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THE SITUATION IN KAMPUCHEA  
QUESTION OF PEACE, STABILITY AND  
CO-OPERATION IN SOUTH-EAST ASIA

SECURITY COUNCIL  
Thirty-eighth year

Letter dated 7 October 1983 from the Permanent Representative  
of the Lao People's Democratic Republic to the United Nations  
addressed to the Secretary-General

At the request of Mr. Hun Sen, Vice-President of the Council of Ministers and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, I have the honour to transmit to you herewith an open letter from intellectuals and religious people of Kampuchea to intellectuals, religious people, organizations and peoples of the world, and a white paper concerning Kampuchea's policy towards its Vietnamese residents.

I should be grateful if you would have this letter and its annexes distributed as an official document of the General Assembly, under agenda items 23 and 37, and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Kithong VONGSAY  
Ambassador Extraordinary and  
Plenipotentiary  
Permanent Representative

ANNEX I

OPEN LETTER FROM THE INTELLECTUALS AND RELIGIOUS OF KAMPUCHEA  
TO THE INTELLECTUALS, RELIGIOUS, ORGANIZATIONS AND PEOPLES  
OF THE WORLD

The National Assembly of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, which held its fifth session from 15 to 18 August 1983, has passed a motion on the crimes committed during the period 1975-1978 by the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary-Khieu Samphan clique against the Kampuchean people. This clique was responsible for the extermination of 3,314,768 people, the disability of another 141,848, for widowing hundreds of thousands of women and making more than 200,000 children orphans. To these should be added tens of thousands of foreign residents, also savagely murdered. On the material level, 5,857 schools, 796 hospitals and medical installations, 1,968 pagodas, 108 mosques and many auditoriums were destroyed. Worse still, all educational, religious, cultural, social, artistic, financial and commercial activity was abolished.

Under the Pol Pot régime, the Kampuchean people lived in the most abject destitution, having nothing but the skin on their bones, living day and night in dread of death.

Any sign of rebellion against this barbarity was pitilessly suppressed. Intellectuals and religious people were not spared, but shared the misfortunes of the people. Some 25,168 bonzes, 594 doctors, pharmacists and dentists, 675 professors, 18,000 school teachers, 10,550 students, 191 journalists, and 1,120 writers and artists met their deaths in the most dreadful circumstances. More than a thousand intellectuals who had returned from abroad between 1975 and 1978 hoping to contribute to the reconstruction of the country after its independence also fell victim to it. Only 85 escaped. At the Tousleng Lycée in Phnom Penh - transformed by Pol Pot into a prison - alone, 56 school teachers-cum-doctors and pharmacists, 61 engineers ... were massacred.

We, victims and witnesses of the misfortunes of our compatriots under the Pol Pot régime who barely escaped death, either by changing our identities or by seeing and saying nothing, thoroughly approve of the motion by our National Assembly and believe it is our duty to adopt this open letter so as to inform world opinion of the following.

It was not enough for the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary-Khieu Samphan clique to destroy people physically. It sought also to destroy their thoughts, their intellect, their feelings, normal relations between spouses, between parents and children, between brothers, and friends ... so as to turn them into a kind of animal. Pol Pot and his clique even destroyed the social structure, the traditional culture that produced the famous temples of Angkor, the material and technical basis for the economy and the country's manifold potential. They destroyed not only the present but the future, too, the very existence of generations of the Kampuchean nation.

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This was a crime of genocide not only against their own nation but also against a part of mankind, against the conscience of the human species.

Since the historic victory of 7 January 1979 our country, the People's Republic of Kampuchea, has revived thanks to enormous efforts by our people with considerable help from our sister and friendly countries and a variety of organizations throughout the world. Peace, freedom, social justice and human rights have been reestablished. Music, song, the prayers of the bonzes, the voices of pupils, school masters and school mistresses ring out together with the rich laughter of children. Doctors can once again devote themselves to tending the sick. Transport, communications and reconstruction work are starting up again. Periodicals and schoolbooks are again being widely published. Famine has been contained. Peace reigns in the parks and public gardens.

Weddings and traditional feasts are again being celebrated. State institutions at all levels have been established on a democratic basis.

