very big dream for expansion, domination

and hegemonism, especially in Southeast Asia," and "has been harbouring the ambition to conquer the entire South-east Asia and then to seek world domination." The Vietnamese authorities would seem to be trying to present themselves as a hero in the anti-hegemony cause. However, just at the time when the Sino-Japanese Peace and Friendship Treaty was signed to world-wide acclaim, and which includes an anti-hegemony clause, the Vietnamese authorities, together with the Soviet Union, hurled all kinds of abuse in opposition to it. The reason for their outcry was because the anti-hegemony clause touches the heart of their ambitions.

Fourthly. The Vietnamese authorities have slandered and attacked and crudely intervened in China's internal affairs. They have launched attacks against China's socialist revolution and her various political movements. They have even come out in defence of Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and the "gang of four." Particularly objectionable is the fact that the Vietnamese authorities have put to one side relations between the two countries and instructed Viet Nam's newspapers to attack China's leaders on any and every ground, describing them as "the loyal successors to Chin Shih Huang (the First Emperor of Chin Dynasty 221-206 B.C.) in burning books, burying scholars and expanding China's territory." In addition to this personal attack, the newspapers have carried cartoons viciously caricaturing China's leaders. Such methods command no respect.

In furthering their anti-China propaganda, the Vietnamese authorities have used every means at their disposal. These include reports, editorials, commentaries, articles, poetry, essays, caricatures and drama. Vietnamese propaganda has endlessly repeated Soviet anti-

China propaganda without bothering to change the words. They have also tried hard to collect all kinds of materials which can be used against China and have even distorted and revised some of them to serve their purpose. They published these materials in a special column entitled "The Whole World Supports Viet Nam and Criticizes China." This attempt to deceive world opinion and thus win renown for itself is shameless.

These are only a few illustrations of the methods and tactics engaged in by the Vietnamese authorities in their anti-China propaganda. They show clearly just how far Viet Nam has progressed down the anti-China road.

However, it should be realized that such cheap propaganda is unpopular in Viet Nam and does not represent the feelings of the majority of the Vietnamese people. Disputes between two countries should be resolved through open and aboveboard political debate, by presenting the facts and reasoning things out. They cannot be settled by intrigue and manoeuvres. If justice is not on one's side, any attempt to win the case by resorting to underhand methods will prove futile. Such actions can only worsen relations between the two countries. This is something neither the Vietnamese people nor the Chinese people want to see.

(August 29, 1978)

Negotiations Cover Violence; Violence Replaces Negotiations

Commentary by Hsinhua Correspondent

At the Sino-Vietnamese vice-foreign ministers negotiations, the Vietnamese delegate hypocritically proposed an "appeal" to be issued by both sides "calling on those people who are unable to leave for China to return to their former places of residence." Meanwhile, on the Sino-Vietnamese border, a large number of Vietnamese army-men and police were sent out to brutally slaughter Chinese residents stranded on the Vietnamese side of the border, and expel all the survivors into Chinese territory.

It is not contradictory at all for the Vietnamese authorities to hold negotiations on the question of Chinese residents while at the same time suppressing them with violence. They play the dual tactics of violence and negotiation alternately or simultaneously with the same purpose of forcibly bringing away the several thousand victimized Chinese stranded on the Vietnamese side of the border in order to continue to persecute and discriminate against them, or driving them into Chinese territory. Settlement by violence is the core, and negotiation is for covering up its violent settlement.

Under the smokescreen of negotiations, the Vietnamese side has long speeded up preparations for the

use of violence. Just on the morning of August 25 when the bloody incident occurred at Yu Yi Kuan, the Vietnamese paper *Quan Doi Nhan Dan* (*People's Army*) said in a conspicuous editorial that "international reactionary forces" "directed the counter-revolutionaries and bad elements among the Hoa people to make use of the question of 'victimized Chinese' created by the Chinese authorities to widely spread rumours which have resulted in a tense atmosphere among the masses, and make disturbances in some places, especially on the northern border." "Vigilance should be heightened and the work to maintain political security and social order should be carried on better," it warned. This is a signal as well as preparation of public opinion for violent action.

In fact, the Hanoi authorities have been dispatching since mid-August a large number of army-men and police to the northern border areas including that outside Yu Yi Kuan. Vietnamese vehicles kept coming and going on the highway between Dong Dang and one of the Vietnamese border checkpoints. On many occasions they brought away by force victimized Chinese nationals stranded on the border and residents there. On August 24, the Vietnamese railway administration declared that it was ordered to reject all consignments from Hanoi to Pinghsiang, China. But it restored this business on the afternoon of the very day when the Yu Yi Kuan bloodshed occurred. The administration once temporarily stopped selling passenger tickets to foreigners who wished to leave Hanoi for China via Yu Yi Kuan. This was actually a step taken to keep secret their premeditated large-scale violent action.

