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IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE
STRENGTHENING OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

SECURITY COUNCIL
Thirty-fourth year

Letter dated 7 September 1979 from the Chargé d'Affaires a.i.
of the Permanent Mission of Viet Nam to the United Nations
addressed to the Secretary-General

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith, for your information, the text of the communiqué dated 25 August 1979 of the Commission of Inquiry into the Chinese Hegemonistic Expansionists' Crime of Aggression on the crime of aggression of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique, henchmen of the Chinese hegemonistic expansionists, in the eight south-western border provinces of Viet Nam, and request you kindly to have this letter and its enclosure circulated as an official document of the General Assembly, under item 46 of the provisional agenda, and of the Security Council.

(Signed) NGUYEN NGOC DUNG
Ambassador
Acting Permanent Representative

* A/34/150.

ANNEX

Communiqué dated 25 August 1979 of the Commission of Inquiry into
the Chinese Hegemonistic Expansionists' Crime of Aggression on
the crime of aggression of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique, henchmen
of the Chinese hegemonistic expansionists, in the eight
south-western border provinces of Viet Nam

As a consequence of objective realities and in the interest of each respective country, Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea were for decades closely united to fight their common enemies - first the French colonialists, then the American imperialists. This blood-sealed militant solidarity and friendship has bound the three Indo-Chinese peoples together and constituted an important factor in bringing the national liberation revolution of each respective country to complete victory.

The great victory of spring 1975 would have notably favoured the Vietnamese and Kampuchean peoples in the completion of their legitimate desires: to overcome rapidly the aftermath of the war, improve the people's living conditions, further tighten the existing militant solidarity between Viet Nam and Kampuchea, defend national independence and successfully bring the revolutionary cause of each respective country to fruition, thus positively contributing to safeguarding peace in South-East Asia and in the world. However, with their reactionary political line and territorial expansionist ambitions, the Peking masterminded Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique, betraying both peoples' interests, waged a war of aggression against Viet Nam, perpetrating countless crimes against the Vietnamese and Kampuchean peoples.

I

After taking power, the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique of pseudo-revolutionaries and sham communists set up an extremely cruel militarist and fascist family rule governing with absolute authority. Relying entirely on the international reactionary circles, they soon became the shock force of Chinese expansionism and hegemonism in South-East Asia. Following a hostile policy against Viet Nam, which they regarded as their "traditional territorial expansionist scheme", they took steps to invade the land of Viet Nam. As a curtain-raiser to their experimentation, they brazenly scrapped the agreement in principle between the South Viet Nam National Front of Liberation and the former Kampuchean administration to take the borderline as drawn on the map published by the French before 1954 (with a 1/100,000 scale) as the existing frontier between the two countries and unilaterally put forward a map of Kampuchea with its borderline overstepping deeply the Vietnamese territory in many places (published in the French-language magazine Le Kampuchea démocratique en marche, August 1977). At the same time, they conducted armed provocations and landgrabbing operations, feverishly prepared for a large-scale war, unceasingly launched propaganda

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campaigns to sow dissension and national feud, secretly assassinated thousands of Vietnamese residents having good relations with the Khmer population and expelled all these Vietnamese who had lived for a long time in Kampuchea, etc. While continually violating Viet Nam's sovereignty and territorial integrity, they tried to mislead public opinion at home and abroad by slanderously claiming that "Viet Nam was aggressing Kampuchea" in a bid to conceal their true visage of aggressors and doers of criminal acts. They trumpeted such perfidious allegations as: "Kampuchea has no intention of encroaching upon the land of whatever country for expansionist purpose", "a smaller and weaker country cannot swallow up a greater one", etc. However, the following solid evidence will lay bare the scheme of the invaders of the Vietnamese territory. This scheme was laid down in the top secret resolution of a reunion held on 17 July 1977 by the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique in the Eastern military region of Kampuchea: "we must attack not one, but many places and grab land at the same time ..."

Below are some statements by Kampuchean prisoners of war:

(a) Sin Sara, intelligence agent, born 1950, native of Svay Rieng, captured on 4 August 1976, said that his superiors, before smuggling him into Viet Nam, had told him that "the Kampuchean territory stretches as far as Sai Gon which, sooner or later, Kampuchea will recover."