Nevertheless, the after-effects of the Pol Pot genocidal régime remain grave - particularly the moral impact, which will last for several generations yet.

The reactionary ruling circles in China are the instigators of the aforementioned crimes by the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary-Khieu Samphan genocidal clique. Their aim is to transform Kampuchea into a springboard for annexing the Indo-China peninsula and expanding into South-East Asia. Peking gathered up these criminals as they fled into Thailand, to keep and use them against the rebirth of Kampuchea, in the hope of reviving the rule of genocide in our country.

If Peking's criminal plans had succeeded, where after Kampuchea would they be engaged in genocide by now?

After their string of failures, the ruling circles in Peking, joining forces with American imperialism and other forces of international reaction, brought forth the so-called Government of Union of Democratic Kampuchea, which embraces Sihanouk, Son San and Khieu Samphan.

In reality this is no more than a mask to conceal the loathsome visage of the Pol Pot clique that turns progressive mankind's stomach. In agreeing to preside over this parade, Sihanouk has once again demonstrated his betrayal of the nation's supreme interests. This "government" does not represent any honest Kampuchean. The Summit Conference of the Non-Aligned Countries held at the beginning of this year in New Delhi took the right decision when it denied access to representatives of this "government".

Fully aware of our responsibilities to our nation and ardently hoping that no other nation on this planet will have to undergo Kampuchea's painful experience, we intellectuals and religious Kampuchean, as we give of our best for the defence and reconstruction of our homeland, appeal to freedom-, justice- and peace-loving public opinion throughout the world for more vigorous condemnation of these horrible and unprecedented crimes committed by the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary-Khieu Samphan

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clique more vigorously, for strenuous condemnation of the forces of international reaction that continue to protect the Pol Pots, Ieng Sarys, Khieu Samphans and other Khmer reactionaries and direct their actions in an effort to revive the genocide, and ask it to demand the expulsion of the covert Pol Pot-ists from the United Nations. We know that the United Nations is a great international organization that is supposed to defend peace, truth and human rights, and that it will not allow its prestige to be compromised by tolerating the presence of genocidal criminals.

We hope that the intellectuals, religious and peoples of all countries that have suffered under the Fascist scourge, and all international organizations whose task it is to strive for peace and justice throughout the world, will respond to this sincere and urgent appeal from our part.

Phnom Penh, 12 September 1983

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ANNEX II

KAMPUCHEA'S POLICY TOWARDS VIETNAMESE RESIDENTS

A document on "The policy of the People's Republic of Kampuchea with regard to Vietnamese residents" has just been issued by the Press Department Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

Over the recent past, the American imperialists with the support of the Chinese authorities and a number of reactionary circles in the ASEAN countries have been trying to distort the situation in Kampuchea and falsely accuse Vietnam of "moving Vietnamese into Kampuchea in order to bring about changes in the composition of its population and eventually Vietnamese this country". The psywar tricks of the Chinese expansionist-hegemonists, the American imperialists and their agents are aimed at misrepresenting facts, damaging the militant solidarity between the Kampuchean people and the Vietnamese people, and covering up their own criminal plots and actions against the people of Kampuchea and of all three countries of Indochina.

The document made public by the Press Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea presents the facts about the situation of Vietnamese residents in Kampuchea, makes clear the policy of the People's Republic of Kampuchea with regard to Vietnamese people now living and working in Kampuchea, and lays bare the schemes of Beijing, Washington and their agents in their current slander campaign.

Following is the full text of the document :

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THE SITUATION ON VIETNAMESE RESIDENTS  
IN THE KAMPUCHEAN COMMUNITY

Long-standing ties of friendship and close solidarity have existed between the peoples of Kampuchea and Vietnam. In the past both of them were subjected to domination, oppression and exploitation at the hands of the feudalists, colonialists and imperialists..

And so they have united in struggle in order to win national independence and freedom. Owing to historical ties and geographical proximity fraternal relationships have developed between them.

