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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
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DEVELOPMENT AND STRENGTHENING OF
GOOD-NEIGHBOURLINESS BETWEEN STATES

SECURITY COUNCIL
Forty-third year

Letter dated 29 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 "No Vietnamese Troop Withdrawals from Kampuchea" (see annex), issued on 19 September 1988 by His Excellency Mr. 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 its annex distributed as an official document of the General Assembly, under agenda items 23, 72, 129, 130 and 136, and of the Security Council.

(Signed) THIOUNN Prasith
Permanent Representative

ANNEX

Memorandum entitled "No Vietnamese troop withdrawals from Kampuchea"
issued on 19 September 1988

INTRODUCTION

As they are facing severe setbacks in their aggression war against Kampuchea, inextricable difficulties in Vietnam and utmost isolation in the international arena, the Hanoi authorities have been resorting to all kinds of deceptive tricks to mislead the international community. In so doing, they hope to play for time and redress their bogged down military situation so as to perpetuate their occupation of Kampuchea.

Everyone still remembers how arrogant the Hanoi authorities were from 1979 to 1982. At that time, they kept repeating that there was "no problem of Kampuchea" and that "the situation in Kampuchea is irreversible", etc...

Yet, throughout their 10-year-old occupation of Kampuchea, the Hanoi authorities have suffered successive setbacks.

- With their "lightning attack, lightning victory" strategy falling apart, the Vietnamese aggressors have been driven into the protracted war strategy of the people of Kampuchea.
- The Vietnamese aggressors have also been defeated in this protracted war.
- They have also failed in the "Khmerization" of the war aimed at making Khmers fight Khmers.
- Their attempts at sealing off Kampuchea's western border have also been thwarted.
- Their strategy of setting up their administrative apparatus in villages, communes and districts has also been defeated.
- Their strategy of supplying their aggression troops on the spot in Kampuchea has also failed.

Driven into a total impasse, the Vietnamese aggressors have been left with no prospect to defeat the Kampuchean resistance forces through military means and perpetuate their occupation of Kampuchea.

The aggression war in Kampuchea has also dried up Vietnam's manpower and other resources, gradually bringing its economy down to a state of disaster, thus causing serious

social problems. Vietnam has fallen into a state of dire poverty both in the countryside and cities, and now millions of Vietnamese are starving to death.

The old-guard leaders in Hanoi talked a lot of their endeavours to solve Vietnam's economic problems, but they have failed for all that. While blaming the old guard for their economic failures, the younger leaders cannot succeed either in their economic undertakings. As a result of a protracted war, Vietnam's economy is in a shambles, adversely affecting the social situation of Vietnam as a whole.

In the meantime, the international community is keeping its pressure on Vietnam in the political, diplomatic and economic fields, driving it deeper into a state of destitution.

The Vietnamese people, who are facing famine and whose children by tens of thousands had died in Kampuchea, oppose the Hanoi authorities' policy of aggression and expansion. This policy brings devastations and sufferings both to the peoples of Kampuchea and Vietnam. Despite coercion exerted by the Hanoi authorities on them, the Vietnamese people still keep opposing such a policy through all forms, such as hiding their children from being enlisted, refusing to sell rice and pay taxes to the Hanoi authorities, fostering the black market and fleeing Vietnam by land and by sea.

Meanwhile, the prevailing poverty in Vietnam leads to the every-man-for-himself attitude. As a result, corruption and bribery are rampant. The administration which is supposed to be the pillar of the Hanoi regime is now seriously shaken. On the other hand, internal rift and rivalry within the Party and State leadership have led to the continuous purges of tens of thousands of cadres and civil servants at all levels. The Hanoi leaders -both the older and younger guards- have to tackle those problems in earnest because if the State structures fall to pieces, then the Hanoi regime will collapse.

Vietnam is an underdeveloped agricultural country having gone through more than 30 years of war already and still waging an aggression war against Kampuchea for 10 years now. Will an underdeveloped agricultural country like Vietnam be able to wage such a protracted war of aggression? The answer is definitely no. Even the Soviet Union is being defeated in Afghanistan, resulting in serious difficulties in the economic, social and political fields, more especially as the Moslems in Central Asia strongly oppose the Soviet war of aggression against Afghanistan, and oppression in their own region. Such a situation has even brought about adverse effects on the strategic arms race with the United States. It is under such circumstances that the Soviet Union has tried to get rid of the Afghanistan burden by claiming that it was withdrawing its troops from that country. But these Soviet ploys of troop

withdrawals from Afghanistan are merely aimed at serving the Soviet strategy which is to maintain the Kabul puppets as the core regime in that country.

