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THE SITUATION IN KAMPUCHEA

SECURITY COUNCIL  
Thirty-sixth year

Letter dated 6 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 25 June 1981 of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Democratic Kampuchea entitled "The problem of Kampuchea and its solution".

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

(Signed) THIOUNN Prasith  
Ambassador  
Permanent Representative of  
Democratic Kampuchea

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\* A/36/50.

ANNEX

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MEMORANDUM

THE PROBLEM OF KAMPUCHEA AND ITS SOLUTION

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I. ROOT OF THE PROBLEM

Since December 25, 1978, Democratic Kampuchea, an independent, neutral, non-aligned country, member of the United Nations, has been the victim of the aggression and invasion perpetrated by the Socialist Republic of Vietnam of which more than 250,000 soldiers have been committing the most barbarous genocidal war, in defiance of the elementary principles of the international law and the United Nations Charter.

More than 2,500,000 Kampucheans have been killed so far by bullets, famine and chemical weapons used by the occupying forces. Several hundreds of others continue to die every day, victim of the genocidal war. Hundreds of thousands of Kampucheans have fled their country so as to seek temporary asylum in Thailand while millions of others are reduced to becoming real refugees in their own country. The war is not at all on the point of ending and it is still raging throughout Kampuchea and threatening to spill over to South-East Asia. Grave repercussions of this conflict have already affected Thailand.

Not only have the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of a member State of the United Nations been trampled upon cynically, but peace, security and stability in South-East Asia, Asia, the Pacific and in the world are also threatened.

"The problem of Kampuchea" has been thereby created.

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## II. SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEM OF KAMPUCHEA

1. Since the earlier days, the Vietnamese aggression against Kampuchea has met with strong opposition and condemnation by the international community which demands the total withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea and the respect for the inalienable right of the Kampuchean people to decide themselves their own destiny without outside interference.

On January 15 and March 16, 1979, the United Nations Security Council voted twice, by 13 in favour to 2 against, for a draft resolution demanding the cessation of the aggression against Kampuchea and the withdrawal of all foreign troops from that country. The Soviet Union twice abused its right of veto.

On November 14, 1979, the 34th United Nations General Assembly, by an overwhelming majority of 91 to 21, adopted the resolution 34/22 demanding the immediate withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea so that the people of Kampuchea can decide themselves their own future without any outside interference, subversion or coercion and so that the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of Kampuchea are scrupulously respected.

On October 22, 1980, the 35th United Nations General Assembly adopted, by an even more overwhelming majority than in 1979, by 97 in favour to 23 against, the resolution 35/6 demanding the implementation of the resolution 34/22 and deciding to convene an International Conference on Kampuchea early in 1981, in which would take part all parties to the conflict in Kampuchea and other concerned parties, with a view to reaching an agreement in particular on the total withdrawal of foreign troops from Kampuchea within a specific time-frame, to be verified by the United Nations.

During their 1980 and 1981 sessions, the Human Rights Commission and the ECOSOC reiterated the same demands.

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In February 1981, in its Final Declaration, the Ministerial Conference of Non-aligned Countries in New Delhi also demanded the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea and the respect for her independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity.

On their part, the non-governmental international Conferences such as those of Stockholm (1979) and Tokyo (1981) expressed the same views.

The Government of Democratic Kampuchea welcomes the stand taken by the international community. Only the total withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea can resolve the problem of Kampuchea at its very root. Indeed, this withdrawal will bring about the return of peace in Kampuchea, let the people of Kampuchea exercise freely their inalienable right to decide themselves their own future and guarantee peace, stability and security in South-East Asia.

As a matter of fact, the position of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea on the solution to the problem of Kampuchea has never changed on this point.

2. Kampuchea is a small, poor, backward and sparsely populated country. The people of Kampuchea have no other aspiration than to live peacefully, in independence, honour and national dignity. Their ambition is to be able to devote their energies to the mobilization of the national forces and resources so as to build up an independent, united, peaceful, neutral, non-aligned and prosperous Kampuchea. Their sufferings created by this war of aggression and racial extermination imposed on them by the Socialist Republic of Vietnam are untold. The Government of Democratic Kampuchea wishes for nothing but the immediate ending of this tragedy through a just solution based upon the restoration of their sovereignty to the people of Kampuchea, by the total withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea.

