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THE SITUATION IN KAMPUCHEA
REVIEW OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE
DECLARATION ON THE STRENGTHENING
OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

SECURITY COUNCIL
Thirty-fifth year

Letter dated 4 August 1980 from the Permanent Representative
of Viet Nam to the United Nations addressed to the
Secretary-General

At the request of H.E. Mr. Hun Sen, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, I have the honour to transmit to you herewith the memorandum dated 31 July 1980 of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea on the current tension along the Kampuchean-Thai border, and request you to have this note and the memorandum circulated as an official document of the General Assembly, under items 22 and 50 of the provisional agenda, and of the Security Council

(Signed) HA VAN LAU
Permanent Representative of the
Socialist Republic of Viet Nam

* A/35/150.

ANNEX

MEMORANDUM

of the Foreign Ministry of the People's Republic of Kampuchea
on tension along Kampuchean-Thai border

An atmosphere of tension now prevails along the Kampuchean-Thai border. If one were to believe the Thai authorities, there would be a threat by Kampuchea against Thailand's sovereignty and security.

The fact is that Thailand has rejected all proposals made by the Conference of the Foreign Ministers of Kampuchea, Laos and Viet Nam, held on July 17 and 18, 1980 in Vientiane, aimed at easing the situation and guaranteeing the sovereignty and security of the countries in the region.

What is the truth ?

The Thai authorities pretend to be neutral in the Kampuchean issue and deny they are taking part in the conflict. But, in fact, their actions contradict their words.

1. Immediately after the January 7, 1980 victory of the Kampuchean people, Thailand joined the Chinese plan to regroup and train the remnants of the Pol Pot army and pit them against the Kampuchean revolutionary power

The verdict of the Phnom Penh People's Revolutionary Tribunal in August 1979 says:

"After he was overthrown on January 7, 1979, Ieng Sary was repeatedly sent to Beijing by Pol Pot to discuss with the Chinese reactionary authorities plan to oppose our people.

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"Documents seized at Tasanh show China's intention to give Pol Pot and Ieng Sary more money, arms and ammunition and food, help them set up a radio station and to work out for them plans for a propaganda campaign and a foreign policy. It is worth noting the fact that at a meeting with Ieng Sary in January 1979, Hua Guofeng and Deng Xiaoping even drew up a plan to muster all counter-revolutionary elements and lackeys of imperialism in Kampuchea and discussed with Ieng Sary the roles to be played by various chieftains in opposition to our people's power."

Furthermore, the document 2-5-18, published by the Tribunal concerning the meeting between Deng Xiaoping and Ieng Sary on January 13, 1979 revealed the involvement of Thailand in the Chinese plan to build up the remnants of the Pol Pot army in order to pit them against the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

2. Thailand has consistently facilitated the transfer of Chinese arms to the Pol Pot army remnants through Thai territory

Under an agreement between Thailand and the reactionary Beijing government, Chinese military supplies bearing civilian labels have been transported by Chinese ships to Bangkok's commercial port then transported by the Thai army to be moved to Ubon and handed over to the Pol Pot army remnants. Thailand has transferred an average of 500 tons of Chinese arms and food to the Pol Pot army remnants each month. And these supplies are on the increase. In the first six months of 1980, during the rainy season offensive of the Khmer reactionaries, Thailand supplied them with more than 6,000 tons of arms and food. Moreover, it has set up new access zones inside the country and on the coast, opened up new roads to the border, built landing sites for helicopters, and established depots along the border to supply the Pol Pot remnants - for example the stations 1002 (in Pak Um, third border region) and 1003 (in Dong Am, north of Oddar Meanchey) and a complex of hundreds of depots west of Tasanh (four kilometres inside Thai territory). This increasing supply of Chinese material through Thailand is now well known. Thailand has, in fact, set up a "special committee" in charge

of this operation. Many Western correspondents have reported seeing with their own eyes roads used for transporting Chinese supplies to the Khmer Rouge through Thai territory.

3. Along the Thai-Kampuchean border and on Thai territory, there are many sanctuaries used as refuges, logistical bases and spring-boards for the reactionary Khmer groups in exile to oppose the People's Republic of Kampuchea

The Thai authorities have helped the Pol Pot army remnants to establish sanctuaries along the border including general headquarters, code transmission centres, depots and hospitals such as those in Leam village adjacent to the Pailin area in Kampuchea or Leam Check in Peng Nam Rong district, Chantabury province.

