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Agenda item 22

THE SITUATION IN KAMPUCHEA

Letter dated 7 December 1981 from the Chargé d'Affaires a.i. of  
the Permanent Mission of Democratic Kampuchea to the United  
Nations addressed to the Secretary-General

I have the honour to transmit herewith for your information the communiqué dated 30 November 1981 concerning the National Union issue (annex I) and the circular dated 30 November 1981 of the Standing Committee of the Assembly of the People's Representatives of Kampuchea, the Government of Democratic Kampuchea and the Patriotic and Democratic Front of Great National Union of Kampuchea (annex II).

I should be grateful if you would have this communiqué and this circular circulated as an official document of the General Assembly under agenda item 22.

(Signed) KOR Bun Heng  
Chargé d'Affaires a.i.  
Permanent Mission of  
Democratic Kampuchea

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ANNEX I

COMMUNIQUE CONCERNING  
THE NATIONAL UNION ISSUE

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On November 30, 1981, the Standing Committee of the Assembly of the People's Representatives of Kampuchea, the Government of Democratic Kampuchea and the Patriotic and Democratic Front of Great National Union of Kampuchea (PDFGNUK) issued a communiqué to all compatriots, at home and abroad, all guerrillas and all combatants of the National Army of Democratic Kampuchea and all cadres. This communiqué relating to the issue of the achievement, since 1979 up to now, of the union of all national forces in order to increase the forces fighting the Vietnamese aggressor Le Duan clique, reads as follows:

I. Since the beginning of the invasion of Kampuchea by the Vietnamese Le Duan clique, particularly since the publishing and broadcasting of the new strategic policy of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea and the political programme of the Patriotic and Democratic Front of Great National Union of Kampuchea (PDFGNUK), the union of national forces has been steadfastly developed, both at home and abroad, resulting in a more impetuous struggle against the Vietnamese Le Duan clique. The 300,000 Vietnamese aggression troops and civil agents are irremediably bogged down on the Kampuchean battlefields.

II. Our constant efforts to achieve and widen the union has been directed not only to the national forces inside the country, but to the Kampuchean personalities living abroad as well. Therefore, in spite of our pressing obligations at the fronts, we have never missed any occasion to go and meet immediately these personalities whenever they accept to respond to our proposal. We have been steadfastly and patiently engaged ourselves in this way, until the signing of the Singapore Joint

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Statement on September 4, 1981. In this Joint Statement, the three Kampuchean parties have agreed to:

1. Express the desire to form a coalition government of Democratic Kampuchea with a view to continuing the struggle in all forms for the liberation of Kampuchea from the Vietnamese aggressors.
2. Set up an Ad Hoc Committee to study the principles and the forms enabling the achievement of the above coalition government and objective.
3. Express their full support for the Declaration and Resolution of the International Conference on Kampuchea and other relevant United Nations General Assembly resolutions on Kampuchea.
4. Appeal to all peace-loving nations in the world to render their full support to the Declaration and Resolution of the International Conference on Kampuchea, and other relevant United Nations General Assembly resolutions on Kampuchea.

It is agreed that all anti-Vietnamese forces avoid any clashes among themselves.

The three parties agreed that they would refrain from bringing to the public their differences during the whole period of the agreement.

In conformity with item 2 of this Statement, the tripartite Ad Hoc Committee held its meetings from September 13 to November 14, 1981, as a whole already nine sessions, and has achieved significant results.

FIRST RESULT: Principles and modalities of the formation and functioning of the coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea

The tripartite Ad Hoc Committee has adopted by consensus the following principles and modalities:

Primo: The coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea should abide by the position of genuine union. No party should have for itself full powers or preponderance of powers.

Secundo: This government should be based consequently on the principle of tripartism, that is with the participation of the three parties in its structure as well as in its composition.

Tertio: All major issues should require the consensus of of the three parties.