While at the Hanoi negotiations, the Vietnamese delegation has been playing all kinds of tricks to stall for

time and cover up the act of violence taken by the Vietnamese side. At the beginning of the negotiations, the Chinese delegation proposed an early settlement of the question of the victimized Chinese residents stranded at the Vietnamese border. It submitted a practical proposal on this matter at the second and third negotiation sessions, demanding that the Vietnamese side send those Chinese back to their former places of domicile, resettle them properly and offer open, precise and reliable guarantee for their safety of person.

However, the Vietnamese side, while proposing to issue an "appeal" by the Chinese and Vietnamese sides to the victimized Chinese, launched a series of attacks on the Chinese side. On the one hand, it charged China with "instigating" Chinese nationals to "hang on in the passes" and urged China to "open those passes" so that it could continue to drive large numbers of Chinese nationals into Chinese territory without going through any exit or entry formalities, and it could send Vietnamese spies to sneak their way into Chinese territory for making disturbances. On the other, it called on Chinese nationals to return to their former places of residence in Viet Nam, but offered them no guarantee for livelihood and safety. Nevertheless, proceeding from the most sincere desire for solving the problem, the Chinese delegation expressed its willingness to consult over such a "proposal" after due study.

Contrary to expectation, the Vietnamese side with an ulterior motive made a statement on August 19 distorting the speech of the Chinese delegation and alleging that the Chinese side had accepted its request. It broadcast the "appeal" to the Chinese nationals stranded on the border, created by itself, so as to deliberately cause trouble. At about 6 p.m. on that day, Vietnamese public security men

used violence near Yu Yi Kuan, injuring some Chinese nationals and forcing them to storm the Chinese pass again. This is by no means a "coincidence." But by adopting such painstakingly planned dual tactics, Hanoi failed to expel all the Chinese nationals into Chinese territory.

After carefully studying Viet Nam's proposal on issuing an "appeal," the leader of the Chinese delegation Chung Hsi-tung proposed to the head of the Vietnamese delegation Hoang Bich Son that the two delegations make an "announcement." Hoang Bich Son hypocritically said that the form of an "announcement" was acceptable. But he would comment on its content at the fourth session on August 25. He even asserted, "Today we have many points in common." Why did the Vietnamese delegation who has been adopting a rigid attitude at the negotiation table suddenly become so "reasonable"? Actually they were intensifying their preparations for bloody suppression on a larger scale at Yu Yi Kuan on August 25. After the astounding incident occurred, Hoang Bich Son straightened his face at the fourth session on August 26, announcing that the Chinese proposal for issuing an "announcement" is "completely unacceptable."

In fact the Vietnamese side need not announce this, because Vietnamese armed personnel had reached their goal with bloody violence outside Yu Yi Kuan, a goal that the Vietnamese side did not reach at the negotiations — to bring away or expel the victimized Chinese.

This is the reality of the struggle over the question of Chinese nationals stranded on the Sino-Vietnamese border. The Hanoi authorities are preening themselves on their performance. But the "sincerity" they have pre-

tended so painstakingly at the negotiations has been wiped out by their own acts of violence before the world public opinion.

(August 30, 1978)

Report from Tunghsing, Kwangsi

— Chinese Residents Forced Out by Viet Nam Return to China

by Hsinhua Correspondent Ma Li

I arrived in mid-May at the border town of Tunghsing, on the southern frontiers of China in the Kwangsi Chuang Autonomous Region. I saw the harrowing condition of the victimized Chinese residents forced to return to China by the Vietnamese authorities. Across the river, Vietnamese army and police personnel were pursuing and beating their hapless victims.

The multi-national Tunghsing Autonomous County is separated by the Peilun River from Mong Cai District of Viet Nam's Quang Ninh Province. People on either shore can see the houses and fields on the other. The people living along the borders of both countries drink from the same river and there has been an unbroken record of friendly exchanges. Now dark clouds hang over this river, owing to the Vietnamese authorities' large-scale persecution and eviction of Chinese residents.

I climbed up onto the dyke of the Peilun River and gazed in the direction of Mong Cai. On a stretch of open river flats, groups of victimized Chinese were huddling together with their children, mothers trying to soothe their crying babies, old people sitting on the bare ground,

completely exhausted. Some were boarding small boats destined for the north bank.

Some of the victims were wading across at shallower points. In the waist-deep water, some carried a bundle on their shoulders; others were pushing floating planks before them. One woman was trudging across the river, a small girl on her back and a shoulder-pole across her shoulder.

Standing under shady trees and by the bamboo groves were gun-toting Vietnamese soldiers, keeping a close eye on those preparing to cross the river. Some of the victims were chased and beaten by Vietnamese soldiers and security personnel on the river flats and stripped of their belongings.

