



General Assembly Security Council

Distr.
GENERAL

A/43/621/
S/20195
20 September 1988

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

GENERAL ASSEMBLY
Forty-third session
Items 23, 72, 130, 131 and 137
of the provisional agenda*
THE SITUATION IN KAMPUCHEA
REVIEW OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE
DECLARATION ON THE STRENGTHENING
OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY
PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES
BETWEEN STATES
DRAFT CODE OF CRIMES AGAINST THE
PEACE AND SECURITY OF MANKIND
DEVELOPMENT AND STRENGTHENING OF
GOOD-NEIGHBOURLINESS BETWEEN
STATES

SECURITY COUNCIL
Forty-third year

Letter dated 19 September 1988 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, a memorandum entitled "Why are the Hanoi authorities and their allies so virulent in their slanderous campaign against Democratic Kampuchea and its leaders?", issued on 18 August 1988 by His Excellency Son Sen, Minister, Member of the Co-ordinating Committee for National Defence of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, Commander-in-Chief of the National Army of Democratic Kampuchea.

I should be very grateful if you would have the present letter and the attached memorandum distributed as an official document of the General Assembly.

* A/43/150.

A/43/621
S/20195
English
Page 2

under items 23, 72, 130, 131 and 137 of the provisional agenda, and of the Security Council.

(Signed) THOUNN Prasith
Permanent Representative

ANNEX

Memorandum entitled "Why are the Hanoi authorities and their allies so virulent in their slanderous campaign against Democratic Kampuchea and its leaders?" issued on 18 August 1988 by the Minister, Member of the Co-ordinating Committee for National Defence of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, Commander-in-Chief of the National Army of Democratic Kampuchea

During the past more than two months, the Hanoi leaders and their supporters, near or far, have come up with the so-called "problem of Khmer Rouge" and the "problem of leaders of Democratic Kampuchea". They have raised this issue again and again through their open or covered propaganda machine. They have especially laid down as a condition for the withdrawal of the Vietnamese occupying troops from Kampuchea the elimination of Democratic Kampuchea and its leaders.

This is not new that the Hanoi authorities and their supporters make a slanderous campaign against Democratic Kampuchea and its leaders. They have done it in the 70s before the Vietnamese invasion of Kampuchea, and they continue to do so while Vietnamese troops have been occupying Kampuchea.

One wonders why they are so virulent in their defamatory campaign against Democratic Kampuchea and its leaders. One has such a question in mind because Vietnam is a country in terms of its size, its population and its army, several times as big as Democratic Kampuchea. Moreover, it has invaded and continues to occupy Kampuchea for nearly ten years now, and it remains a grave threat to South-East Asia. Whereas Democratic Kampuchea is a small and weak country scarcely populated, does not constitute a threat to anyone, and is still under the Vietnamese occupation. Why then the Hanoi leaders and their supporters have trying hard to carry out defamatory campaign against Democratic Kampuchea and its leaders ?

Such a question brings an answer with the following reasons :

I. What are the reasons that have led to such a virulent and systematic slanderous campaign of the Hanoi authorities and their supporters against Democratic Kampuchea and its leaders ?

The only reason is the fact that Democratic Kampuchea and its leaders do constitute a major stumbling block which prevents the Hanoi authorities from annexing Kampuchea. Before their large-scale invasion of Kampuchea in late December 1978, they failed to annex Kampuchea through their manoeuvres of seduction and deception, their assassination and coup d'Etat attempts, their military attacks in the sea territorial water and on the islands of Kampuchea, and their acts of aggression and encroachment at the Kampuchean eastern borders. Now after nearly ten years of their military occupation, their dream of swallowing up Kampuchea is far from a reality. On the contrary, their war of aggression has dragged on. They are facing more deeply bogged down situation on the battlefield, utmost difficulties in Vietnam itself and a very isolated posture on the world stage.

As they are unable to annex Kampuchea, their plan to set up small, medium and great "Indochina Federation" is running also into big trouble, and is doomed to failure.