On May 5, 1980, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Democratic Kampuchea put forward a three-point proposal which was reiterated in the Communique by the Council of Ministers dated June 7, 1980, namely:

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First, the Hanoi authorities must unconditionally withdraw all their forces from Kampuchea in accordance with the UN resolution 34/22, enabling the people of Kampuchea to freely exercise their inalienable right to decide themselves their destiny without foreign interference.

Secondly, after the total withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea, the Kampuchean people will choose their national government through free general elections by secret and direct ballot under the supervision of the UN Secretary-General or his representatives. Kampuchea will remain independent, united, peaceful, neutral and non-aligned, without any foreign military base on her territory, with the guarantee by the United Nations.

Thirdly, with regard to the Vietnamese people and Vietnam, the Government of Democratic Kampuchea and the people of Kampuchea do not foster any hatred or rancour, and they do not require any indemnity provided all the Vietnamese troops totally withdraw from Kampuchea. As they have always wanted to do, they are ready to live in good neighbourhood with Vietnam and all other countries in the region.

3. Consequently, the Government of Democratic Kampuchea welcomes with satisfaction the holding of the International Conference on Kampuchea to be held in New York in next July, in accordance with the UN resolution 35/6. This Conference has devoted itself to the task of conducting negotiations with a view to reaching an agreement in particular on:

- the total withdrawal of foreign troops from Kampuchea within a specific time-frame to be verified by the United Nations;

- after that withdrawal, the holding of free elections in Kampuchea under the United Nations supervision;

- the measures to be taken by the United Nations so as to ensure the non-interference of foreign powers in the internal affairs of Kampuchea, the guarantees for the respect of the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Kampuchea and the guarantees against the introduction of foreign forces whatsoever in Kampuchea;

- the guarantees that an independent and sovereign Kampuchea will not become a threat to her neighbours.

These dispositions conform with the afore-cited position of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea.

### III. CHALLENGE OF THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM

But the Hanoi authorities turned a deaf ear to the demands reiterated by the international community. Notwithstanding their quagmire in Kampuchea, their inextricable difficulties at home and their isolation in the international arena, the Hanoi authorities have persisted in pursuing their policy of aggression and expansion. They have increased their manoeuvres of all kinds in an attempt to obtain in the diplomatic field what they have not been able to do on the battlefield, namely the legalization of their aggression against and occupation of Kampuchea by the recognition de jure or de facto of the Vietnamese administration installed in Phnom Penh.

Therefore, in order to evade their obligations to implement the relevant United Nations resolutions and to hamper the holding of the International Conference on Kampuchea, the Hanoi authorities have in turns put forward proposals, either in Vientiane or in Saigon and lately in Phnom Penh, not to mention those advanced by their Soviet masters. While getting advantage of their so-called desire for peace, friendship and co-operation with neighbouring countries, the leaders of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam have tried to make people believe that the problem arising at present in South-East Asia would not be the Vietnamese aggression against Kampuchea but differences allegedly opposing for a long time the ASEAN countries and the "Indochina" countries, and a so-called Chinese threat. For this purpose, they have brought up the formula of a "regional conference" to which they have never been tired of harking back. At the same time, they have been trying hard to deprive Democratic Kampuchea of her legitimate rights at the United Nations and in other international organizations, and to obtain the vacancy of her seat, a first step of which they intend to take advantage so that the Vietnamese administration installed in Phnom Penh could sneak in.

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But all these manoeuvres have successively been thwarted and rejected. Thanks to the unwearrying efforts made by ASEAN and other countries committed to peace and justice, and those of the UN Secretary-General, the International Conference on Kampuchea as provided for by the UN resolution 35/6 will be held in New York on July 13, 1981.