As for the Hanoi authorities, their war of aggression in Kampuchea puts them in a real predicament. Nevertheless, while facing difficult living conditions in Vietnam, the Hanoi authorities are still stubbornly carrying on their war of aggression in Kampuchea thanks to the daily Soviet help. Should the Soviet Union cut by half its assistance to Vietnam, the latter would have met a total defeat in its aggression war in Kampuchea, and the Hanoi authorities would have faced even more inextricable difficulties in Vietnam itself.

It is for these reasons that the Hanoi authorities have done everything in their power to deceive the international community so as to play for time and extricate themselves from their bogged down situation in order to perpetuate their occupation of Kampuchea.

Inside Kampuchea, the Vietnamese aggressors have been resorting to all kinds of manoeuvres aimed at dividing the national resistance forces and splitting the tripartite coalition. In the international arena, they have also been trying hard to weaken the international support to the just struggle of the people of Kampuchea. They have not withdrawn any of their troops from Kampuchea, instead they have been intensifying their military activities on Kampuchea's battlefields. The unilateral announcements by Vietnam of troop withdrawals from Kampuchea are only deceitful ploys.

Following are some instances of those deceitful manoeuvres for the world community to judge:

HAS VIETNAM WITHDRAWN ITS TROOPS
FROM KAMPUCHEA?

In order to answer this question, one should look into the following issues:

I. Is there any change in Vietnam's strategy of "Indochina Federation"?

Vietnam's Indochinese Communist Party clearly mapped out its strategy for a protracted struggle aimed at setting up the "Indochina Federation" of the Vietnamese Communist Party encompassing the three countries, Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea. All Vietnamese cadres, Party members and youth organizations have been through generations widely and continuously imbued with this strategy.

Therefore, this strategy is largely spread among Vietnamese cadres, Party members and youth organizations at all levels. In fostering this "Indochina Federation" strategy, the Hanoi

leaders have come up with the idea of Vietnam being a great and strong country with a rich culture and the world's third largest army, a well-experienced country which used to defeat the French, the Japanese and the Americans. They have also inculcated the "international spirit" which claims that the Vietnamese Communist Party and youth "have the historical duty to help their brothers in Laos, Kampuchea, Thailand and the whole South-East Asian region" - a sacred duty which was assigned by the Third International.

On the other hand, they have educated their cadres with such slogans as "you find finer food in Kampuchea and Thailand than in Vietnam", "you must feed yourselves in Kampuchea and Thailand". Such slogans are quite similar to Hitler's theory of "the purity of the Aryan race" and "the vital space policy".

The Hanoi leaders had all along abided by this strategy until the day they eventually absorbed Laos both through actual deeds and the 1977 Vietnam-Laos treaty. As for Kampuchea, after their attempts to stir up strife had failed, the Hanoi leaders sent hundreds of thousands of troops to invade and occupy her in late 1978 up to now.

Is there any hint of Vietnam giving up its "Indochina Federation" strategy over Laos and Kampuchea?

Up to now, there has not yet been any hint of Vietnam giving up its strategy of "Indochina Federation". Throughout its Congresses, from the first to the sixth in December 1986, the Vietnamese Communist Party has always reiterated its commitment to the strategy of "Indochina Federation". Now in order to perpetuate their occupation of Laos and Kampuchea, the Hanoi leaders have been carrying on, to that effect, their manoeuvres in the military, political, psychological, propaganda and diplomatic fields.

II. Do the Soviet Union and Vietnam renounce their alliance in carrying out their strategies in South-East Asia and Asia-Pacific?

In order to implement their small-, medium- and great-sized "Indochina Federation" strategy, the Hanoi authorities need allied forces to back them up. It is for this reason that in 1978, prior to their aggression against Kampuchea, the Vietnamese authorities and the Soviet Union signed a strategic alliance so as to join forces to carry out their regional and global strategies in South-East Asia and Asia-Pacific. If one looks at the map of South-East Asia and Asia-Pacific, one can see that the Soviet Union and Vietnam have already set up a de facto military and strategic alliance, and this alliance has been carrying out its expansionist policy in this region, already threatening South-East Asia and South-Pacific. Countries in South-East Asia and Asia-Pacific are concerned at this Soviet-

Vietnamese threat. The Cam Ranh and Danang bases constitute the main Soviet and Vietnamese outposts in South-East Asia and Asia-Pacific. Moreover, in this alliance, Vietnam has been assigned the role of outpost of the Soviet socialist bloc.

