


General Assembly Security Council

 Distr.
GENERAL

 A/41/513 --
S/18269
12 August 1986
ENGLISH
ORIGINAL: ENGLISH/FRENCH

 GENERAL ASSEMBLY
Forty-first session
Item 25 of the provisional agenda*
THE SITUATION IN KAMPUCHEA

 SECURITY COUNCIL
Forty-first year

Letter dated 12 August 1986 from the Permanent Representative
of Democratic Kampuchea to the United Nations addressed to
the Secretary-General

I have the honour to transmit herewith for your information a document entitled "An Indochinese Federation under Viet Nam's domination: Real strategic objective of the invasion and occupation of Kampuchea by Viet Nam".

I would be very grateful if the said document could be circulated as an official document of the General Assembly, under item 25 of the provisional agenda, and of the Security Council.

(Signed) THIOUNN Prasith
Permanent Representative

* A/41/150.

ANNEX

**AN INDOCHINESE FEDERATION UNDER VIETNAM'S DOMINATION:
REAL STRATEGIC OBJECTIVE OF THE INVASION AND OCCUPATION
OF KAMPUCHEA BY VIETNAM**

1. The annexation of Laos by Vietnam, the invasion of Kampuchea by hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese troops and the settlement, so far, of 700,000 Vietnamese nationals on Kampuchea's territory aimed at swallowing her up are irrefutable and sufficient evidences of Vietnam's Indochina Federation strategy.

2. Meanwhile, it should be underlined that the annexation of Laos and the current occupation of Kampuchea are not fortuitous events. They are in fact the results of a strategic plan conceived and carried out for more than half a century by the Communist Party of Vietnam founded on February 3, 1930 under the leadership of Ho Chi Minh.

i. The Communist Party of Vietnam was called at that time "*Indochinese Communist Party*". The name of the Party alone suffices to reveal unambiguously Vietnam's Indochina Federation strategy.

ii. In February 1951, the 2nd Congress of that Party, for tactical reasons, changed its name into "*Vietnam Workers' Party*" and also decided to create a Committee in charge of Laos and another Committee in charge of Kampuchea. Article 12 of Chapter Three of the Manifesto and Platform of the Vietnam Workers' Party issued in February 1951, read as follows: "... the people of Vietnam are willing to enter into long term co-operation with the peoples of Laos and Cambodia, with a view to bringing about an independent, free, strong and prosperous federation of the States of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia." (1)

iii. On 24 February 1951, Vietnam News Agency wrote: "... the Vietminh League is now planning to unite the national united fronts of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia into a national united front of Indochina, which will be called the Indochina National Independence League." (1)

iv. A few weeks after the publication of that Manifesto, at the "*National Congress of Unification*" which merged the Vietminh Front into the Lien Viet, Ho Chi Minh stated: "We are going to realize soon the great union of Vietnam - Laos - Cambodia" ("*Voice of Vietnam*", 19 March 1951) (1). These words reflect ever since Ho Chi Minh's testament for members of the Communist Party of Vietnam and Vietnamese youth for many generations.

(1): "*Vietnamese Communism, its origins and developments*", by Robert F. Turner, Hoover Institution Press, Stanford University - California.

v. The decision to change the name of the Party and to set up two Committees in charge of Laos and Kampuchea caused numbers of Vietnamese Communists to have misgivings, for they imagined that the change of name implied that Vietnam was proposing to abandon her influence in Laos and Kampuchea. To reassure these Communists, and to explain that the change of name was no more than a temporary tactical expedient, the Vietnam Workers' Party issued on November 1, 1951, a "Top Secret" directive informing Party members that "later on, when conditions permit this to be carried out, the three revolutionary parties of Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos will be reunited to form a single party."

Thus the ultimate aim of the Vietnamese Communist leadership is to install Communist regimes in the whole of Vietnam, in Laos and in Cambodia, after which they will re-form a single Communist Party. This one party will then rule the three countries. The "top secret" directive which was captured by the French Expeditionary Corps in North Vietnam in spring 1952, does not state, but strongly implies, that the single party will be controlled by Vietnamese Communists in the same way the Indochinese Communist Party was. (2)

3. The 4th Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam held in December 1976 adopted a resolution which testified clearly Vietnam's long term ambition in Kampuchea and Laos.