IV. THE RESISTANCE BEING CARRIED OUT BY DEMOCRATIC KAMPUCHEA AGAINST THE SOVIET-VIETNAMESE EXPANSIONISM IS AN ACTIVE CONTRIBUTION TO PRESERVE PEACE, SECURITY AND STABILITY IN SOUTH-EAST ASIA, ASIA, THE PACIFIC AND THE WORLD

The aggression committed by the Socialist Republic of Vietnam against Democratic Kampuchea is part of a long term strategy carried out, since its founding in 1930, by the Vietnamese Communist Party -alias Indochinese Communist Party-, as the latter, after the departure of France, was fostering the ambition of ruling over the destiny of an "Indochina Federation" which would serve as a spring-board for its expansion in South-East Asia as a whole, under the cover of so-called socialism. It is not quite by chance that Vietnam has always considered itself as the "vanguard bastion of socialism" in Asia, as it has been boasting of, and it is not either by chance that before launching its war-machine against the innocent people of Kampuchea, it was so anxious to ensure the formal support of the Soviet Union by signing with it a "treaty of friendship and co-operation" on November 3, 1978. For the venture to be carried out is a common one which is part of a global strategy of which the joined links cover all parts of the world.

This consuming ambition of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, this strategy of regional and global domination of which it has become a proxy are now well-known facts since, in other regions of the world, events such as those in Afghanistan have arisen. These events have brought about irrecusable testimony that a scheme aimed at forcing peace- and justice-loving countries into a strategic surrender is being put into execution, and that, through flagrant and arrogant violations of the independence and sovereignty of States, of the UN Charter and the elementary principles of international law, not only are peace and security of South-East Asia threatened but also those of the world.

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Therefore, without the struggle and sacrifices of the people of Kampuchea, the National Army and the Government of Democratic Kampuchea, the Vietnamese regional expansionists and, through them, their Soviet masters would already have achieved their "Indochina Federation" which would serve as a spring-board to further thrust their tentacles over South-East Asia, thereby seriously threatening the independence and security of the countries in the region as well as the legitimate interests of many other countries. In this respect, it would be illusory to hope to be able to break off, in a foreseeable future, the Socialist Republic of Vietnam from the Soviet subinfeudation of which it constitutes an active element in South-East Asia, Asia and the Pacific.

The people and the Government of Democratic Kampuchea wish to express their profound gratitude to the ASEAN countries and other countries committed to peace and justice which, being fully aware of the just and legitimate nature of the struggle of Democratic Kampuchea and of her active role in the resistance against the Soviet-Vietnamese expansionism, have lent and continue to lend their steadfast and active support to them. They call upon all countries participating in the International Conference on Kampuchea to work for the achievement of the objectives set forth by the UN resolution 35/6, in particular for the total withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea, enabling the people of Kampuchea to decide freely their own destiny, a sine qua non condition of a just and genuine solution to the problem of Kampuchea and of lasting preservation of peace, stability and security in South-East Asia.

At the present time, thanks to the success won by the Government of Democratic Kampuchea in implementing the Political Programme of the Patriotic and Democratic Front of Great National Union of Kampuchea and to the support of the people of Kampuchea to this Political Programme, the struggle for national liberation has reached a new strategic turning point. It has been stepping into the stage of "balance of forces" in which the National Army of Democratic Kampuchea has been able to inflict on the enemy even heavier casualties. Efforts being made by the National Army and the people of Kampuchea aim at passing through this stage in the shortest possible time so as to reach the new final strategic stage, that of "general offensive". From now on, the Vietnamese aggressors will no more be able to reverse the situation in their favour, no matter how obstinate they are and whatever the panoply of their manoeuvres.

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So, the people and the National Army of Democratic Kampuchea, under the leadership of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea and the Patriotic and Democratic Front of Great National Union of Kampuchea, are determined to further carry out their struggle on the battlefield until the Socialist Republic of Vietnam accepts to implement the UN resolutions 34/22 and 35/6 by the total withdrawal of its troops from Kampuchea and the restoration of her independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity.

Democratic Kampuchea, June 25, 1981

THE MINISTRY  
OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

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