(b) Nghet Cam San, spy, born 1946, native of Kandal, seized in Ho Chi Minh City on 7 August 1977, confessed that before his mission in Viet Nam, he had been taught that "in the time of Angkor Vat, Kampuchea was a power with an immense territory, having invaded the neighbour countries to enslave them ... at present, in order to become a power, Kampuchea must resume the experience of the Angkor Vat time ...".

They also nurtured the psychology of a national feud among the different sectors of the Khmer population and sowed dissent and panic among the Vietnamese people along the border. At the Vinh Te canal deep in An Giang province, cut by the Vietnamese people late in the nineteenth century, the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique distributed leaflets saying that "the canal is the frontier and belongs to Kampuchea", and "the Khmer land is not confined to that canal, but stretches as far as Sai Gon".

Paving the way for their aggression against Viet Nam, the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique stepped up arch-savage terror campaigns, thoroughly liquidating authentic forces opposing their policy of genocide against the Kampuchean people and of submission to the Peking reactionary ruling circles, defaming them as pro-Viet Nam, etc.

Clearly enough, the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique carried out their wild ambitions according to a well-prepared, pre-calculated plan covering all fields -

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political, military, economic, cultural and social - and under the direction of the Chinese hegemonistic expansionists who also supplied them with arms and material means to wage their war of aggression against Viet Nam, destroying the time-honoured friendship between the two closely associated peoples and jeopardizing peace in South-East Asia. The war kindled by Pol Pot-Ieng Sary against Viet Nam had a clear-cut objective which perfectly suited the counter-revolutionary strategy of the Peking reactionary rulers who therefore fully approved and supported them. Therefore, the very process of Pol Pot-Ieng Sary's aggression against Viet Nam revealed their own extremely warlike, obdurate, reactionary and fascist nature, on the one hand, and the ignominious, base, abject role of the Peking hidden wirepullers who used Kampuchean blood to accomplish their intentions, on the other. The two cliques profited from each other and relied on each other to oppose Viet Nam and attain their respective goals and interests.

The Peking reactionary ruling circles were much more cunning and devilish in their plotting. After the United States imperialists were compelled by their shameful defeat to withdraw from Indo-China, Peking immediately replaced them to grasp Kampuchea tightly to use it as a testing field for the materialization of "Maoism" in South-East Asia, carrying out their policy of assimilation of the Kampuchean people, turning this country into a Chinese province, a huge military base and an effective springboard, first to weaken and, in the long run, annex Viet Nam, then gradually control and occupy the whole South-East Asian region.

Thereby, it is safe to say that this was not merely a border conflict, but a Chinese-inspired over-all aggressive war fought by proxy by their henchmen Pol Pot-Ieng Sary against Viet Nam because the latter have been the greatest obstacle to Chinese expansionism and hegemonism in South-East Asia. Peking's dark intention consisted in fighting Viet Nam to the last Kampuchean, just as it had decided to "fight the United States to the last Vietnamese" in the past. So, on order from their Peking masters, the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique repeatedly rejected all the fair and sensible offers of negotiation advanced by the Vietnamese party to settle peacefully the frontier issue between the two countries.

Pol Pot-Ieng Sary depended on their Peking bosses to carry out their black designs. The Peking reactionary rulers copiously poured arms and war means into Kampuchea for a protracted war, helped train the client army, introduced tens of thousands of advisers and sent many groups of high-ranking officials there from late 1975 to late 1978 to supervise directly the implementation of their different reactionary line, first and foremost the hostile policy against Viet Nam, increased aid in all fields, especially military and technical aid, etc. Overtly serving as Peking's task force, Pol Pot-Ieng Sary even drafted 13 or 14-year-olds, feverishly stepping their military build-up to fight Viet Nam in behalf of China.

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II

As everybody knows, in mid-1975, as the newly liberated South Viet Nam began to clear away the aftermath of the war and rebuild the country, the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique speeded up their military build-up, drove hundreds of thousands of Kampuchean civilians living near the Kampuchea-Viet Nam frontier backward to create a no-man's land there, smuggled scouts and spies into Vietnamese territory to conduct armed intrusions in separate regions, preparatory to subsequent big-scale encroachment attacks.

The Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique's military acts in those close to four years constituted a process of escalation in scale and intensity. Only three days after complete victory was achieved in South Viet Nam, Kampuchean troops landed on Phu Quoc island belonging to Viet Nam in an attempt to occupy it. On 8 May 1975, armed inroads were launched against localities along the border from Ha Tien provincial capital to Tay Ninh province. On 10 May 1975, they brazenly attacked Tho Chu island and abducted 517 civilians whose fate until now remains always unknown. In late December 1975-early 1976, land-grabbing operations were mounted on areas in Darlac and Gia Lai - Kontum provinces.

Facing this, with its unswerving goodwill of peace and in order to preserve the relations of good neighbourliness, in mid-May 1976, Viet Nam sent a negotiating delegation to open the way for a thorough settlement of the border conflict initiated by Pol Pot-Ieng Sary. The talks came to nothing as the latter unilaterally broke off the negotiations, obstinately rejected all proposals made by the Vietnamese party to resume them, went on calling for war against Viet Nam, relentlessly eliminated those forces which did not follow them, etc. In March 1977, the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary armed forces renewed their onslaughts, intruding into the Vietnamese territory on a length of nearly 100 km from Ha Tien (Kien Giang province) to Tinh Bien (An Giang province). On 30 April 1977, Pol Pot-Ieng Sary hurled two infantry brigades and two independent battalions plus artillery units into a massive offensive against 13 border villages belonging to An Giang province and from then on, they never ceased promoting the conflict towards a large-scale, all-sided, continuous and systematic war of aggression on the whole length of the Viet Nam-Kampuchea frontier.

By 1978, though their aggressive war came under condemnation by world public opinion, the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique, in utter contempt of mankind's ethics and conscience and international law, kept on attacking population centres deep inside the Vietnamese territory with even greater fierceness. With a view to achieving their criminal aggressive designs at any cost, they relied on Chinese weapons and equipment to develop their armed forces to the maximum, from 7 infantry divisions in mid-1975 up to 23 in late-1978, of which 19 were massed next door to Viet Nam together with many artillery and tank units.

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Particularly, on 22 December 1978, a big-scale offensive involving several divisions was mounted against the Ben Soi area, Tay Ninh province, in an attempt to capture Tay Ninh provincial capital and use it as a springboard to launch other adventurous attacks.

Faced with this highly critical situation, the Vietnamese army and people in the border areas, once again obliged to use their legitimate right of self-defence, resolutely fought back and smashed this aggressive effort of Pol Pot-Ieng Sary. Shortly after this lamentable defeat, the authentic patriotic forces in Kampuchea, under the leadership of the Kampuchean Front of National Union for National Salvation, rose up to overthrow the whole Pol Pot-Ieng Sary traitorous régime from central to grass-roots echelons in early January 1979, founding the revolutionary people's power headed by President Heng Samrin.

III

In waging their war of aggression against Viet Nam on the dictate of the Peking reactionary ruling circles and in line with their own barbarous dark schemes, the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique piled up innumerable crimes against the Vietnamese people. Their troops slaughtered thousands of civilians merely because they were Vietnamese. They were like wild beasts, sparing nobody, even old people, women and children, in their killing revelry, using most sadistic methods familiar to mediaeval tyrants; beheading, throat cutting, disembowelling, quartering, burying alive, mincing corpses, crushing skulls, anus boring, burning alive, drenching with boiled water, raping women then cutting their breasts and thrusting weapons or sticks into their genitals, etc. In Dong Thap province, after killing people, they stripped them naked and fastened the bodies into rafts to be thrown drifting on the river. Blood-curdling massacres were perpetrated, such as the killing of 500 people in Tan Lap (Tay Ninh) in 1977 and of 2,022 others in Ba Chuc (An Giang) in 1978, to cite only some typical cases.