That is why they have invented pretexts to accuse Democratic Kampuchea and its leaders in the same manner Hitler did. One will recall history especially the Sarajevo incident that was an invented pretext to start WW I, and the "vital space" policy of Hitler that annexed and conquered Rhineland, Sudetenland, Austria, Czechoslovakia and Poland, and the "Munich" event that precipitated WW II. It is now a matter of history records that once strategic territories of Rhineland, Sudetenland, Austria and Czechoslovakia had been annexed, Hitler and Mussolini forced Chamberlain and Daladier to sign a treaty of submission in Munich in 1938. Thus "Munich" opened the door for Hitler to start WW II at his will.

As far as Democratic Kampuchea and its leaders are concerned, they have not accepted to kneel down or to give way either to the Vietnamese threat, attacks on the islands, in sea territorial water and at the eastern border, many attempts of coup d'Etat, or to large-scale invasion and occupation. They have been overcoming all kinds of obstacles, sharing woe and weal with the Kampuchean people and nation, and carrying out the struggle on the battlefield. This struggle has driven the Vietnamese aggressors into a desperate situation in all fields. All this does constitute a major obstacle to the Hanoi strategy of annexing Kampuchea and to the Vietnamese small, medium and great "Indochina Federation" plan. To get rid of this obstacle, the Hanoi authorities have committed genocide against the people of Kampuchea, in the same manner as Hitler did against the Jews in accordance with his "purity of the Aryan race" policy and tried to work out new "Munich" on the problem of Kampuchea with a view to eliminating Democratic Kampuchea and its leaders. They will try to arrange "Munich II" or "Munich III" as they did at the Havana Summit of the Non-Aligned Movement. They are now mobilizing their supporters to work out a new "Munich" of the Havana type. They will of course try to find their "Chamberlain", "Daladier" and "Pétain" (Vichy) on the Kampuchean problem.

The aggressors and their supporters of the past and at the present day are the same. They follow the same political patterns. They invent pretexts and carry out deceitful manoeuvres. They try to arrange meetings of the "Munich" type. They carry out threat against others so as to have the latter yield step by step to their demand, and thus making their political objectives or ambitions fulfilled.

Indeed, to have history repeats itself, as they wish, at the end of this 20th Century, is not an easy task for the Hanoi leaders.

The overwhelming majority of the peoples and countries in the world have learned a great deal of experiences, either the experiences in world history or of their own during their struggle to gain national independence and freedom from the colonialism and neo-colonialism. Through such experiences, they will not let the Vietnamese aggressors get away with a second or third "Munich", and they certainly will not surrender -- like Chamberlain, Daladier and Pétain -- to the deception, coercion and threat of the Vietnamese aggressors.

It is by now common knowledge that the root cause of the Kampuchean problem is the Vietnamese aggression and occupation in Kampuchea. People in the world are also aware of the political strategy of Hanoi towards Kampuchea, and of Vietnam's small, medium and great "Indochina Federation" plan, its continued occupation of Kampuchea since late December 1978, and its political and diplomatic manoeuvres. All this makes people automatically understand why the Hanoi authorities and their supporters are so virulent in their defamatory campaign against Democratic Kampuchea and its leaders.

II. In their defamatory campaign against Democratic Kampuchea and its leaders, what kind of theory do the Hanoi authorities use ? Do people believe them or not ?

The Vietnamese aggressors are facing desperate difficulties on the battlefields of Kampuchea and in Vietnam itself, and they are very isolated on the international arena. Yet, they try to put on an impressive appearance. They have even, with arrogance, carried out threat against others to yield to their demand. But the reality shows that even a superpower like the Soviet Union which tried to follow suit, after Vietnam's premature "victory" in its aggression and occupation in Kampuchea, by invading Afghanistan, got itself bogged down there; and the Soviet troops have been defeated by the struggle of the people of Afghanistan. As for the Vietnamese troops, they have also been defeated by the struggle of the Kampuchean people. Their "Blitzkrieg" which they hoped to finish in one or two months has become bogged down in Kampuchea for almost ten years now, and the war still goes on unabated. These two events -- the Soviet Union in Afghanistan and the Vietnamese in Kampuchea -- clearly show that at the end of this 20th Century, a big power or a big country can no longer rely on its forces to commit at will invasion and occupation of another country. It can invade a small country but it cannot occupy that country forever as it will certainly get bogged down in its own war of aggression.

