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THE SITUATION IN KAMPUCHEA

SECURITY COUNCIL
Thirty-sixth year

Letter dated 7 July 1981 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, the memorandum dated 30 June 1981 of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Democratic Kampuchea entitled "Attempts by the Hanoi authorities to legitimate and legalize their aggression in Kampuchea".

I should be grateful if this text could be circulated as an official document of the General Assembly, under item 22 of the preliminary list, and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Prasith THIOUNN
Ambassador,
Permanent Representative of
Democratic Kampuchea

* A/36/50.

ANNEX

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MEMORANDUM

ATTEMPTS BY THE HANOI AUTHORITIES
TO LEGITIMATE AND LEGALIZE THEIR AGGRESSION
IN KAMPUCHEA

1. After the failures of its successive attempts at overthrowing the State of Democratic Kampuchea from the inside through acts of sabotage, subversion and coup d'Etat combined with armed attacks at the borders, and after having formally been assured of the support from the Soviet Union by a treaty of "friendship" and "cooperation" signed on November 3, 1978, the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, mobilizing its crack troops from the North, backed up by hundreds of tanks and artillery, a host of airplanes and warships, launched a large scale attack against Democratic Kampuchea on December 25, 1978, in an attempt through a lightning-victory to put the world before the fait accompli of a military occupation which would make it master of the link without which it would not be possible to achieve its "Indochina Federation".

2. Some weeks prior to the invasion, the leaders of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, by a volte-face which was of deep significance as to how sincere their intentions were, abandoning for the occasion their policy of hostility, changed themselves into pilgrims of peace in an attempt to neutralize in advance the reactions of South-East Asian countries or at least to moderate them to their profit.

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3. In the face of such an aggression, the people and the National Army of Democratic Kampuchea, under the leadership of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea, have been standing up to wage a resolute struggle. Their resistance has held the lightning-attack launched by the Socialist Republic of Vietnam in check and forced it to successively increase the effectives of its army of aggression up to 250,000 men, without however succeeding in subjugating the nation of Kampuchea. Two years and a half have elapsed. The Vietnamese aggressive troops have been bogged down more than ever in the battlefields of Kampuchea. For its part, the international community has always refused to rubber-stamp this aggression which constitutes a "crime against peace" with regard to the international law, and persisted in demanding that all Vietnamese troops withdraw from Kampuchea thus enabling the people of Kampuchea to freely decide their destiny.

4. The Hanoi authorities are aware of the serious consequences of this total stalemate into which they have been driven, for they know that in a war of aggression, such a situation has never been in favour of the aggressors. Actually, they have been afraid of this prospect since the early months of their invasion, as their "lightning-attack, lightning-victory" strategy has become an established fact of failure. So, since February 1979, they have begun to carry out all kinds of manoeuvres and to spread coarse lies, trying to obtain through diplomatic means what they have failed in the military field, that is the recognition of their occupation of Kampuchea as a fait accompli.

5. The Hanoi authorities have first claimed that their invasion was motivated by an "invitation" allegedly addressed to them by the people of Kampuchea for their liberation. But this allegation has been denied by the facts themselves. It was only on February 18, 1979, namely two months after the day of their invasion that the Hanoi leaders rushed to Phnom Penh so as to sign with the Vietnamese administration previously installed by them a so-called treaty, inviting them to send their troops to Kampuchea.

6. As this dupery was not successful in convincing anybody, the Hanoi authorities have striven to make people believe that the situation in Kampuchea has become normal and that their sole preoccupation was to rebuild Kampuchea with the aid and cooperation of countries and international organizations they have tried to mislead for this purpose. However, the world has been aware that the war is raging in Kampuchea, that despite the panoply of massacring

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weapons used by the Hanoi authorities such as famine, conventional weapons, chemical weapons, the resistance of the people, the National Army of Democratic Kampuchea, under the leadership of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea, is irresistibly pursuing its rising. The world also knows that, contrary to the misleading assertions spread by the Hanoi authorities, most of humanitarian aids intended for the people of Kampuchea have been diverted by the Vietnamese occupying troops to feed their war machine.

7. As these lies had failed to play in favour of their crime, the Hanoi authorities have tried to compel the international community into recognizing their invasion of Kampuchea as a fait accompli, by staging "general elections" so as to give an appearance of legality to the Vietnamese administration installed in Phnom Penh, as if the people of Kampuchea were able to freely express their opinions under the heel of 250,000 occupying soldiers. But no country in the world, except the expansionists and their supporters, has been taken in by this masquerade. The international community has persisted in recognizing the Government of Democratic Kampuchea as the sole legal and legitimate representative of Kampuchea and in reiterating its demand that the Vietnamese troops totally withdraw from Kampuchea.