Stepping onto the soil of the motherland on the Chinese side of a ferry crossing, victimized Chinese helped one another, taking the old folk by the arm and leading the children along. When the old people got off the boat, they kept repeating to their compatriots who had come to receive them: "We are safe now. We are safe now." Carrying what clothing and utensils remained to them after the plunder, a couple came ashore with their two children. The father was carrying two buckets on a shoulder-pole, his little girl sitting in one of them. The elder child, a 13- or 14-year-old boy, followed after his mother. The child's feet were badly swollen by the long day-and-night trek.

On the dyke, people stood in little knots, wet-eyed, as they poured out their feelings on returning to the motherland. They denounced the Vietnamese authorities for their persecution of Chinese residents.

A woman still suffering from the shock told people how an hour earlier, on her way out of Viet Nam, she had seen

a young man among the harassed Chinese set upon by six Vietnamese soldiers and badly mauled. On May 9, old peasant Shen Yao-kun, a Chinese living in a village two kilometres from Mong Cai, was carrying two baskets of manioc on his shoulder-pole when Vietnamese soldiers stopped him near the gates of a school. They pointed a bayonet at his chest, twisted his arms behind him and took away his manioc. His right forefinger was snapped and the bone was showing. When he arrived in China he had to be treated at the Tunghsing County hospital.

Returnees stood in rows on this side of the Peilun River, peering anxiously at the opposite shore. Children were waiting for parents still stranded in Viet Nam, and old people for their children and grandchildren. Many families had become separated and penniless as a result of Vietnamese authorities' persecution. Chu Shih-wen, an old man, had crossed the border from Ha Coi 11 days ago. He went down to the riverside every day to wait for his 18-year-old son and left with a heavy heart. "My son hasn't come and I'm worried sick," he said to me.

An old resident of Tunghsing town recalled how the Chinese and Vietnamese people shared weal and woe in the struggle ten years ago when ferries were shuttling to and fro across the Peilun River. He told me that large numbers of Vietnamese residents of Hanoi, Hai Phong and Mong Cai were evacuated across the border to Tunghsing County when U.S. imperialism savagely bombed those parts of northern Viet Nam. He said: "The Vietnamese people together with the Chinese in Viet Nam sent the old and the women and children across the river and every family in our town did what we could for them. We gave shelter to over 6,000 people until 1971 when they returned to Viet Nam. This is still fresh in the

minds of the border people of both countries. We never dreamt that the Vietnamese authorities would try and wreck this friendship sealed in blood between the people of China and Viet Nam, as they are doing today. It really hurts to think of it!"

I saw right on the opposite bank of the river a cluster of homes in Deo Hang Le with their roofs stripped off. Pointing to the devastated houses, a returnee said to this reporter: "That is iron-clad proof of the Vietnamese authorities' persecution of the Chinese in Viet Nam. That was where Chinese residents in Mong Cai lived in community. Last February, Mong Cai District authorities announced the establishment of a 'sanitary district' along the river and ordered the Chinese there to move inland to build what they called 'new villages.' The Chinese tearfully left the homes they had built with their labour over the years and returned to the motherland."

Su Ping, who had lived in Mong Cai, revealed how he had suffered all sorts of persecution in recent years. He was born in Hai Phong and, at the age of 21, had joined in the Vietnamese revolutionary struggles. He still bears the scars of battle resisting the aggressors in Viet Nam. He once worked in a film company in Quang Ninh Province. But he was compelled to retire before he reached the retirement age because the Vietnamese authorities groundlessly discriminated against Chinese residents. As his pension was not enough to support his family of six, he had to cultivate a piece of wasteland on which he grew vegetables to make ends meet. Late last year, his family was denied their grain supply for two months.

Su Ping continued: "Since the beginning of this year, I have been placed under closer surveillance by the Vietnamese security personnel. I had no choice but to return

to the motherland, saying goodbye to the place where I had lived and fought, parting with the Vietnamese people, with whom I had lived together."

The returnees who had gone through so much suffering were received with deep feelings by their compatriots in the motherland. Every family in the town of Tunghsing has made room to put them up. A stream of bus caravans took them to farms for returned overseas Chinese where they will settle down and take part in the socialist construction of the motherland.

At one of the reception centres, I ran into an old man named Huang Man. He was born in Hopu County in Kwangsi and is now 76. He had gone to Viet Nam and found a job as a miner when he was 20. He retired at 60 on a pension too meagre to live on. This childless miner could not have kept body and soul together but for help from his neighbours who were, like him, Chinese miners. On the day he came back to China, he had only the threadbare clothes on his back and a worn cotton blanket. Tears were in his eyes when he was issued a new mosquito net, a straw mattress to sleep on and money for his daily needs on his arrival in China.

Returned Chinese Accuse Vietnamese Authorities of Persecutions

*by Hsinhua Correspondent Fang Shu-hsun,
China News Service Correspondents
Kuo Chao-chin and Yang Chien-neng*

Every day, large numbers of Chinese residents are being driven by the Vietnamese authorities to take refuge in Hokou, a Yunnan border city on the bank of the Nanshi River, facing Lao Cai.