In his speech in Krasnoyarsk on 16 September 1988, Gorbachev made it clear that the Soviet Union will definitely not give up its Cam Ranh and Danang bases. On the contrary, this speech has shown that the Soviet Union has been using those bases to carry out political and diplomatic activities, and to show its military strength in order to bring about geo-political changes in its favour in South-East Asia and Asia-Pacific.

The afore-cited facts point out that both Vietnam and the Soviet Union will not give up their regional and global strategies, nor will they loosen their grips on Kampuchea and Laos.

With these regional and global strategies in mind, one can clearly see the political purpose of Vietnam and the Soviet Union, and ask whether or not they will give up Kampuchea and Laos: there is no way that they will do so. Therefore, there must be no illusion about the Vietnamese claims of troop withdrawals from Kampuchea.

III. Is the fighting in Kampuchea lessening?
Or is it intensifying instead?

The Vietnamese war of aggression and occupation in Kampuchea has lasted for nearly 10 years now. It has brought increasing difficulties to Vietnam on the battlefields of Kampuchea, in Vietnam itself and in the international arena.

Those difficulties are real. Yet the war of aggression in Kampuchea has been intensifying both along the border areas and deep inside Kampuchea.

In order to see how stubborn the Vietnamese are in their continued occupation of Kampuchea, one needs only to refer to the resolutions successively adopted by the United Nations for the past 9 years, from 1979 to 1987. By adopting those resolutions, the overwhelming majority of the United Nations member States have called for the withdrawal of Vietnamese forces from Kampuchea. Those calls have been ignored and even opposed by Vietnam. If Vietnam did not hesitate to openly challenge those calls, it would not either hesitate to deceive the world public opinion about what really happens in Kampuchea, especially since it is far from public eyes.

The Kampuchean people and patriots who are fighting the Vietnamese aggressors on the battlefields are well aware of the actual situation where the fighting opposing the Vietnamese aggressors and their puppets on the one hand to the Kampuchean people and national resistance forces on the other is still going on unabated day and night.

a- On Kampuchea's western border:

In the area stretching from Koh Kong to Choam Ksan, every inch of land is fought for. Every means is used in the fighting, infantry, artillery, mines, grenades, resulting in many casualties every day.

Meanwhile, the Vietnamese aggressors have violated Thai territory with their frequent incursions and repeated artillery shellings, prompting the Royal Thai Government to lodge protest to the United Nations.

All this shows that Vietnam's claim of withdrawing its troops so and so many kilometres from Kampuchea's western border is sheer fabrication.

b- Throughout Kampuchea:

The attached map shows the locations of Vietnamese troops and their puppets, as well as those of the National Army of Democratic Kampuchea (NADK) who, together with the local population, are fighting the Vietnamese forces. Fierce fighting has been going unabated day and night everywhere, throughout Kampuchea, opposing the Vietnamese aggressors and their puppets on the one hand to the national resistance forces on the other.

c- The present struggle can be compared to a tug of war.

The opposing forces are now of equal strength, conducting a tug-of-war struggle. In such a condition, if Vietnam really withdraws 50,000 of its troops from Kampuchea, what will be the balance of forces? Even the man in the street can see that if Vietnam really meant it, its remaining forces would already have collapsed.

With all these facts in view, one can see that Vietnam has not withdrawn a single of its troops from Kampuchea, that it has instead sent in more fresh troops from Vietnam, and tried hard to enlist Khmer soldiers in Kampuchea in order to crush the Kampuchean national resistance forces. Let the world public opinion consider all these actual facts.

IV. Does Vietnam cease implementing its policy of Khmerization of the war in Kampuchea?

Having actually absorbed Laos through the 1977 Vietnam-Laos treaty, Vietnam marshalled hundreds of thousands of troops

to invade and occupy Kampuchea through its "lightning attack, lightning victory" strategy. Should it succeed in so doing, Vietnam would quickly have achieved the Vietnamization of Kampuchea and Laos:

- On the one hand, it would have sent hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese civilians to settle in Kampuchea;
- On the other, it would have also sent its civil servants to administer the Vietnamese settlers in Kampuchea and set up a Vietnamese administration at all levels in Kampuchea.

Actually, in Laos, from 1963 till now, the posts of Chairman and Vice-Chairman in almost all Laotian villages have been held by the Vietnamese.

These are the Vietnamese goals of Vietnamizing and annexing Kampuchea and Laos.

But, in Kampuchea, their strategy of "lightning attack, lightning victory" has failed. The Vietnamese aggressors have therefore been forced to wage a protracted war in which they have not been able to implement the Vietnamization of the war because of the declining strength of their army. They have been then trying hard to carry out the Khmerization of the war, both in the military and administrative fields at all levels under the command of the Vietnamese.