Before 1969 there was a time when the number of Vietnamese residents in Kampuchea was more than half a million, most of them were sent there by the french colonialists to work as labourers in French rubber plantations. They were honest, law-abiding people who respected Kampuchean customs and habits and showed solidarity and friendship with the Kampuchean people. Side by side with the Kampuchean people they worked in plantations, in the fields, in factories and on rivers and the Tonle Sap, as farmers, fishermen, stockbreeders, salt-makers, craftsmen, etc. They actively contributed to the development of the Kampuchean economy. In the days of domination by the feudalists, colonialists and imperialists, Vietnamese residents united with all of Kampuchea's ethnic groups in their struggle for national independence, freedom, and for the construction and defence of their homeland.

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In former days the ruling classes in Kampuchea practised the "divide-and-rule" policy, Vietnamese residents, like the toiling people of Kampuchea, were the victims of their policy of racial discrimination aimed at kindling racial hatred. They were oppressed, exploited, and fell prey to cruel pogroms.

In 1970, while stepping up their war of aggression in Vietnam, the American imperialists provoked a reactionary coup d'Etat in Kampuchea ( 18 March 1970 ) then sent American and Saigon puppet troops into our country. The Lon Nol - Sirik Matak gang, those reactionary Khmers who acted as agents of the American imperialists, launched an insane anti-Vietnam campaign. Tens of thousands of Vietnamese residents were killed. About 200,000 others were forcibly repatriated and handed over to the Saigon puppet administration. Later many of them were either pressed into its army, to be used as cannon fodder, clapped in prison, or murdered.

In April 1975, the reactionary Pol Pot gang, the agents of the Beijing reactionary clique, carried out, on orders from their masters, a horrifying genocidal policy which ended in the death of more than three million Kampucheans. Hundred of thousands of Vietnamese residents shared the latter's fate. They were either massacred, or robbed of all their possession, penned in concentration camps and forced to do hard labour, suffering from torture, hunger, disease, and doomed to slow death, a large number escaped and fled to Vietnam.

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Following the liberation of Kampuchea, like Kampuchean and other survivors of Khmer rouge genocide Vietnamese residents having survived in concentration camps or having fled to Vietnam were authorized by the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea to return to their former places of residence. The Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea also authorized Vietnamese people with relatives in Kampuchea to join them and live and work here in accordance with Kampuchean law. By mid-1983 about 56,000 Vietnamese have returned to their former places or residence in Kampuchea-barely 10% of the number of Vietnamese residents living in Kampuchea in days prior to Lon Nol - instigated massacres and Pol Pot's genocide. As for Chinese residents or ethnic Chinese who have been authorized by the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea to return to their former places of residence, in only five provinces and cities they had numbered 61,400 by November 1982 - 40,000 in Phnom Penh alone. So their number is greater than that of Vietnamese survivors of Pol Pot's genocide who have been allowed to return to Kampuchea.

Policy of the People's Republic of Kampuchea with regard to Vietnamese residents.

Following the overthrow by the Kampuchean People of the genocidal Pol Pot clique, agents of the Beijing reactionary expansionist -hegemonists, for the safeguarding of the independence, freedom and the very existence of a people who had created the magnificent Angkor civilization, the Party and Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea have striven to rebuild the country and stabilize the people's living condition.

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The resurrection of Kampuchea began immediately after the elimination of the genocidal Pol Pot regime on 10 January 1979. The Kampuchean people now enjoy all democratic freedoms - human dignity is respected - the economy has been gradually restored - national culture is protected and developing.

Moved by the desire of all nationalities living in Kampuchea to maintain relations of solidarity, friendship, peace and cooperation with all nations in Southeast Asia and the world. The Kampuchean party and state, besides, seeking to care for and stabilize the living conditions of the Kampuchean people, have promulgated a number of policies vis-a-vis foreign residents, based on the sovereignty and independence of the People's Republic of Kampuchea. At the birth of the National United Front for the Salvation of Kampuchea, its declaration pointed out : " The Front carries out a correct policy vis-a-vis Foreign residents in Kampuchea". ( Article 6, Declaration of the National United Front for the Salvation of Kampuchea , 2 December 1978 ) this policy fully conforms to international law as recorded in the universal declaration of human rights which was approved by the U.N. General Assembly in 1948.