On May 18, we came along the bank of the Nanshi River to a ferry crossing where we found that over 31,200 victimized Chinese had already waded across the river to their native country. The highest figure per day was 1,900.

These overseas Chinese compatriots went through untold hardships and dangers on their way out. Among them were some very old people and seriously ill people on stretchers.

Three days earlier, Kuo Erh-mei, a pregnant woman from Hanoi, had a fall during her crossing which led to a pre-mature birth.

Lo Yu-chu, a woman from Nghia Lo City in Hoang Lien Son Province, and her husband, a watch repair man, were denied their food rations for refusing to adopt Vietnamese nationality and were compelled to leave Viet Nam. On the night of April 21, when they were crossing the

river at a point three and a half kilometres from the Sino-Vietnamese Bridge, Lo Yu-chu slipped in the darkness and was drowned in the deep water. When her 75-year-old mother, who had returned to China several days earlier, heard of her death, she was overwhelmed by grief and had a relapse of her hypertension. "My wife wouldn't have died if not for persecution by the Vietnamese Government," said Teng Kuei-nan, Lo Yu-chu's husband.

Many of the refugees arrived at the border after five days on the road, faces covered with dust, clothes soaked with sweat, some on the verge of exhaustion. The reception station gave them biscuits and something to drink, while doctors bound the wounds of those who had fallen along the way or been beaten by Vietnamese public security personnel.

At the reception station, the tearful refugees had tragic stories to tell. Many had been born in Viet Nam. The older ones had lived there for decades. The great majority were working people. During their persecution by the Vietnamese authorities, many Chinese had the meagre fruits of decades of hard work confiscated or stolen. Most Chinese living in Ho Chi Minh City had their property searched and impounded before they fled and were in a pathetic state. They lost their possessions to the Vietnamese public security personnel who used both overt and covert methods of seizing them along the way.

Fu Hao, a pedlar, had his home raided and his property seized so that a canvas bag and some clothing were the only things he had when he returned to China on May 20 with his two daughters, one six and the other three years old.

Mrs. Cheng and her family fled from Ho Chi Minh City to Hanoi on May 19. There Vietnamese security personnel

dragged her 22-year-old daughter out of the train station and repeatedly asked whether she was carrying any valuables or a watch. Then they threw the clothing she had with her on the ground and shook it out piece by piece, without finding anything. The girl had to take off her leather shoes and hand them over, returning to China barefoot.

Every morning, many of the persecuted Chinese come to the bank of the Nanshi River and stand waiting anxiously for their relatives still in Viet Nam. They sit around together and pour out their grievances. The Vietnamese authorities' persecution broke up their families. Only a few of the Chinese refugees from Ho Chi Minh City managed to bring out whole families. Two Chinese children fled to Hanoi with their father. But he was detained by the Vietnamese authorities, and the two children had to return to China without him. Now, they come and wait for him at the riverside every day, so far in vain.

On the morning of May 23, we saw a grey-haired old woman sitting on the balustrade of the bridge, her eyes fixed on the other side of the river as she murmured something to herself. The woman, Chiang Wei-chuan, told us in a trembling voice that, on her way from Hai Phong to Lao Cai the day before, one of her three sons got a nervous shock and ran away when Vietnamese security men started to search them. She could not hold back her tears as she stood on the bank of the river thinking of her missing son.

As soon as the harassed Chinese arrived at Hokou, many of them fell seriously ill because they had trekked over a long distance in sweltering heat, had been in a state of constant worry and anxiety and suffered from hunger and

fatigue. Every temporary reception centre at Hokou has a medical station and many returnees have needed urgent medical care and have been transferred to the out-patient departments of the hospitals every day. Up to May 20, Hokou Hospital had admitted over 300 returnees, nine of whom had been badly beaten and injured by Vietnamese security personnel and two of whom had been terrorized on the way and suffered from mental disorders.

In the hospital a middle-aged woman told us that she had come back with her three young children but without her husband who was in Ho Chi Minh City and that they had suffered a lot along the way so that two of the children fell ill by the time they arrived at Hokou.

On April 29, one hospital admitted a patient named Ho Chih-chiu who was in a critical condition. He had been a lathe operator in Cat Ba Island off Hai Phong. This March the Vietnamese authorities ordered him to spread the rumour that "China is going to attack Viet Nam." He refused but was afraid of persecution, and became mentally deranged from the tension. He was admitted to a Vietnamese hospital but did not get decent treatment or nursing. One day he wandered out of the hospital and fell off a mountain cliff and was severely injured. He said to his wife repeatedly: "Carry me back to our motherland. I'd rather be there, even if it's only to die." When his wife and younger brother brought him to Hokou, Chinese medical workers did their best to save him but he died that afternoon.