Quarto: The formation of the coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea should base itself on the legal status of the State of Democratic Kampuchea so that it would by no means in the legal field be exploited by the Vietnamese and the Soviets against this government.

SECOND RESULT: Political programme of the coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea

The tripartite Ad Hoc Committee has unanimously adopted the following political programme (SEE ANNEX)

THIRD RESULT: Application of the tripartism principle concerning the Standing Committee of the Assembly of the People's Representatives of Kampuchea

The tripartite Ad Hoc Committee has adopted Democratic Kampuchea's proposal to nominate five representatives from each of the other two parties as members of the Standing Committee of the Assembly of the People's Representatives of Kampuchea with their right to participate in all deliberations and decisions of the Committee on the basis of consensus.

FOURTH RESULT: Principle of the repartition of appointments between the three parties within the coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea

The tripartite Ad Hoc Committee has adopted by consensus the following principle: If a party receives the appointment as President of the Presidium of the State and the second party that as Prime Minister, the third party will receive the appointment as Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs. This repartition is based on the principle of tripartism, that of equality and balance of powers in the political field and in the diplomatic activities.

FIFTH RESULT: Structure of the coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea

The tripartite Ad Hoc Committee has adopted by consensus the structure of the coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea as follows:

A. Presidium of the State:

1. President
2. First Vice-President
3. Second Vice-President

B. Government:

1. Prime Minister
2. Deputy Prime Minister  
and Minister for Foreign Affairs
3. Deputy Prime Minister  
and Minister of Economy and Finance
4. Military Coordinating Committee composed of  
three members from the three parties, with  
Minister's rank
5. Minister of Interior and Religious Affairs
6. Minister of Justice
7. Minister of Culture and Education
8. Minister of Health and Social Affairs
9. Minister of Telecommunication and Transport
10. Minister of Information.

Therefore, it is clear that the tripartite Ad Hoc Committee has nearly finished its work. There were still only two points left to deal with, before it comes to an end:

Primo: The necessity for the Presidents of the three parties to meet and solemnly ratify these agreements.

Secundo: The nomination by each party of its representatives to take part in the coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea.

III. However, the above mentioned good results achieved by the tripartite Ad Hoc Committee during its work carried out in conformity with the Singapore Joint Statement have been rejected by Mr. Son Sann as far as he is personally concerned. Besides, Mr. Son Sann continues to maintain his former demands that is:

Primo: Full powers for himself alone in the coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea.

Secundo: A majority for his party within the coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea.

Tertio: The exile of the leaders of Democratic Kampuchea who at present lead the struggle on the battlefields against the Vietnamese aggressors.

On November 22 and 23, 1981, H.E. Rajaratnam, Deputy Prime Minister in charge of Foreign Affairs and the Singapore delegation came to Bangkok and met there individually and jointly with the representatives of the three Kampuchean parties. On that occasion, they have put forward new proposals which turn out to be completely

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different from the decisions taken by the tripartite Ad Hoc Committee (principles and modalities of the formation of the coalition government, political programme and other results already achieved). They have proposed to set up a government called "a loose government", the structure of which is as follows:

1. One Head of State or President
2. One Prime Minister
3. One Deputy Prime Minister
4. Three Ministers, representing each of the three parties for the coordination of military affairs
5. Three Ministers, representing each of the three parties for the coordination of information and publicity.

In the Singapore proposal, it has been mentioned that each party retain its identity and be free to propagate its own political programme and philosophy for the future of Kampuchea.

The Representatives of Democratic Kampuchea have explained clearly and in detail their point of view to H.E. Rajaratnam and the Singapore delegation. To ensure the genuine union and the necessary cohesion, they feel it is imperative to be based among other things:

- . on definite principles, that is the principle of tripartism so that one party would not have the preponderance of powers over the others,
- . on the legal status of the State of Democratic Kampuchea so that the coalition government to be formed should be based on an appropriate legal ground.