Yet their Khmerization of the war has suffered successive setbacks. The Vietnamese administrative apparatus, both military and civilian, installed in villages, communes and districts has successively been dismantled. At present, in western and central Kampuchea, the Vietnamese drive aimed at forcibly enlisting Kampuchean civilians into their civilian and military apparatus has met with little, if not any, success.

Despite such a situation, the Vietnamese aggressors have been doing their utmost to round up Kampuchean civilians in the eastern part of Kampuchea where the national resistance forces have been conducting less intensive attacks than in the western and central parts of the country. They have been very active in enlisting Khmer soldiers and self-defence guards, and setting up a civilian administrative apparatus at all levels so as to serve their war of aggression in Kampuchea. All this has been carried out in accordance with their political principles of making Khmers fight Khmers and supplying the war on the spot.

The Vietnamese aggressors have been carrying out the forcible enlistment of Khmer soldiers and self-defence guards to serve as auxiliary forces to the Vietnamese aggression forces in the military, economic, political and other fields so as to perpetuate their occupation of Kampuchea.

Moreover, they have been trying hard to implement their policy of Khmerization in order to delay their defeat on the battlefields so that they could carry out deceitful diplomatic manoeuvres, split the tripartite coalition forces and sow confusion among the international community which is supporting the Kampuchean people's struggle for national liberation.

V. Does Vietnam send any new reinforcements to Kampuchea?

Every year, thousands of Vietnamese soldiers get killed or wounded on the battlefields of Kampuchea while thousands of others are maimed or stricken by malaria. Also every year, some of the Vietnamese troops are allowed to take a rest in Kampuchea so as to regain strength while some others are sent back to Vietnam. On such occasions, they make public announcements about their troop withdrawals and organize farewell ceremonies in Phnom Penh. On the contrary, no one is invited to witness the reinforcements of fresh troops from Vietnam. The Vietnamese new reinforcements are composed of:

First category: Thousands of new recruits.

Second category: Troops flanked by seasoned officers and soldiers.

The Vietnamese transport of troops proceeds as follows: whenever they come in by land, those troops wear civilian clothes and are unarmed. Highways No 1, 7 and 19 are used for that purpose. In so doing, they hope to hide the presence of Vietnamese troops from public knowledge. As soon as they arrive at their barracks, those Vietnamese soldiers take off their civilian clothes, put on military uniforms, get arms and military training. They are soon after assigned to their units.

Whenever they come in by sea, the Vietnamese troops are disguised as civilians travelling on boats from South-Vietnam to the Kampuchean cities of Kep, Kompong Som and Sre Ambel. They also follow the same pattern as their comrades sent by land.

This is the tricky and treacherous method resorted by the Vietnamese. Even satellites or intelligence services are unable to detect those facts. It should be noted that, despite yearly heavy Vietnamese losses, the number of Vietnamese troops in Kampuchea remains almost the same because the Hanoi authorities continuously send in new reinforcements through the afore-cited methods.

The statement made by General Le Kha Phieu, Deputy Commander of Vietnamese troops in Kampuchea, made it clear that Vietnam has suffered 55,000 killed and 55,000 wounded in the nearly 10 years of aggression war in Kampuchea. According to those public but underestimated figures, one can see that the Vietnamese soldiers suffered heavy losses. But how could it be that their number remains the same? How could the fighting going on unabated in Kampuchea? The reason is that the Hanoi authorities continue to send every year more reinforcements to Kampuchea.

Moreover, in the eastern part of Kampuchea, whenever they are attacked by the national resistance forces, the Vietnamese aggressors bring in their reinforcements from across the border to such areas as Trapaing Phlong, Krek, Memot, etc; to the eastern part of Kompong Cham province; to Lauk, Koh Poh, Ronel, district of Kompong Trach, Kampot province; and to Kirivong, province of Takeo.

At present, in Kompong Trach district, province of Kampot, armed Vietnamese civilians, soldiers and their families have been sent to settle and station more than 10km deep inside Kampuchea to drive the Kampuchean villagers out of their homes and lands, and turn them into miserable displaced persons in their own country.

What are the reasons for such Vietnamese actions? The Vietnamese have done so because they want at all costs to perpetuate their occupation of Kampuchea according to their strategy of "Indochina Federation", and their regional strategy together with the Soviet global strategy.