Groups of victimized Chinese with their children were seen pouring into Hokou from Lao Cai on May 26. With great anger Feng Chi-hsia, a young woman who had just come back that morning told the reporters: "I suffered all the way from Ho Chi Minh City. When I got to Lao

Cai I was detained and questioned at the train station by Vietnamese policemen. A young man surnamed Teng who went with me was quite frightened, threw away his luggage and tried to run. But Vietnamese security personnel grabbed him, beat him cruelly and knocked him down with their rifle butts. I heard his desperate shouts for help when he was taken away."

Some victimized Chinese who have returned to Hokou put this question to us during their indictment of the Vietnamese authorities' persecution of the Chinese there to damage the Sino-Vietnamese friendship: "Through generations of revolutionary struggles, we Chinese residents in Viet Nam have formed a brotherly friendship, ties of flesh and blood with the Vietnamese people. Why do the Vietnamese authorities drive us back to China today?"

Widow Tells of Her Husband's Death from Persecution by Vietnamese Authorities

*by Hsinhua Correspondents Lu Hsiao-ping
and Chou Chung-yao*

A grief-stricken young widow, Lin Yu-fang, in an interview with Hsinhua, gave a detailed account of how her husband died from persecution by the Vietnamese authorities.

Lin Yu-fang said: "My husband's name was Ho Chih-chiu. He was a strong, healthy fisherman, just 32 years old. In 1964, he went to work in the Haiphong Co-operative on Cat Ba Island, Cat Hai District, Haiphong, serving as first mate of a fishing vessel and later becoming an engineer in 1972. He was willing and worked hard and was cited as a model worker for 13 consecutive years.

"Between March 1 and April 18 this year, public security personnel of Cat Ba Island came to our house several times to talk to my husband. They were acting on instructions from the Vietnamese authorities. They never allowed me to enter the room, but once when I went in to pour them some tea I heard the public security men tell my husband to spread the word around that 'China is going to attack Viet Nam' and 'overseas Chinese lead a convict's life when they return home.' After each of these 'talks,' my husband seemed very tense, lost his appetite and could not sleep nights. One day, when I

came home at noon, I found my husband holding his head between his hands and muttering: 'I'll never do the things they told me to!' he worried, more and more.

"I realized that we could not live in Viet Nam any longer, and I said to my husband, 'Let's go back to our own country!' He shook his head and replied: 'If they found out, they would kill us, because they are afraid I might expose them if I go back. They will kill me — dead men tell no tales.' At dawn on April 20, my husband suddenly bit his tongue and bled profusely. I knew he was doing it to get out of spreading anti-China rumours for the Vietnamese authorities. I took him to the Cat Ba Hospital right away.

"By the time I got my husband to the hospital, the Vietnamese authorities had already alerted the hospital staff and they gave him neither nursing care nor proper medical treatment. That afternoon, he grew delirious and ran out of the hospital. Nobody was taking care of him, and so he tumbled down a cliffside. He hurt his head in the fall and lost lots of blood. His body was badly injured too, and he could hardly make his legs move. Later when I went to the hospital and saw him lying unconscious in his bed, I ran crying to the hospital authorities. They knew his case well enough, but still they insisted that 'He committed suicide,' and refused to give him any treatment despite my repeated pleadings. Three days later, he was badly swollen in the belly, completely unable to tend to his own needs, and growing worse day by day. I was beside myself with anxiety and asked help from our relatives and friends. On April 23 I got him transferred to the Haiphong Hospital, but the Cat Ba Hospital wrote on the transfer certificate: 'Ho Chih-chiu is a Chinese. He tried twice to commit suicide.' The Haiphong Hospital

also refused treatment. My husband, now conscious again, was so outraged at the way they treated him that his hands shook and his limbs grew cold. He said to me: 'I can't live on here. Carry me back to our motherland. I'd rather die on the soil of our motherland.' I consulted with relatives and friends, and made up my mind to sell the belongings which had cost us so much sweat to earn, and use the money for the journey to our country.

"On April 27, just as I was getting ready to go back to the island and sell our property, my husband's cousin hurried over from Cat Ba Island to tell me: 'Your house was forcibly occupied by a Vietnamese cadre from Cat Hai District!' We had lived thriftily for many years and finally managed to build two rooms and make some tables, chairs, wardrobes and beds. But now they were all taken away by force. Later, thanks to financial aid from our relatives and friends, we set off on the trip back to our country. I got somebody to carry my husband to the train, and it was no easy matter for us to get to the Sino-Vietnamese border. We finally arrived in our motherland on April 29. My husband's condition was critical. His heart showed only a faint tremor. He was rushed at once to the Hokou Hospital just over the border in Yunnan Province for emergency treatment. Seven doctors worked on his case, giving him oxygen and transfusion. But it was too late for him to respond to the emergency treatment and he died that afternoon. The Hokou reception office for returned Chinese helped me with the funeral and my husband, Ho Chih-chiu, was buried in the Hokou cemetery."