In face of the efforts of the reactionary Chinese rulers, enemies of the Kampuchean people, acting in collusion with the American imperialists and reactionary forces in Thailand to sabotage the revival of Kampuchea and wrecked the unity of the three Indochinese countries, the people

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of Kampuchea must strengthen their militant solidarity, multi-sided cooperation and mutual assistance with the fraternal Vietnamese and Lao peoples, especially with the former for Vietnamese-Kampuchean friendship has been sealed with blood : many Vietnamese have laid down their lives in Kampuchea to contribute to the liberation of the Kampuchean people from the genocidal Pol Pot regime.

On May 1982, the Central Committee of the Kampuchean revolutionary people's Party issued directive 142 on ensuring adequate living conditions and providing jobs to Vietnamese residents in Kampuchea, and on 13 September 1982, the Secretariat of the Party Central Committee issued a circular giving guidelines for the implementation of that directive. The Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Kampuchea issued directive 38 of 9 October 1982 on the organization and administration of Vietnamese residents in Kampuchea.

In that directive, the Council of Ministers pointed out : " With regard to former vietnamese residents in Kampuchea who were the victims of pogroms and massacres under the former regimes and who, thanks to popular protection, were able to survive or escape to Vietnam and who have now returned to Kampuchea, the local authorities and populations shall give them assistance and create conditions for them to quickly settle down to normal life." ( Article 1 ) .

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" With regard to Vietnamese people who have come to Kampuchea since liberation and are engaged in occupations which contribute to the rehabilitation and development of the economy such as farming , fishing, salt-making, handicrafts... and who maintain good relations with the people, the local authorities shall create conditions for them to stay in the country and work ." ( Article 2 )

" With regard to Vietnamese people who with assistance of friends or relatives wish to move to Kampuchea to live and work or to be reunited with their families, they shall have to request authorization from the competent Kampuchean and Vietnamese organs." ( Article 4 ) .

" In order to safeguard the principle of sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity, the 1981 Constitution of the People's Republic of Kampuchea stipulates :  
" Foreign residents in Kampuchea must abide by the laws of the People's Republic of Kampuchea and shall enjoy protection from the state of the People's Republic of Kampuchea." ( Article 44 ) .

In that spirit, directive 38 of the Kampuchean council of Minister ordered " the strengthening of control measures, good supervision of points of entry and strict prohibitions of illegal frontier crossing . " ( Article 6 ) .

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Frontier crossings by people living in the border areas on either country are dealt with in the protocol on frontier statutes between the People's Republic of Kampuchea and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, signed on 20 July 1983 :

" People living in border areas of one country cannot cross into border areas of the other country for residence, farming, gathering or forest products, hunting, cattle grazing, poultry raising, fishing, shrimp catching , etc, unless they have obtained the authorization of administrative authorities of both countries of district level or higher ". ( Article 6 ).

" People together with their luggage, goods and means of transport crossing the frontier between the two countries must be accompanied by all documents mentioned in Article 13 of this Protocol - They must cross the frontier at the point of entry indicated in the documents - They must show these documents to the guards at the border check - point and submit to all necessary control.

" If the people and their luggage, goods, and means of transport are not accompanied by all the necessary documents, they will not be allowed to cross the frontier" .  
( Article 15 ).

With regard to bad elements who may take advantage of loopholes in the border control to sneak into Kampuchean territory and there engage in illegal activities harmful to the economy and social order in Kampuchea, the competent

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organs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea will deal with them according to the law and, with cooperation and assistance from the Vietnamese side, will force those elements to leave Kampuchea and return to Vietnam.

The above-mentioned policies with regard to Vietnamese residents in Kampuchea reflect the correct line followed by the People's Republic of Kampuchea : to safeguard national sovereignty and independence while ceaselessly strengthening ties of friendship with the people of all countries . These policies also reflect the great store set by the contribution made by Vietnamese residents to the revolutionary cause of Kampuchea.

The campaign aimed at distorting the situation in the People's Republic of Kampuchea and slandering Vietnam is bound to fail.

The situation described above is well known to all progressive countries and all men of conscience throughout the world and has been confirmed by many foreign observers and foreign journalists who have visited Kampuchea. What is at present a subject of deep concern for world public opinion and for the peoples of Kampuchea, Vietnam and Laos is the refusal by the Beijing expansionist -hegemonists to give up their schemes aimed at restoring the genocidal Pol Pot regime by hook or by crook, maintaining it in Kampuchea's seat at the United Nations, and bringing it back to Kampuchea.