According to the declarations of a number of reactionary Khmers who have surrendered or been arrested and tried by the Phnom Penh People's Revolutionary Tribunal last June, Thailand has allowed them to use the Aranyaprathet region as base for subversion against the new Kampuchean regime.

There are, from northern Samrong to Aranyaprathet, along the border, scores of "battalions" of reactionary Khmers trained and directly commanded by the Thai military. These elements regularly intrude into Kampuchea mostly in the West of Oddar Meanchey province for sabotage, plunder and kidnappings of civilians in an attempt to boost their manpower.

Every time the Khmer reactionary bandits are routed by the Kampuchean revolutionary army, they take refuge in Thailand where they receive assistance, regaining strength and wait for further opportunities to return to Kampuchea for more sabotage activities.

4. Thailand has used international humanitarian aid to the Kampuchean people as a weapon against the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

With instigation of the United States and China, Thailand has set up "land bridges" for distributing aid goods in the border regions. This is aimed at encouraging Kampucheans to abandon production in Kampuchea and leave for Thailand in search of goods, where they are persuaded to join the "refugee" camps to form reserve forces for the Khmer reactionaries.

Thailand has also used humanitarian aid to feed the Pol Pot army remnants and the other Khmer reactionaries who are mixed in with the internees in "refugee" camps along the Thailand-Kampuchea border. The International humanitarian organizations have shed light on these Thai activities. However, Thailand has always refused to separate the armed Khmers from the genuine civilians refugees and to put an end to the use of humanitarian aid as a weapon in the hands of the Khmer reactionaries.

5. Thailand has also used the Kampuchean refugees on its territory as a means of helping the Khmer reactionaries in their actions against the People's Republic of Kampuchea

It has refused to allow the Kampuchean refugees to settle in third countries. Instead, they have concentrated them in "refugee" camps at the Thailand-Kampuchean border. These camps, supposedly supervised by the Thai army, are in fact controlled by the Pol Pot remnants and other Khmer reactionaries disguised as civilian refugees. It is no mere coincidence that the Thai authorities keep the "refugee" camps close to the border, that they demand the installation of security zones for the refugees, and urge the sending of U.N. observers to the border, etc... Their real objective is to ensure protection for the agents of Beijing and U.S. imperialism to enable them to use Thai territory to oppose the Kampuchean revolutionary people.

Thailand has also used the Kampuchean refugees as shields for the various Khmer reactionary gangs which try to reenter Kampuchea to make trouble. In June 1979, when Beijing, taking advantage of the rainy season, sent reactionary Khmers into Kampuchea for counter-revolutionary activities, the Thai authorities declared the "closure of the border" and ordered their armed forces to expel about 47,000 Kampuchean refugees to the Kampuchean province of Preah Vihear. To pave the way for this massive infiltration of Khmer Rouge, the Thai armed forces forced refugees to cross mine fields at the border, thus causing many casualties. In October 1979, at the beginning of the dry season, they declared the "opening of the border" allegedly to receive the refugees. This was in fact aimed at taking in the Pol Pot remnants who had been routed by the counter-attacks of the Kampuchean Revolutionary Armed Forces.

Recently, in mid-June 1980, in accordance with China's plan of increasing the activities of the Khmer reactionaries during the rainy season under the illusion that the situation could be retrieved and with the intention of maintaining the political corpse of Pol Pot - Ieng Sary in the United Nations, Thailand staged the "voluntary repatriation" farce, driving back to Kampuchea hundreds of thousands of refugees as a shield for the Khmer reactionaries to enter Kampuchea for sabotage activities.

With civilian assistance, the Kampuchean revolutionary authorities, after screening these "refugees" discovered and arrested thousands of armed bandits including a division deputy commander.

"Opening the border" then "closing the border" were Thailand's manoeuvres to incite the Kampuchean population to abandon production and cross over to Thailand, then to push them back to their country to serve as a shield for the Khmer reactionaries in their hostile activities against Kampuchea. In so doing, Thailand has caused a tense situation and permanent instability at the border between the two countries.

6. Thailand's armed forces have violated Kampuchean territory to support the Khmer reactionaries in their activities against Kampuchea.