1. The Tan Lap massacre: at 1 a.m. on 25 September 1977, regiments of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary army thrust into Tan Lap village, Tan Bien district, Tay Ninh province, 7 km from the Viet Nam-Kampuchea frontier. The Pol Pot-Ieng Sary thugs made a house-to-house search and killed hosts of civilians taking refuge under ground and burned down nearly 500 dwellings including those with people still trapped inside. They slew anybody they came across. Ten-year-old Ngoc Anh, hidden in a corner of a garden, was stabbed dead with a bayonet. Mrs. Nguyen Thi Dong, five-months pregnant, had her belly slashed open, with the fetus plucked out. A two-year-old child of Mrs. Tran Thi Tuyet was snatched by a Kampuchean assassin who tore it into two parts. According to investigations, five hamlets of the village were razed to the ground, 500 people out of the 2,067-strong population massacred. Twenty-eight families were killed to a person, such as those of Mr. Nguyen Van Sanh (five members), of Mr. Vu Dinh Thai (seven members), etc. Out of the 13 male and female teachers of the village, 11 were slaughtered.

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2. The Ba Chuc massacre: on 22 April 1978, a sizeable force of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary army, following fierce assaults, captured Ba Chuc and other villages belonging to Bay Nui district, An Giang province. Ba Chuc village was inhabited by many Vietnamese of Khmer stock. The raiders searched every corner to kill people taking refuge in shelters. They herded the victims whom they shot dead by groups of 30-40. The remainder were ordered to carry ammunition and the raiders' spoils to the Vinh Te canal where they were finished off. A number of villagers sought refuge in pagodas, thinking they could be safe under the auspices of religion, but all but the two Phi Lai and Tam Buu pagodas were destroyed, with Buddhist statuettes all shattered. Heaps of corpses were found there. According to inquiries, 2,022 people were butchered at a time in this village. This is an unheard of figure of massacred civilians, for a not too great village in an attack, in the history of aggressive wars, and nowhere else can one witness killing methods of such savageness.

Those monstrous atrocities sowed endless sorrows and mourning among countless families, utterly upsetting the normal life and social order in all those limitrophe areas.

Those are but two typical cases among the thousands of loathsome offences they committed against the Vietnamese people. On directives from Peking, the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique nurtured among their army a frenzy of murder, turning their troops into a horde of utterly dehumanized liver-eating assassins. According to confessions of prisoners of war, each Kampuchean soldier having killed 10 Vietnamese received an additional ration as reward to encourage them to implement the watchword "one against thirty", i.e. each of them was supposed to kill 30 or, if possible, 40-50 Vietnamese.

Starting from their aggressive and exterminatory goal, wherever they went Kampuchean troops thoroughly carried out the "kill all, burn all, destroy all" policy to terrorize and subdue the Vietnamese people. Their targets were heavily populated areas, towns and urban centres near the frontier such as Ha Tien, Tinh Bien, Chau Doc, Tay Ninh, etc.

In An Giang province, Tinh Bien township and 22 villages (out of the 34 embattled ones) were completely levelled, with the population deprived of all dwellings and reduced to living in the open.

Tay Ninh provincial capital and seven out of the eight districts of the province were subject to daily artillery bombardments. Out of the 46 embattled villages in Tay Ninh, 18 limitrophe ones were completely destroyed.

Ha Tien provincial capital and almost all the villages lying along the border of Kien Giang province were ravaged into wilderness. During the hostilities, Kampuchean forces conducted over 700 shellings on the territory of Kien Giang province, causing great losses in lives and property to the population.

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Almost all the limitrophe villages of Hong Ngu district, Dong Thap province, came under attack. From August 1977 to the end of 1978 alone, alongside incessant shellings, they conducted 384 infantry onslaughts and 62 boat attacks, destroying most of the people's fishing means.

In 1977-1978, Pol Pot-Ieng Sary's troops mounted 1,736 attacks and surprise raids on border areas of Long An province, causing heavy losses to the population.

In implementation of their vicious scheme to sap Viet Nam's economy, at every intrusion, Kampuchean troops indulged in burning houses, paddy and other properties. An Giang province alone had almost 10,000 houses burnt down. In a single raid on 16 March 1976, against Thieu Hung and Hung Phuoc villages, Long Ninh district, Song Be province, they burned down 286 civilian dwellings.