Expelled Chinese Residents Tell of Tragic Experiences

by Hsinhua Correspondents
Liang Chung-chi and Yang Yi

On the frontier line between China and Viet Nam south of Pinghsiang City, in the Kwangsi Chuang Autonomous Region, stands a magnificent tower. Three big Chinese characters "Yu Yi Kuan" meaning "Friendship Pass" are engraved on it. They were written by Comrade Chen Yi. For many years, the people of China and Viet Nam went through this pass to exchange friendship visits. They have lived in close association with each other. The moving scene of President Ho Chi Minh and Premier Chou En-lai mounting the tower is still fresh in people's memories. A sofa once used by President Ho Chi Minh is displayed in the tower house. President Ho Chi Minh's statement: "Profound is the friendship between Viet Nam and China, who are both comrades and brothers" is deeply engraved in the people's minds. This profound friendship forged by the Chinese and Vietnamese people in their common struggle has for years been valued by people on both sides of the Friendship Pass and by the Chinese Government. But today the distressing fact is that this friendship is being trampled underfoot on the other side of Friendship Pass. Large numbers of Chinese residents driven out by the Viet-

namese authorities are returning to the motherland every day through this pass.

Chou Huang-shih is a centenarian who has lived in Viet Nam for eighty years. She forged a profound friendship with the Vietnamese people. During the war of resistance against the French colonialists, Chou Huang-shih ran a stall selling rice noodles and *tsungpa* (dumplings made by wrapping glutinous rice in broad bamboo leaves). Every time the troops from the Vietnamese People's Army passed her stall, she would try to put *tsungpa* into their pockets. When they had time soldiers of the People's Army also came to help her with the watering of her vegetable garden. This kind of friendship has after Viet Nam's nationwide victory been destroyed by the Vietnamese authorities.

Chou Huang-shih was deeply distressed when she told Hsinhua her tragic story. "Last December," she said, "the authorities of Son La City tried to force me to take up Vietnamese citizenship. I refused. They threatened: "If you don't, we will stop your food rations." I said that even so I would not take up Vietnamese citizenship. Then the public security personnel confiscated my food ration book for a family of seven. Driven to despair, my whole family had to leave the place where we had lived so long and returned to the motherland."

Liang Hai-shen is another Chinese resident, who used to live in Ngan Son District's Ngan Son Street, Bac Thai Province. He and his father were iron ore miners. He said: "Just before Spring Festival this year, Vietnamese district authorities sent a policeman to my house asking my whole family to change our identity cards. The policeman told us to fill in the blank under the item nationality 'Chinese of Vietnamese nationality.' I told him:

'I'm a Han of Chinese nationality. I've always put myself down as a Han.' He stared at me and said: 'If you refuse to write down what you're told, we won't issue new identity cards to you.' Sure enough, the Vietnamese authorities refused us new identity cards and also refused to give us ration coupons. I was forced to buy daily necessities at exorbitant prices in Cao Bang some 60 kilometres away. In May this year, when my wife was about to give birth, an official from Ngan Son District came and said to us Chinese residents: 'You have no land here, so get yourselves back to China now. What are you waiting for?' Some days later, the Vietnamese authorities sent soldiers and policemen to spread rumours and make threats. 'When China closes the border, you won't be able to go back. If you come back here, we'll arrest you and send you all to jail.' I knew I could not stay in Viet Nam any longer, so I talked over with my wife about leaving for China. On May 18, when our baby was only nine days old, we were forced to leave Viet Nam."

A young overseas Chinese teacher, Lung Chi-shun, returned to China through Friendship Pass, Yu Yi Kuan. Drawing on his personal experience, he angrily accused the Vietnamese authorities of brutally trampling on the friendship of China and Viet Nam. He had been a teacher at an overseas Chinese middle school in Cam Pha City, Quang Ninh Province. He told the correspondent: "As I had expressed some opinions on some actions taken by the Vietnamese authorities to ostracize overseas Chinese, I was ordered to stop teaching to examine my error. They stopped my salary. Later I went to my parents in Haiphong City and joined a man-power transport co-operative there hauling freight by pushing a flat-

car to make a living. All the same I was often followed by Vietnamese public security personnel and was under constant surveillance. On May 20 this year a Vietnamese public security major threatened me: "'Just like other overseas Chinese, you have two alternatives in Viet Nam. One is to take out Vietnamese citizenship. Then you can continue to work in the co-operative. The other is to refuse to take out Vietnamese citizenship, in which case you withdraw from the co-operative and look for a job yourself. Grain and non-staple foods will not be supplied to you.' In this manner the Vietnamese authorities cut off my prospects for earning a living. I and my family were forced to return to our country on May 25."