VI. Increasing Vietnamese troops are wearing the uniforms of the puppet soldiers

In addition to the afore-cited military operations, the Vietnamese aggressors have successively and systematically been resorting to every means such as having their soldiers learn Khmer and disguise themselves as Khmer soldiers assigned to independent units or joining the puppet units. The Vietnamese have increasingly been using these methods. What is the Vietnamese purpose? What they want is to make people believe that the Vietnamese troops in Kampuchea are decreasing while the number of Khmer soldiers is increasing. They want to deceive the world public opinion and make people believe that "Vietnam is withdrawing its aggression forces from Kampuchea and the puppet regime is controlling the situation"; and therefore, "if one wants to settle the problem of Kampuchea, one should deal with the puppet regime". This is another tricky and treacherous manoeuvre of the Vietnamese aggressors in order to mislead the world community. As far as the Kampuchean people are concerned, they are well aware of the difference between

the Khmers and the Vietnamese the way the Europeans can differentiate the Anglo-Saxons from the Nordic peoples, and the Latins from the Slavs. The Kampuchean people can easily differentiate the Khmers from the Vietnamese because of the difference of complexion, gait, language, etc... However hard the Vietnamese try to speak Khmer, the Kampuchean people can tell a Vietnamese from a Khmer because of his accent. They can even tell a North-Vietnamese from a South-Vietnamese.

In addition to disguising themselves as Khmer soldiers at a given time, Vietnamese soldiers also wear the uniforms of the resistance forces and commit violence against Kampuchean villagers. In so doing, they try to sow mistrust and pitch villagers against the national resistance forces. Despite all this disguise, the Kampuchean people know that they are Vietnamese because of their accent and faces.

The Vietnamese aggressors have resorted to such devices in order to split the national resistance forces on the one hand, and to perpetuate their occupation of Kampuchea on the other, especially through Khmer-speaking Vietnamese sent in together with Vietnamese troops. That is what the Vietnamese mean by "withdrawing thousands of troops from Kampuchea and placing the remaining under the puppet high command". Actually, Vietnam has not withdrawn any of its troops from Kampuchea. It has only disguised its troops as Khmer soldiers in order to perpetuate its occupation of Kampuchea.

VII. What are the political purposes of the statements and announcements of Vietnam, the Phnom Penh puppet regime and the Soviet Union?

Everyone is aware of the successive proposals made by Vietnam, the puppet regime and the Soviet Union on the problem of Kampuchea. They can be summarized as follows:

First: The elimination of Democratic Kampuchea.

Second: The puppet regime is the core administration ruling Kampuchea.

Third: Although hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese troops are still occupying Kampuchea, Vietnam keeps declaring that it has nothing to do with the problem of Kampuchea, and is not concerned by this problem.

Fourth: The Kampuchean parties to the conflict must settle their problem by themselves. According to this logic, the legitimate Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea must dismantle itself, and the national resistance forces become private individuals and negotiate with the Vietnamese-installed regime in Phnom Penh.

Fifth: The Hanoi authorities have stated that they will withdraw their troops from Kampuchea only if the Kampucheans succeed in settling by themselves the problem of Kampuchea, etc... This would mean that the Vietnamese will never withdraw their aggression troops from Kampuchea.

What does the above-mentioned summary show? It clearly indicates that Vietnam has no intention whatsoever to withdraw its troops from Kampuchea. On the contrary, there are clear indications, through the Vietnamese activities both inside Kampuchea and in the international arena, that Vietnam has been resorting to all kinds of manoeuvres in the military, political, diplomatic, propaganda and psychological fields to deceive the world community, split the Kampuchean national resistance forces and sow confusion among the countries supporting the Kampuchean people's struggle for national liberation.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The elements contained in this Memorandum constitute some documented facts for the world community to consider and judge both for the present time and the future. In view of what happens daily or occasionally, one should ask whether or not Vietnam has given up its strategy of "Indochina Federation", whether or not it has withdrawn its troops from Kampuchea, and whether or not it is carrying out manifold manoeuvres to perpetuate its occupation of Kampuchea.

The afore-cited facts and reasons aim only at helping the world public opinion to consider the situation in Kampuchea. They show that the Hanoi authorities, their puppets and the Soviet Union have not changed their positions on the problem of Kampuchea.

Therefore, we would like to call on the international community:

- To continue its support for the Kampuchean people's just struggle for national liberation;
- To continue its pressure on Vietnam in all fields, political, diplomatic, economic, trade, and to keep withholding aid to Vietnam so as to prevent it from using such aid for its aggression war in Kampuchea.

Only by keeping such pressures on Vietnam can we force the Hanoi authorities to settle politically the problem of Kampuchea by withdrawing all its aggression troops from Kampuchea, and let the people of Kampuchea decide themselves

their own destiny. If we loosen the pressure, Vietnam will keep on perpetuating its occupation of Kampuchea.

19 September 1988

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