Even though they know all this full well, the Hanoi leaders still try hard to put into practice (Nazi propaganda Minister) Goebbels' theory of "big lie" on the Kampuchean problem. Even before their large-scale invasion of Kampuchea in late December 1978, and up to now, how many times have the world community exposed their lies ? Yet they have never been shy of implementing Goebbels' theory in co-operation with their supporters, near or far, who have shared interests.

Are those well-orchestrated lies and deceitful propaganda of the Vietnamese leaders and their supporters on the Kampuchean problem and on Democratic Kampuchea and its leaders believed by the world community or not ? What are the reasons or evidences to believe them or not ?

The fact that after nearly ten years of their occupation, they still cannot control Kampuchea, and are deeply bogged down on the battlefield of Kampuchea, facing utmost difficulties in Vietnam itself, and are very isolated on the world stage, clearly indicates that they cannot get away with Goebbels' theory. The reasons are as follows :

Firstly : International law

- The overwhelming majority of the peoples and countries in the world have condemned and continue to condemn Vietnam's invasion and occupation of Kampuchea.

- They fully stand by the principles of international law and the five principles of peaceful coexistence. Most importantly, almost all the small and medium-sized countries in the world are worried about the aggression and expansion from big and medium-sized powers or from a big country. For that reason, those small and medium-sized countries stand firmly by the principles of international law and the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, no matter how hard the aggressors, Vietnamese or someone else, try to persuade them to change to the contrary. In the case of Kampuchea, they have even bluntly told the Vietnamese leaders that, "you are the aggressors in Kampuchea, you must withdraw all of your aggression forces from Kampuchea".

This is a clear-cut pronouncement of the world community especially the overwhelming majority of Third World countries which abide by their principled stand. They really uphold justice and respect the fundamental principles of international law and the United Nations Charter. They have neither taken black for white nor confounded the aggressors with the aggrieved. For them, the principles of international law and the Charter of the United Nations can never be subjected to compromise or trade off.

Secondly : The United Nations resolutions

Over the past nine consecutive years, the United Nations General Assembly has adopted, by an increasingly overwhelming majority, resolutions on the situation in Kampuchea, calling for the withdrawal of all foreign (Vietnamese) forces from Kampuchea.

In 1979, the resolution on Kampuchea obtained 91 favourable votes. These votes have increased to 97 in 1980, 100 in 1981, 105 in 1982 and in 1983, 110 in 1984, 114 in 1985, 115 in 1986 and 117 in 1987.

Thus, the United Nations, the highest world body, has, on the one hand pointed out the Vietnamese as the aggressors in Kampuchea, and on the other, called on them to withdraw all their aggression forces from Kampuchea. Those 117 member States of the United Nations have condemned the aggression and occupation in Kampuchea in flagrant violation of international law and the UN Charter by the Hanoi leaders

who must be in the dock and prosecuted. That is very clear. No matter how hard the Hanoi authorities and their supporters try to carry out their deceptive or diversionary moves, fact is fact for the world community.

Thirdly : Who do the Hanoi authorities fear in Kampuchea ?

As a primary reason, the Vietnamese aggressors fear those who are fighting them on the battlefield and have driven them into a deeply bogged down situation in Kampuchea. Who are they ? They are the people of Kampuchea united in their hard-fought struggle for national liberation against the Vietnamese aggressors over the past nearly ten years, in all the interlinked military, political, economic, propaganda and psychological fields. Naturally, all the Kampuchean patriotic forces are included in these struggling people. Still, the Vietnamese aggressors consider that, of all those Kampuchean patriotic forces, Democratic Kampuchea and its leaders are playing an important role as they stand side by side with the Kampuchean people and lead them in their struggle to dry up the sources of the Vietnamese war of aggression in Kampuchea. This struggle has driven the Vietnamese aggressors into desperate difficulties in all fields so much so that the latter admit that they will irremediably meet with their final defeat like other aggressors in world history.

This testifies to the fact that Democratic Kampuchea and its leaders share woe and weal with the Kampuchean people and nation, and enjoy popular support in their most difficult struggle for national liberation for almost ten years now. Ordinary people in the world especially peace-and justice-loving countries and peoples fully realize that if Democratic Kampuchea and its leaders did not enjoy popular support, they would certainly not be able to sustain such a long and hard-fought struggle that has driven the Vietnamese aggressors into a deeply bogged down situation. Historical experiences of the past and in recent time show that some countries were annexed or swallowed up by others because :

- the peoples of those countries did not wage struggle;
- there were not leading forces that could mobilize those peoples for the national liberation struggle.