In short, the Representatives of Democratic Kampuchea have stressed to H.E. Rajaratnam and the Singapore delegation on the necessity to base oneself on the results of the work of the tripartite Ad Hoc Committee achieved during its nine meetings. During the talks between H.E. Rajaratnam and the three Kampuchean parties on November 22 and 23, 1981, no decision has been taken. H.E. Rajaratnam asked the Government of Democratic Kampuchea to study his proposal and respond to him in two months.

IV. The Standing Committee of the Assembly of the People's Representatives of Kampuchea, the Government of Democratic Kampuchea, the Representatives of the Patriotic and Democratic Front of Great National Union of Kampuchea, the Representatives of the National Army and the guerrillas of Democratic Kampuchea and the Representatives of various ministerial departments held a meeting on 25, 27 and 28 November, 1981, and studied the above-mentioned matters. They have decided that the Standing Committee of the Assembly of the People's Representatives of Kampuchea, the Government of Democratic Kampuchea and the Patriotic and Democratic Front of Great National Union of Kampuchea issue a circular letter

informing the National Army and the guerrillas of Democratic Kampuchea, all ministerial departments, our 1,700,000 compatriots living in the areas controlled by the Government of Democratic Kampuchea, in the guerrilla areas and in the areas temporarily controlled by the Vietnamese enemy as well as our compatriots living abroad.

- so that they would be informed of our efforts to achieve the union of all national forces, both at home and abroad, with a view to increasing the forces fighting the Vietnamese aggressors,
- so that they would study the above-mentioned problems in a spirit of responsibility before the destiny of the nation, victim of the Vietnamese aggressors,
- so that they would give their opinion to the Government of Democratic Kampuchea in one month period, that is before December 31, 1981.

Democratic Kampuchea,  
November 30, 1981

KHIEU SAMPHAN  
President of the Presidium of the State,  
Prime Minister of the Government  
of Democratic Kampuchea,  
Provisional President of the PDFGNUM

NUON CHEA  
President of the Standing Committee  
of the Assembly of the People's  
Representatives of Kampuchea

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ANNEX

POLITICAL PROGRAMME  
OF THE COALITION GOVERNMENT  
OF DEMOCRATIC KAMPUCHEA

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I. INTERNAL POLICY

1. The coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea considers that it is the legitimate and inalienable right of the Kampuchean people to safeguard the existence of Kampuchea as an independent nation, free from foreign domination or coercion.
2. The coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea will mobilize all national efforts and the whole people of Kampuchea, both at home and abroad, in order to increase the forces resolutely waging the struggle in all forms (military, political, diplomatic and others) against the Vietnamese aggressors until they are all expelled from Kampuchea.
3. The armed forces of the three parties will mobilize all their forces, material and moral, to fight the Vietnamese aggressors until they are all expelled from Kampuchea.
4. The coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea firmly supports human rights and will treat all citizens of Kampuchea with all respects for their human rights.
5. The coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea will fraternally welcome the Kampuchean deserters of the puppet regime army set up by foreign forces.
6. The coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea will carry out a policy of clemency towards the Vietnamese soldiers who have surrendered and those who have been captured as prisoners.
7. The coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea will adopt the democratic system of government and will not construct socialism or communism.

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8. After all the Vietnamese aggressors are driven out, appropriate measures will be undertaken in order to ensure the law and order and so that armed Kampuchean will not be able to hinder or interrupt the free elections under the United Nations supervision.

9. The coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea will totally respect the results of the elections.

## II. FOREIGN POLICY

1. To carry on the policy of strict Non-alignment and neutrality and continue to actively participate in the Non-Aligned Movement.

2. To scrupulously abide by the principles of the United Nations Charter.

3. To establish friendly relations with all States on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence, in particular with those of ASEAN.

4. Do not allow any installation of foreign military base in the territory of Kampuchea.

5. To carry on the armed struggle and the struggle in all other forms against the Vietnamese aggressors until all the areas under foreign occupation and domination are entirely liberated.