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The reactionary clique in power in China, the American imperialists and the reactionary forces in Thailand are responsible for many crimes against the Kampuchean people and are stubbornly opposing Kampuchea's revival : They feign to be concerned about Kampuchean independence and sovereignty. They have ceaselessly sought to distort the situation and blacken Kampuchea, and to divide it from Vietnam in the hope of covering up their dark designs.

Having failed in all their manoeuvres of distortion and slander against Kampuchea and Vietnam, especially on the question of Vietnamese volunteer troops in Kampuchea, China , the American imperialists and the reactionaries in Thai ruling circles, starting in early 1983, have engaged in a new slander campaign : They falsely accuse Vietnam of bringing "settlers" into Kampuchea in order to "Vietnamize" this country. Their aim is to persist in their efforts to divide Vietnam from Kampuchea, wreck the unity of the three Indochinese countries, and divert world public attention from the 20 million overseas Chinese, among them many billionaire businessmen who are holding sway over the bulk of economic , commercial and financial activities in South East Asia and are engaged in subversive activities in the countries of this region.

However, public opinion throughout the world, including in the U.S.A. has been quick to detect the mendacious deceitful and slanderous character of those accusations. The American journal " The militant "in its issue of 22 April 1983 pointed out that they are part of the " Propaganda line " on the U.S. State Department which seeks to draw a " dark picture of the situation in Kampuchea " in order to " oppose Vietnam and the present Government in Kampuchea". According to Paul Quinn Judge writing in the Far-Eastern Economic

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Review of 26 May 1983, the present campaign of slander against Vietnam was launched as soon as the Kampuchean revolutionary people's Party and the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea promulgated their directives on policies vis-a-vis Vietnamese residents in Kampuchea. The American Embassy in Bangkok in an effort to distort the meaning of those documents, had them translated and circulated, accompanied by a cable for American and foreign journalists and diplomats about to visit to Kampuchea. The cable of the American Embassy said that there were "possibilities for creating political capital from them and suggested that "this question may be a suitable one for an appropriate action by a United Nations Commission."

The above slanders and insinuations have been diffused and added to by the Chinese authorities and media, Thailand and Pol Pot clique masquerading as the "Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea". The Chinese paper people's daily claims that "Vietnam has sent 300,000 settlers to Kampuchea". This figure has been inflated to 400,000 by the Thai Foreign Minister, while Son Sann, a member of the "Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea" asserts: "Kampuchea is being occupied by nearly a million Vietnamese, among them 700,000 civilians (including women and children) and 100,000 troops and cadres". (AFP, 18 August 1983).

The campaign promoters have acted so clumsily that such American officials as Daniel Donohue, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for East-Asia. When asked about the matter, were obviously embarrassed. Said Donohue: "We've looked into the matter but nothing is clear as yet". (USIS, 27, April 1983).

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Foreign visitors to Kampuchea, including Americans, have rejected those allegations out of hand. Emory C. Swank, Former American Ambassador to Kampuchea (1970-1973) and now chairman of the Council of the World Affairs in Cleveland, Ohio, U.S.A. was a member of a fact-finding team of retired American diplomats which visited Kampuchea, Vietnam and Thailand from 22 January to 12 March 1983. He wrote in the American bulletin Indochina Issues, N°36 of March 1983 : " Accusations that Vietnam is colonizing Kampuchea appear to be groundless. In Thailand we were told that Vietnamese farmers have settled in various regions of Kampuchea, but no evidence supporting such accusation can be found from any source in Kampuchea". The American journalists Daniel Snider, writing in the executive intelligence review of 9 August 1983, said : "Nonetheless I investigated the charges, and found that state department statements about Vietnam and Kampuchea bear the same relations to the evidence of first-hand observations as they did during the Vietnam war". He added : " The ethnic Vietnamese population of Kampuchea before 1975 was estimated at 500,000. Some of them were killed and many fled to Vietnam during the Pol Pot period. Charges of Viet's colonization ignore the previous history of intermingling of peoples of this region. This writer encountered many Vietnamese, particularly fishermen, but all of them spoke Khmer fairly well - a conclusive evidence of their earlier residence in the country. In province bordering Vietnam that I visited - Svay Rieng and Takeo peasants could not confirm U.S. reports of recent settlement of newly arrived Vietnamese".