Vietnam and its supporters have nothing to override this logical elementary analysis and to deceive the opinion and conscience of the people of Kampuchea and the peoples the world over.

(Another very important factor is the assistance and support of the world community whom the people of Kampuchea will always remember with deep gratitude).

Fourthly : The Hanoi leaders must be judged by what their external and internal policies are.

Their external policies are as follows :

- a- To implement their small, medium and great "Indochina Federation" plan;
- b- To swallow up Laos, since 1954 and especially through the 1977 Vietnam-Laos treaty abolishing State boundaries between the two countries;
- c- To launch several hundreds of thousands of troops to invade Kampuchea in late December 1978, and continue to occupy her;
- d- Over the past nearly ten years of their occupation of Kampuchea, the Vietnamese aggressors have been a constant source of threat to peace, security and stability of South-East Asia;
- e- Vietnam has allowed the Soviet Union to set up strategic military sea and air bases in Cam Ranh and Danang, which are stepping-stones for the Soviet Union to project and expand its power in the region and beyond;
- f- Vietnam has become, by virtue of its November 1978 military treaty with the Soviet Union, an outpost of Soviet bloc socialism in the implementation of its own regional expansionist strategy and of the Soviet Union global strategy in South-East Asia and Asia-Pacific.

The Vladivostock speech of Gorbachev of July 1986 also relies on that Vietnam-Soviet Union treaty and military bases in Cam Ranh and Danang as an important component of the Soviet strategy in Asia-Pacific.

What about Hanoi policy in Vietnam itself ?

The Hanoi leaders carry out fascist policy at home. How many hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese have been arrested and imprisoned ? How many hundreds of thousands of young Vietnamese have been sent as cannon-fodder in their war of aggression in Kampuchea ? How many millions of Vietnamese have been facing starvation ? How many more millions have not enough to eat ? How many hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese have been victim of the so-called new economic zone ? How many hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese have to flee their homeland ? Among the latter, how many tens of thousands of "boat people" have perished, in most dramatic way, in the sea each year ?

Furthermore, how much are the sufferings and sorrows endured by the Khmer-Krom (the Kampuchean living in their ancestral land in former South Kampuchea which is present-day South Vietnam) as a

result of Hanoi fascist policy ? What is the extent of genocidal crimes of the Hanoi leaders against ethnic people such as the Nong, Rader, Charay living in highlands of Central Vietnam ?

All this has been, since 1975, in concrete terms, the fascist policy of Hanoi leaders who continue to implement it every day.

Therefore, how and to what degree must they be condemned for their afore-cited external and internal policies ? They must be condemned for their war crimes against Kampuchea and her people and for their criminal acts against the Vietnamese people.

As for the puppets installed in Phnom Penh by the Vietnamese after their invasion and occupation of Kampuchea, what kind of people are they ? They are the ones who have collaborated with the Vietnamese aggressors in the implementation of their policy to exterminate the nation and people of Kampuchea. Therefore, they must also be prosecuted and condemned for their crimes in the collaboration with the Vietnamese aggressors for almost ten years now. The whole people of Kampuchea, at home and abroad have already condemned them as the traitors to the nation and as the sold-out lackeys of the Vietnamese aggressors. History of Kampuchea at present and in the future will record this undeniable fact.

III. The Hanoi leaders and traitors installed in Phnom Penh by the Vietnamese are arch-criminals responsible for the genocide of the peoples of Kampuchea and Vietnam.

The Vietnamese aggressors have been doing their utmost, through their propaganda campaign, to portray themselves as innocent people or as prosecutors (sic) of Democratic Kampuchea and its leaders with a view to covering up their continued occupation of Kampuchea. Actually, as have been demonstrated earlier, the Hanoi leaders and their puppets in Phnom Penh must be prosecuted and condemned on two counts: their war crimes and their crimes of genocide against the peoples of Kampuchea and Vietnam. They are the Hitlers of South-East Asia, who remain a threat to the countries and peoples of the region. Therefore, the Hanoi leaders have no right whatsoever to make a judgement on Democratic Kampuchea and its leaders.