This resolution set down Hanoi's long-term policy toward Kampuchea and Laos as follows: "... to preserve and develop the special relationship between the Vietnamese people and the fraternal peoples of Laos and Kampuchea, strengthen the militant solidarity, mutual trust, long-term co-operation and mutual assistance in all fields... so that the three countries which have been associated with one another in the struggle for national liberation, will be associated with each other for ever..." (3)

4. Many newly published documents which confirm Vietnam's Indochina Federation strategy can also be found in recent years. In December 1984, General Le Duc Anh, Commander-in-Chief of the Vietnamese aggressor forces in Kampuchea, wrote a long article entitled: "The Vietnam People's Army and its lofty international duty in friendly Kampuchea". In that article published in the Vietnam People's Army monthly magazine Tap Chi Quan Doi Nhan Dan (December 1984 issue), he wrote: "Indochina is a single battlefield. That is the strategic view point, a major lesson and a law governing the existence and development of the three fraternal countries." General Le Duc Anh also recalled the resolution adopted by the 5th Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam which had stipulated that "the special relationship among Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea conforms to the law governing the development of the revolution in the three countries. It has a vital significance for the destiny of the three nations..."

(2): *Communism in North Vietnam*, by P. J. HONEY, The M.I.T. Press, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, 1963

(3): *Foreign Languages Publishing House, Hanoi - 1977 (page 248)*

5. Recently, on 28 June 1986, Heng Samrin, Chief of the puppet group installed in Phnom Penh by Vietnam, stated: "... It was exactly 35 years ago that the resolution of the 2nd Congress of the Indochinese Communist Party (ICP) held in February 1951, was implemented. The ICP's Committee in charge of Kampuchea convened a session and decided to form a party in Kampuchea called the Khmer People's Revolutionary Party. This session was considered as the first Congress. We are always proud to recall that our Party was originated from the Indochinese Communist Party, formed and forged by President Ho Chi Minh, which has left a fine tradition for our three brotherly parties: the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea, the Communist Party of Vietnam and the Lao People's Revolutionary Party..." (4)

6. The permanence of Hanoi's strategy to set up an Indochinese Federation under its domination has been clearly shown by the language used. There has been no article, no official or unofficial statement which has not mentioned "Indochina", "the three Indochinese countries", "the Indochina bloc", "the brotherly Indochinese solidarity" or "the Special relationship Vietnam-Kampuchea-Laos". Besides, Vietnam continues to speak and behave on behalf of "the three Indochinese countries". All these terms are but euphemism for the "Indochinese Federation" (5)

7. The afore-cited evidences show clearly that for over half a century, the Hanoi leadership has been doing its utmost to fulfill the expansionist strategy laid down by Ho Chi Minh that is to create the Indochina Federation which will be to become later on, the Great Vietnam. The achievement of the strategy of Indochina Federation is only a step for further expansion by Vietnam in South East Asia in close co-operation with the Soviet expansionist and hegemonist strategy in that region and in the world.

(4): Published on June 29, 1986 by SPK, the Press Agency of the Vietnamese installed regime in Phnom Penh.

(5): Geographically speaking, the word "Indochina" designates all countries situated between India and China, that is : Burma, Lao, Vietnam, Kampuchea, Thailand, Malaysia and Singapore. Charles Robequain (in "The Economic Development of French Indochina - London, 1944 - page 9) wrote: "French Indochina is only a part of the geographical bloc called Indochina, a well-chosen name which seems to have been first used in France by Malte-Brun at the beginning of the last century." After the end of the French rule in Vietnam, Kampuchea and Laos, the French Indochina has ceased existing. But still Vietnam keeps using the term "Indochinese countries" to designate Vietnam, Kampuchea and Laos for it squares with its strategic goal.

8. The Vietnamese expansionists have already absorbed Laos, through a so-called "*Treaty of friendship and co-operation*" in July 1977. They tried hard to absorb Kampuchea through the same means, through several attempts at coup d'Etat, assassinations of Kampuchean leaders, subversions, underminings and destabilizations and even a military invasion in December 1977, which all failed. The invasion and occupation of Kampuchea since December 25, 1978 are the last resort of the Vietnamese expansionists to achieve their strategy of Indochina Federation, for Kampuchea is the only obstacle to make their dream come true. This clearly shows that the root cause of the Vietnamese war of aggression in Kampuchea is the strategy of Vietnam to swallow up Kampuchea against the will of the nation and people of Kampuchea to resolutely defend their independence, freedom, sovereignty and national identity.

That will is the main obstacle to the realization of the Vietnamese strategy of Indochina Federation. This explains also why, inspite of their ever increasing stalemate and difficulties in all fields in Kampuchea and at home, of their isolation in the international arena, the Vietnamese expansionists are still stubbornly carrying out their strategy at all costs.