Another American journalist, Abe Weisburd, following an 18-day visit to Kampuchea in early May 1983, wrote in

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the American journal the Guardian of 10 August 1983 :  
" We traveled into the country's provinces and had a chance to speak with peasants, school children, leaders of cooperatives and with fishing people. We interview people in the streets and in stores in the capital of Phnom Penh and spoke with governments officials. It was clear everywhere we went that nobody in Kampuchea believe the charges of Vietnamese aggression and colonization, "he concluded : " From our investigations it is clear that Kampucheans don't believe Vietnamese residents to be a threat."

On 28 June 1983, Australian Foreign Minister Bill Hayden remarked : " following news about Vietnamese coming to Kampuchea I understand that they are returners to Kampuchea since they lived there before the Pol Pot era. Kampuchea and Vietnam have reached an agreement on this question . The number of Vietnamese in Kampuchea, including Vietnamese troops, is now still far smaller than that in the pre-Pol Pot era.

The Communique of the Conference of Foreign Ministers of Laos, Vietnam and Kampuchea , meeting in Phnom Penh on 19 and 20 July 1983 said : " The Conference categorically rejected the slanderous allegation of China, the United States and a number of reactionary quarters within the A.S.E.A.N. countries that Vietnam is sending Vietnamese nationals to Kampuchea with the aim of altering the latter's

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demographic composition. This is but a grotesque propaganda ploy used to conceal the failure of their attempt to accuse Vietnamese of having invaded and occupying Kampuchea against the fact that the Vietnamese volunteer troops are being gradually withdrawn from Kampuchea. Experience over the last forty years and especially during the past four years proves that all their illusions to weaken and divide the countries of Indochina as well as all attempts to tarnish them have failed dismally."

China, for its part, also thinks of this campaign as a favourable opportunity for shielding a fact of which public opinion in Southeast Asia and the world at large has grown increasingly aware : The real threat to the independence and sovereignty of the peoples of Southeast Asia and the source of tension in this area do not originate in the three Indochinese countries but have consistently sprung from Beijing expansionist hegemonism which relies on the control held by the 20 million overseas Chinese over the economics and politics of the countries where they reside.

As for Thailand , in its efforts to hide effective service it has been providing for the Chinese authorities, it continues to offer " sanctuaries " to Pol Pot remnants and other Khmer reactionaries for their actions against the People's Republic of Kampuchea, maintain tension along the Thai-Kampuchean border, and cooperate with China in trying to wreck peace and stability in this area.

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Like all of their previous slander and distortion campaigns over the past four years, the present attempts by China, the U.S.A. and Thailand bill englin failure, and even more pitfully so. The Vietnamese Nhan Dan daily wrote in its issue of its July 1983 : " The Chinese reactionaries and the American imperialists are worried by the present situation and afraid that more setbacks will come to them. So they have hastily launched a noisy slander campaign in which they accuse Vietnam of sending settlers to Kampuchea. By so doing they hope to stir the fire in the Kampuchean problem and arouse hatred for Vietnam they need to foster the so-called "Kampuchea issue" and maintain tension and confrontation in this area in order to oppose Vietnam and the revolution in all three Indochinese countries.

"Those who for the past four years have failed in their slander campaigns about such cooked-up stories as "Vietnam sets up Indochinese federation ", 'Vietnam causes famine in Kampuchea ', ' Vietnam hinders international relief', Vietnam uses chemical weapons in Kampuchea', etc., have now racked their brains and concocted other false charges, but surely this is not their last slander campaign against our people."

But however mendacious their allegations and however wicked their plots, they will not succeed in deceiving the people of the world, even less in reversing the situation

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in Kampuchea, and least of all in damaging the friendship and militant solidarity binding together the three countries of Indochina. Emory C. Swank, a man who used to be very conversant with the situation in Kampuchea, said in an interview with the American magazine Newsweek (23 May 1983) :  
" I was astonished by the recovery (in Kampuchea)... I suggest that the regime in Phnom Penh will be consolidated in power as time goes on... I think that the world will have to come to terms with that. The United Nations will have to take some sort of steps to recognize the reality in Kampuchea."

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