According to preliminary inquiries, they destroyed and looted tens of thousands of tons of food, killed or took away nearly 10,000 heads of cattle, destroyed or took away nearly 800 boats and outboard motorboats (most belonging to the population of Dong Thap province). Cultural, educational, sanitary and religious establishments were also attacked: 51 churches, temples and pagodas, 129 schools, 63 medical stations and hospitals destroyed or heavily damaged.

As a result of continuous attacks on border areas, more than 40,000 Vietnamese civilians had to leave their native places. This reverberated disastrously on production. With over 100,000 hectares of cropland left fallow, the amount of food (converted into paddy) lost because of non-production during hostilities was estimated at hundreds of thousands of tons. Meanwhile, some border provinces, such as Tay Ninh and Long An still had to receive 180,000 Kampuchean refugees and 20,000 Chinese residents who fled from Kampuchea to seek safety in Viet Nam. Pol Pot-Ieng Sary's genocidal policy and the incitation by the Peking panic-mongers were at the origin of this exodus, which cost a great many lives and caused great difficulties to Viet Nam. They must bear total responsibility for those crimes and cannot shift the blame to anybody. The above monstrous offences of Pol Pot-Ieng Sary and their bosses, the Peking reactionary rulers, must be exposed to world public opinion and sternly condemned.

IV

In conducting a war of aggression against the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique ran counter to common ethics and overtly and seriously violated international law. Under the statutes of the Nuremberg International Tribunal, 1/ they are guilty of the crime of aggression, the capital international crime, for having grossly encroached upon Viet Nam's independence, sovereignty and

1/ See United Nations, Treaty Series, vol. 82, No. 251, p. 279.

territorial integrity. At the same time, they violated the Charter of the United Nations and many resolutions of the General Assembly. Furthermore, they slighted principle 7 of the Final Communiqué of the Conference of Asian and African countries held in Bandung in 1955 with the presence of Cambodian representatives, condemning all acts or threats of aggression and all uses of force or threats of use of force in international relations.

On Vietnamese territory, in the course of their war of aggression, the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary army massacred Vietnamese civilians by the hundreds, by the thousands at a time, merely because they were Vietnamese as such. This criminal act bears an obvious genocidal character. Thus Pol Pot-Ieng Sary violated the Convention of 9 December 1948 on the Prevention and Punishment of Genocide (General Assembly resolution 260 A (III), annex). Under the said Convention, those are guilty of the crime of genocide who destroy the whole or part of a national ethnical, racial or religious group as such. On the other hand, the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique are guilty of crimes of war under the Nuremberg Statutes for having ordered their troops to kill, persecute and mistreat the civilian population, destroy their villages and dwellings, and plunder their property.

The Chinese hegemonistic expansionists - masterminds of this war of aggression - are the co-culprits of the aforesaid crimes and must be held totally responsible for their consequences on the Vietnamese and Kampuchean peoples.

As the greatest and most infamous criminals of our time, the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique and their masters, the Chinese hegemonistic expansionists, must be most severely condemned and judged according to justice and existing international law.

As the greatest criminal just sentenced by the Phnom Penh Revolutionary People's Tribunal, the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique has now no capacity to represent the Kampuchean people and must not be tolerated wherever there is still any justice left. Any effort whatsoever to revive the political corpse of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique would constitute an indirect violation of international law, opposing the Vietnamese people and the forces of peace and justice, running counter to the legitimate aspirations of the Kampuchean people and progressive people in the world, and an abject and insane challenge to mankind's conscience.

With their iron-like determination to defend their independence and sovereignty and following the tradition of militant solidarity with Kampuchea, the Vietnamese people pledge their word whole-heartedly to help the brotherly Kampuchean people to implement the sacred appeal of the Front of National Union for National Salvation of Kampuchea led by President Heng Samrin to defend the conquests of the revolution, consolidate the people's power, build the new, prosperous and happy life in the independent and peaceful fatherland, but are resolved not to pardon the crime of aggression of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique and the Chinese reactionary ruling circles, and always stand ready to smash any attempt of aggression or annexion, no matter whether it takes place in the South or the North or any place on the Vietnamese territory.