For Democratic Kampuchea who is a small and weak country, scarcely populated, what she needs most is peace and peaceful co-existence with Vietnam and its people and with other neighbouring countries so as to have time to rebuild herself and to improve the living conditions of her people. She has never committed neither act of aggression or encroachment upon even an inch of the territory of any neighbouring country, nor threatened any neighbouring country by military, political, propaganda, psychological or economic means. Even though, the Hanoi authorities have sent several hundreds of thousands of troops to invade and occupy Kampuchea and have sown

tremendous destructions, sufferings and sorrows on the Kampuchean people, never known in their history, Democratic Kampuchea has always expressed goodwill to seek a political settlement of the Kampuchean problem and to live in peace along side the Vietnamese people. Out of this goodwill, Democratic Kampuchea has consistently insisted to have a peace and non-aggression treaty between Vietnam and Kampuchea. The Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea has issued an 8-point peace plan of 17 March 1986 and a 4-point proposal of 25 June 1988, and most recently, Democratic Kampuchea has issued a new proposal dated 15 August 1988 for a comprehensive settlement of the Kampuchean problem... She has even agreed that once the Hanoi authorities accept a political solution to the Kampuchean problem and withdraw all their aggression forces from Kampuchea, she will not ask for war damage compensation.

Yet, in the face of Democratic Kampuchea's goodwill, the Hanoi leaders continue to be obstinated in the pursuit of their "Indochina Federation" strategy, their occupation of Kampuchea, their military and political manoeuvres, and their defamatory campaign aimed at eliminating Democratic Kampuchea and its leaders. In this scheme, sometimes the Hanoi leaders and their supporters said that Democratic Kampuchea as a whole must be eliminated, sometimes they said only the leaders of Democratic Kampuchea must be eliminated. Here Hanoi at times said at will that 200 or 20 or a few of them must go... One may wonder if the Hanoi authorities could dictate their will on this issue, what would become of international law? What if a country, by relying on its own might, tries to impose its will on the destiny of another country, smaller or weaker than itself? If so, what will become of peace and security in the world? Never will the countries and peoples in the world (of course with the exception of the Hanoi leaders and their supporters) tolerate such practice which they will resolutely oppose.

Democratic Kampuchea would like to take this opportunity to make it clear, to national and international public opinion, that in case the Hanoi leaders continue to be obstinated in raising the issue of eliminating Democratic Kampuchea and its leaders, Democratic Kampuchea reserve its right to respond in kind to them, in its capacity as the accuser, in the face of the world, by issuing a list of names of the Hanoi leaders who must be eliminated. That list will be provided when and if necessary.

The war of aggression and occupation in Kampuchea waged by the Hanoi authorities have lasted for nearly ten years, and still goes on unabated. The United Nations and the International Community have called on them to accept a political settlement of the Kampuchean problem by withdrawing all their aggression forces from Kampuchea so as to enable the people of Kampuchea to exercise their right to self-determination. This call remains unheeded by the Hanoi authorities who continue to pursue in earnest their deceitful manoeuvres, by gathering their supporters, to work out a new "Munich" on the Kampuchean

problem. They have come out with one pretext after another so as to be able to continue to occupy Kampuchea and try to annex her into their "Indochina Federation". All this clearly shows that they have not changed one iota of their original objective. Their professed claim to the contrary are purely deceitful words.

In such circumstances, Democratic Kampuchea and the people of Kampuchea, as well as all the Kampuchean patriots at home and abroad, have no other choice than to continue their struggle to liberate their motherland from the grips of the Vietnamese aggressors. The world community, for its part, has no other choice than to continue to provide assistance and support to the Kampuchean people's struggle and to exert stronger pressure on the Hanoi leaders until they accept a political settlement of the Kampuchean problem by withdrawing all their occupying forces from Kampuchea so as to enable the Kampuchean people to exercise their right to self-determination. The world community has been of the view that only in such a way can it be possible to prevent the Hanoi leaders from implementing their small, medium and great "Indochina Federation" strategy, which is a very grave danger to South-East Asia and Asia Pacific.