We called on Cheng Chun-chiang at the Pinghsiang city reception centre inside of Yu Yi Kuan. He had just returned to the motherland after working for 30 years on Vietnamese revolution and construction. He still carries with him three medals for his meritorious services in Viet Nam. Twenty-six years ago, he said, he went from south Viet Nam to the north and was warmly received by President Ho Chi Minh who encouraged him to take an active part in the Vietnamese revolution. Cheng went on: "At that time, overseas Chinese joined the Vietnamese revolution and were welcomed. Now, they are discriminated against and persecuted in Viet Nam. Those who are unwilling to take on Vietnamese nationality are looked upon as criminals. Many overseas Chinese have been thus discharged or expelled. My wife was originally a lathe turner. But, because she is an overseas Chinese, she was discharged at a time when she was going through medical treatment."

Standing on the soil of the motherland and looking back at Yu Yi Kuan these overseas Chinese have had

mixed feelings of grief and indignation when they considered how the Vietnamese authorities have barbarously trampled underfoot the close friendship built up by the Chinese and Vietnamese people over such a long period. The victimized overseas Chinese said: "Yu Yi Kuan is a symbol of the eternal friendship of the Chinese and Vietnamese people which no one can sabotage!"

Viet Nam's Bloody Suppression of Chinese Nationals Outside Yu Yi Kuan

by Hsinhua Correspondent Chen Szu

At 10 a.m. Friday, August 25, two Chinese trucks loaded with cooked rice and vegetables coming from Yu Yi Kuan (Friendship Pass) arrived at the Chinese-Vietnamese boundary south of the pass. Women restaurant workers from Pinghsiang, a city north of the pass, got off the trucks, ready to bring meals to the 2,000 Chinese nationals who had been driven to the border area on the Vietnamese side by the Vietnamese authorities.

Suddenly, bitter cries for help were heard from the sheds on the mountain slopes on the western side of the highway crowded with victimized Chinese nationals. Many Vietnamese public security men, wielding batons and daggers, drove the Chinese out of the sheds. Hundreds of Chinese women and children were running down the slope in terror. The Vietnamese public security men on the mountain slopes on the eastern side of the highway and on the highway simultaneously swooped down upon the unarmed Chinese nationals, beating them with batons, stoning them and stabbing them with daggers. Many Chinese were killed or injured.

Standing near the boundary, this correspondent saw three baton-wielding Vietnamese public security men chasing a Chinese woman with a sack on her back and

a middle-aged man carrying luggage on a shoulder-pole. They knocked the man down and kicked him hard. Several Vietnamese public security men beat a young Chinese resident, threw him into a pool near the highway and hit his head with stones. Then they dragged him out of the pool and beat him until he fainted. This tragic episode was photographed by the Chinese T.V. correspondents from the Chinch Mountain.

Those Chinese nationals who were strong enough to move about fled to the Chinese side. They indignantly condemned the Vietnamese authorities for having sent militarymen, police and secret agents to suppress the Chinese nationals.

Victimized Chinese Shen Kuei-ke said that he saw how his relative Kan Kuang-chuan, 65, was killed by over ten Vietnamese public security men with sticks and knives. Thirty-seven-year-old victimized Chinese Tang Shih-san from Quang Ninh Province was stabbed with a bayonet from behind by Vietnamese public security men. His wife cried bitterly day and night. Victimized Chinese Wu Wen-kuang from Dong Trieu District told this correspondent that he saw how a Chinese youth was killed with swords, how a teen-age boy was beaten to death with sticks, and how a 50-year-old ill woman was killed in a shed, all by Vietnamese public security men. Victimized Chinese Liu Sheng said that in a shed he saw the corpses of three children killed and thrown there by Vietnamese plainclothes men.

It is impossible to give the accurate number of women, aged and young victimized Chinese who were killed by Vietnamese public security men on the orders of the Vietnamese authorities. But, according to a rough estimate, at least ten victimized Chinese had disappeared or

were missing besides those known to have been killed.

Among the scores of wounded victimized Chinese, many were in a serious state. Wei Yu-chin, 64, a peasant from Quang Ninh Province, who was stabbed in the back was bleeding profusely. He said: "Vietnamese public security men do not treat the Chinese nationals as human beings. They beat and kill us savagely. I was struck by a club by a security man and fell to the ground, but when I scrambled up, another one stabbed me on my back." Young ironsmith Ma Chih-chiang from Ho Chi Minh City had two fingers nearly cut off by Vietnamese public security men just because he refused to dismantle his shed. Sixty-two-year-old peasant Li Tshsien, whose forehead injured by a stone was bleeding, told this correspondent, "Why does the Vietnamese side treat us Chinese nationals in such a cruel way? What crimes have we committed?"