Early in 1979, after the overthrow of Pol Pot and Ieng Sary by the Kampuchean people, the Thai armed forces fired heavy artillery to cover the flight of Pol Pot army remnants. Since then, artillery from Thailand has continually bombarded Kampuchea while Thai reconnaissance planes repeatedly violated Kampuchea's airspace, at times as far as ten kilometres inside Kampuchea, for the purpose of reconnaissance and to guide the Khmer reactionaries' activities. Thai ships have repeatedly violated Kampuchea's territorial waters, transporting arms and stealthily landing commandoes on the Kampuchean coast.

Since late May 1980, while preparing and implementing Beijing's rainy season plan, Thai planes have almost daily intruded into Kampuchean airspace for reconnaissance activities. Mortars and 105 and 155 MM cannons regularly shelled Kampuchea from Thai territory. On some days, several hundred shells were fired as in the areas east and west of the Klong River (Pursat), in the area of Preah Vihear Temple (Preach Vihear province), west of Bangkum, in Oddar, Phnom Melai, Tسانh , Pailin, Samot (Battambang). Moreover, Thailand has sent an increasing number of scouts and commandoes into Kampuchean territory for reconnaissance activities and attacks on Kampuchean border guards particularly as in the areas west of the Klong river, around Bangkum, Poipet, Nimit (Battambang). Thai artillery, infantry, tanks and aircraft supported the Khmer reactionaries in their attack on Kampuchean border guards on June 23, and 24, 1980 which led to the border conflicts northeast of Poipet.

It is clear that the Thai authorities have continuously escalated their hostile actions against the People's Republic of Kampuchea, thus creating a very tense and explosive situation, at the Kampuchean-Thai border. This situation contradicts the claims of the Thai authorities that they are neutral

and not involved in the conflict, and proves that they are opposed to the Kampuchean people and have constantly interfered in their internal affairs and systematically encroached upon the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the People's Republic of Kampuchea. This situation also shows that Thailand has allied itself more and more dangerously with the United States and China, with the clear intention of protecting and assisting the Pol Pot - Ieng Sary army remnants and the other Khmer reactionaries and using them as a tool to oppose the People's Republic of Kampuchea. This explains why Thailand has obstinately rejected all reasonable proposals of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Council. It is evident that had Thailand not allowed Beijing to use its territory as a sanctuary, refuge, and a place for fostering, training and supplying the Pol Pot army remnants and the other Khmer reactionaries, the latter would not have survived to continue their sabotage against the peaceful life and the national reconstruction of the Kampuchean people. That is the cause of the tension prevailing along the border between the two countries, threatening directly the sovereignty and security of the People's Republic of Kampuchea. Any Beijing and Bangkok allegation that there is a threat to Thailand security from Kampuchea is a lie which can deceive nobody.

While being determined to sweep out and totally eliminate the Pol Pot army remnants and the other Khmer reactionaries in order to defend national security and the people's peaceful life, the Kampuchean revolutionary armed forces have demonstrated great perseverance and extreme self-restraint in face of the above serious and systematic hostile actions of the Thai authorities. The Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Council has on many occasions demonstrated its goodwill. It has successively put forward logical and reasonable proposals and is ready to hold meetings with the Royal Government of Thailand at any level, in any place and in any form and as soon as possible, with a view to discussing urgent measures to eliminate tension at the border between the two countries and to solve other questions of common concern, without demanding, at any stage, the recognition of the People's Republic of Kampuchea by Thailand as precondition.

The four-point proposal made by the People's Republic of Kampuchea at the recent conference of the Foreign Ministers of Kampuchea, Laos and Viet Nam is a just and reasonable proposal. Its general character gives it the potential to contribute to the settlement of the common problems of the region while its specific ingredients are conducive to solving the present burning questions in the region which are worrying all people of good-will. These immediate questions include stability and security at the Kampuchean-Thai border, the problem of Kampuchean refugees in Thailand, humanitarian aid to Kampuchea and also the question of the form of negotiations acceptable and realistic, in the present situation where the People's Republic of Kampuchea and the Kingdom of Thailand have not yet recognized each other. Far from prejudicing anybody, this proposal can only foil the manoeuvres of the reactionary elements of the Beijing government who are pitting themselves against the peoples of the three Indochinese countries, attempting to provoke hostilities between these countries and the other Southeast Asian countries and trying to destabilize the region to serve their policy of expansionism. This proposal has been favourably welcomed by broad sections of world public opinion. Only China has madly reacted to it, trying to distort its content while instigating Thailand to oppose it. It is regrettable that Thailand, too, has used sophistries to reject this proposal and cling to its unreasonable claims.