6. To totally respect and support the principles of Human Rights in conformity with the United Nations Declaration on Human Rights.

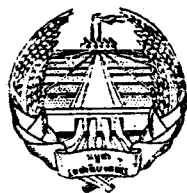
7. To express full support to and solidarity with the peoples who are still under the colonial yoke and foreign domination and carry on their continued struggle for the total restoration of their rights to self-determination.

8. To continue the struggle on the international arena against the Vietnamese aggressors on the basis of the legality and legitimacy of the State of Democratic Kampuchea and in conformity with the resolutions of the 34th, 35th and 36th sessions of the United Nations General Assembly, as well as with the Declaration of the International Conference on Kampuchea in July 1981. To mobilize international support for the just cause of the nation and people of Kampuchea so that pressures, in the diplomatic as well as in the political, economic and financial fields, are exerted upon the Hanoi authorities and so that all aids to them are cut off, in order to compel them to withdraw all their troops from Kampuchea and respect the inalienable right of the Kampuchean people to decide themselves their own destiny without any foreign interference.

9. To seek for the international guarantee from all States of South-East Asia, the five Permanent Members of the United Nations Security Council and other States concerned, so that they will respect and observe by all means the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and the non-aligned and neutral status of Kampuchea and that they will recognize its frontiers as being inviolable.

10. To call upon all peace- and justice-loving nations the world over to totally support the cause waged by the coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea for its independence, and its Non-alignment and to provide all assistance possible to the coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea.

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ANNEX II

## CIRCULAR LETTER

BY THE STANDING COMMITTEE OF THE ASSEMBLY  
OF THE PEOPLE'S REPRESENTATIVES OF KAMPUCHEA

THE GOVERNMENT OF DEMOCRATIC KAMPUCHEA

AND THE PATRIOTIC AND DEMOCRATIC FRONT  
OF GREAT NATIONAL UNION OF KAMPUCHEA

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Being responsible before the nation and the people at a moment when the harshest struggle is being waged against the 300,000 Vietnamese aggression troops and civil agents, the Standing Committee of the Assembly of the People's Representatives of Kampuchea, the Government of Democratic Kampuchea and the Patriotic and Democratic Front of Great National Union of Kampuchea request:

- The High Command of the National Army and the guerrilla units of Democratic Kampuchea,
- All military regions and combat fronts throughout the country,
- All division Committees and all combatants fighting on the battle-fields,
- Our 1,700,000 compatriots living in the areas of Democratic Kampuchea,
- All our compatriots living in the guerrilla areas,
- All our compatriots living in the areas temporarily controlled by the Vietnamese enemy,
- All our compatriots living abroad,

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- . To well study, as being issued to them, all the past efforts of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea and the direction of the Patriotic and Democratic Front of Great National Union of Kampuchea to achieve the union of all national forces, both at home and abroad,
- . To show, during this study, their spirit of patriotism and responsibility towards the destiny of the nation of Kampuchea in order to prevent the latter from having the same fate as Kampuchea Krom,
- . To study in all aspects this problem of the union the aim of which is to increase the national forces to fight the Vietnamese aggressors,
- . To convey their opinion before Decembre 31, 1981, to the Standing Committee of the Assembly of the people's Representatives of Kampuchea, to the Government of Democratic Kampuchea and to the direction of the Patriotic and Democratic Front of Great National Union of Kampuchea so that the latter could rightly and judiciously take their decisions and act consequently in their combat for the survival of the nation of Kampuchea.

Democratic Kampuchea,  
November 30, 1981

KHIEU SAMPHAN  
President of the Presidium of the  
of the State,  
Prime Minister of the  
Government of Democratic Kampuchea,  
Provisional President of the  
Patriotic and Democratic Front  
of Great National Union of  
Kampuchea

NUON CHEA  
President of the Standing  
Committee of the Assembly of the  
People's Representatives of  
Kampuchea

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