The Vietnamese public security men on the highway and mountain slopes even attacked Chinese medical workers and cooks on the border area of the Chinese side with stones as big as fists and bowls. The Chinese personnel protested but, acting in accordance with directives of the leadership, made no counter attack. Thinking that this was weakness, these Vietnamese public security men injured a dozen of them with stones.

By noon, all the Chinese nationals on the Vietnamese side had been driven into the Chinese side. Scores of Vietnamese public security men blockaded the highway with ready-made entanglements and placed machine-guns on both sides of the road to prevent the Chinese nationals from returning to the Vietnamese side. Then Vietnamese army men and public security men stormed into the Chinese nationals' sheds and overturned their

scanty belongings, seizing whatever they wanted and destroying the rest. With the gesture of a victor, they displayed the Vietnamese national flag on the sheds which were stained with the blood of Chinese nationals. A Vietnamese public security man was overjoyed at wearing a tie seized from a Chinese national. Another one played a mouth harmonica as he sat by the belongings he had seized from the Chinese. This correspondent saw Vietnamese armymen and police hysterically dashing suitcases and radio sets, knocking bicycles or motorcycles with sticks or rocks, tearing clothes and sheets to pieces and spreading them all over the ground. When night fell, trucks came and carried away all the belongings of the Chinese nationals to Dong Dang, a town near the boundary.

The bloody incident was carefully premeditated by the Vietnamese authorities. Since August 19 army and public security men had been unceasingly sent to Yu Yi Kuan. On the afternoon of August 23, militarymen were on the spot to arrange the action with the help of maps. Vietnamese cadres in Cao Lang and Ha Bac provinces revealed to victimized Chinese nationals that the Vietnamese Government decided to send immediately several hundred army and public security men to Yu Yi Kuan to arrest or drive away the two thousand "Hoas" on the Vietnamese side of the border before the Vietnamese National Day of September 2. For the last few days, the Vietnamese side created public opinion for persecuting and expelling the Chinese nationals. Vietnamese public security men repeatedly announced that if the Chinese did not enter China they would be driven away by trucks. Starting from August 23, the Chinese nationals had been ordered to pull down their sheds on hill slopes. They

were told that if they had not done so by August 25, they would be arrested. In fact, over ten young Chinese nationals were arrested in the last few days.

After a series of military arrangements and preparation of public opinion, the Vietnamese authorities started the bloody suppression of the Chinese nationals on the morning of August 25. In the form of sudden attack, they killed a number of Chinese residents, injured dozens of others and drove the 2,000 others to the Chinese side.

The Vietnamese authorities further escalated their anti-China performance until 5:30 p.m. when they started the second step of this well-prepared scheme — to occupy China's territory Ponien Hill. The main actors this time were over 200 Vietnamese armymen. Armed with daggers, pistols, hand-grenades, sticks and bags of stones, they dashed towards China's Ponien Hill from three sides. They shouted as they ran. Raining stones on the Chinese functionaries, they injured nine of them who had been instructed not to retaliate. The Vietnamese armymen took China's Ponien Hill at 18:35 hours.

There they laid three defence lines: The first one stretches from the first milestone to Chinchi Mountain with over 200 men; the second defence line lies 200 metres behind on a hill with 150 men; and the third one is 250 metres further behind with 50 men. Throughout the night they dug trenches and laid barbed wire on the Chinese territory. When this correspondent arrived at Yu Yi Kuan Saturday afternoon, China's Ponien Hill had been enclosed with barbed wire. Taking advantage of the height, they struck Chinese frontier personnel with stones so that the latter could not go from Yu Yi Kuan to the boundary to carry out duties. Standing on Yu Yi Kuan, this correspondent saw clearly more

than 20 Vietnamese army men moving from China's Ponien Hill to the foot of Chinch Mountain, about 1,000 metres within China's territory, to spy out the land. The barbed wire laid by the Vietnamese side now stretch from Ponien Hill to the foot of Chinch Mountain. Vietnamese army men also occupied hills on both sides of the Chinese border village Nunghuai, several kilometres southwest of Yu Yi Kuan. Over 50 fully armed Vietnamese public security men intruded over 300 metres deep into China's territory to make provocations at the valley northwest of Nunghuai on the morning of August 26.

When the Sino-Vietnamese negotiations at vice-foreign minister level were going on, the Vietnamese authorities mobilized and deployed over 1,000 army men and armed public security men to Yu Yi Kuan to create incidents of bloodshed, killing, injuring and expelling the victimized Chinese, occupied China's territory Ponien Hill, digging trenches and laying barbed wire on China's territory and moved forward to spy out and nibble Chinese land. This has aroused great indignation among the Chinese army men and people at Yu Yi Kuan. What do the Vietnamese authorities indeed want to do? How far do they plan to follow the Soviet revisionists' anti-China manoeuvres?

关于越南驱赶华侨问题

外文出版社出版（北京）
1978年（32开）第一版
编号：（英）3050—2822
00110
3-E-1481P