Thailand asks for security and stability at its border with Kampuchea. In reality, it desires security and stability on its side of the border only whereas on the Kampuchean side of the border, it has initiated, continued and encouraged acts of sabotage. Thailand persists in maintaining the refugee camps close to the border to serve as sanctuaries and staging bases for the armed Khmer reactionaries in their attacks and sabotage against Kampuchea. At the same time, it rejects the proposal for setting up a demilitarized zone on both sides of the border, claiming that it is only necessary to create a demilitarized zone on the Kampuchean side of the border. Thus, Thailand which arrogates to itself the right to maintain tension at the border and threaten Kampuchea's sovereignty and security wants to tie the hands of the People's Republic of Kampuchea to prevent the latter from defending its sovereignty and territorial integrity. This is an arrogant attitude, which is diametrically opposed to the logical and reasonable position of the Kampuchean side. /...

Thailand's refusal to move the refugee camps far from the border region demonstrates its intention to continue to use the Kampuchean refugees to oppose the Kampuchean people and to use the "humanitarian" signboard to commit inhumane acts.

The negative reaction of the Thai side to the proposals of the conference of the Foreign Ministers of Kampuchea, Laos and Viet Nam shows its unwillingness to satisfactorily settle the problems between Thailand and Kampuchea. Thailand itself has made various proposals but its real objective in doing so is to mislead the United Nations and to launch a propaganda campaign in the hope of pressuring the People's Republic of Kampuchea to accept its demands.

Thailand's excuse that to negotiate would involve recognition of the People's Republic of Kampuchea demonstrates a hypocritical position. In fact, in international practice there have been quite a few instances in which two countries have engaged in talks to settle their differences without having previously extended diplomatic recognition to each other.

Thailand demands that its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity be respected while it is associating itself more and more closely with the Chinese policy of undermining the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of other nations, especially of the People's Republic of Kampuchea. This hypocritical position of the Thai Government is firstly detrimental to Thailand itself and to the Thai people, and at the same time is contrary to the interests of peace and stability in the region.

The People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea's good-will stems from the just and consistent foreign policy of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, namely peace, friendship, and non-alignment contributing to peace, stability in Southeast Asia, and peace and progress throughout the world. This policy springs from the present realities of Kampuchean society and conforms to the world's vital interests and therefore has won the approval of all progressive people.

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Large sections of public opinion in Southeast Asia and the world have more and more clearly realized the nature of the Beijing authorities' plans of continuing to oppose the People's Republic of Kampuchea by all means at their disposal and to sabotage peace and stability in Southeast Asia.

The Kampuchean people have been freed from the tragedy of genocide caused by the barbarous Pol Pot - Ieng Sary fascist regime - a regime which had radically reversed and destroyed all the economic, cultural and social structures of Kampuchea, leaving behind disastrous consequences. They have no other desire than to be able to establish peace and stability so as to reconstruct their country and live a plentiful and happy life. The People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea always respects the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Kingdom of Thailand with which it desires to establish good neighbourly relations, and turn the common border into one of lasting peace and friendship. But the Thai authorities have no right at all to interfere in Kampuchea's internal affairs or to jeopardize its sovereignty and territorial integrity without receiving a vigorous response justified by the sacred right of legitimate self-defence of each sovereign State.

The People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea severely condemns the Beijing authorities' crimes in opposing the Kampuchean people and their uncompromising attempts to restore the genocidal Pol Pot - Ieng Sary regime.

At the same time, it firmly rejects the false allegations of the Thai authorities and demands that they immediately cease their adventurous collusion with Beijing to oppose the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

The only just and reasonable way to solve the Kampuchean-Thai border tension and all differences between the two countries is to discuss the issues in a spirit of understanding, friendship and mutual respect. The continuation of tension at the border between the two countries is beneficial only to the expansionist and hegemonist designs of the reactionary Beijing rulers and can in no way benefit either the Thai or the Kampuchean peoples. If the Thai authorities really desire to have security and

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stability in the border area and to ease tension in the region, they should respond positively to the four-point proposal put forward by the People's Republic of Kampuchea at the conference of the Foreign Ministers of Kampuchea, Laos and Viet Nam held in Vientiane on July 17 and 18, 1980.

Phnom Penh, July 31, 1980