8. In this regard, the ASEAN countries are among the peace- and justice-loving countries which have actively carried out activities to support the just struggle of the people of Kampuchea and to thwart successively the perfidious attempts by the Hanoi authorities to perpetuate their occupation of Kampuchea, for it threatens peace, stability and security in South-East Asia. The Hanoi authorities are well aware of the obstacle represented by the ASEAN opposition. That is why they have worked desperately hard at creating dissensions within its ranks. But in vain.

9. At the same time, the Hanoi authorities have resorted to an actual manoeuvre of diversion in an attempt at burying the problem of Kampuchea created by their aggression, by trying to conceal the root cause of this problem. For this purpose, they have brandished the "chinese threat" and claimed that the root of the problem is the differences that have existed since already a long time between the ASEAN countries and those called by them countries of "Indochina". The Hanoi authorities have then made proposals to resolve these differences by holding a "regional conference" instead of an International Conference on Kampuchea as provided for

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in the relevant United Nations resolutions. This obvious manoeuvre has not misled the ASEAN countries which have seen it as a trap inducing them to recognize de facto the Vietnamese administration in Phnom Penh and thus to legalize the Vietnamese aggression against Kampuchea. By putting forward this proposal for a regional conference, the Hanoi authorities thought they could kill two birds with one stone, for an acceptance by the ASEAN countries would allow them to evade the implementation of the United Nations resolutions 34/22 and 35/6 and also to legitimate their occupation and to strengthen de facto their "Indochina Federation", pending its recognition de jure by the international community.

10. Another manoeuvre aimed at the same objectives: the Hanoi authorities have trumpeted to everyone that they want peace and stability in Southeast Asia so as to make it possible a positive cooperation between the countries in the region, and that to this end they would agree to withdraw partially, under some conditions, their troops from Kampuchea. But their deeds continue to run counter to their allegations, for not only does the war of aggression in Kampuchea keep raging savagely but it has dangerously spilled over beyond the borders, as in particular were the cases of the Vietnamese aggression against Thailand in June 1980 and the on-going concentrations of Vietnamese troops assisted by heavy artillery, DCA cannons, ground to air missiles, which use is certainly not destined to counter the guerrilla units of Democratic Kampuchea.

11. An additional manoeuvre designed to achieve the same goals: the Hanoi authorities have lured people with the possibilities of their eventual independence vis à vis the Soviet Union, for as long as facts continue to give testimony of their expansionist strategy in South-East Asia, carried out in concert with the Soviet Union, the world will never give credit to such a possibility. But the truth is that the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, "vanguard bastion of socialism" as it has been boasting, will always need the Soviet Union from which it can not be weaned without destroying itself and without the collapse of its administration installed in Phnom Penh and of its old dream of "Indochina Federation" which is necessary for its expansion. As far as it is concerned, the Soviet Union will always need Vietnam as a proxy, the bases and strategic facilities offered by the latter, to carry out its strategy of world domination.

12. Also aimed at the same goals, and to complete the previous ones, the manoeuvres of the Hanoi authorities to have on the one hand the neutralization of the armed forces of Democratic Kampuchea, through another mean

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than the military one, or at least a weakening of their combativity, for they constitute a major obstacle blocking their way to expansion, and on the other hand to obtain the vacancy of the seat of Democratic Kampuchea at the United Nations. This vacancy would be by itself a recognition of the legitimacy of their aggression against Kampuchea and would consequently open the way to the Vietnamese administration installed in Phnom Penh to sneak into the United Nations.

13. But the international community has not been misled by these lies, duplicity and perfidy of the Hanoi authorities for it knows that they are in the service of the Vietnamese-Soviet expansionist strategy in South-East Asia and in the world. It continues to defend the seat of Democratic Kampuchea at the United Nations and to demand the total withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea, enabling the people of Kampuchea to freely decide their own destiny, that is the condition sine qua non of a just and genuine solution of the problem of Kampuchea and of lasting peace, stability and security in South-East Asia.

14. Democratic Kampuchea is confident that the International Conference on Kampuchea will achieve all the objectives set forth in the United Nations resolutions 34/22 and 35/6. For its part, Democratic Kampuchea will persevere in the just struggle for national survival until the Hanoi authorities comply with these resolutions, until Kampuchea regains all her sovereign rights.

Democratic Kampuchea,
June 30, 1981

THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS