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FOOD PROBLEMS

ELIMINATION OF ALL FORMS OF RELIGIOUS INTOLERANCE

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ALTERNATIVE APPROACHES AND WAYS AND MEANS

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THE EFFECTIVE ENJOYMENT OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS

THE SITUATION IN KAMPUCHEA

SECURITY COUNCIL

Thirty-fourth year

Letter dated 26 October 1979 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 the document concerning the "Crimes of the Hanoi authorities against Kampuchea and against humanity".

I would be grateful if you could circulate this text as an official document of the General Assembly, under agenda items 61, 74, 84, 87 and 123, and of the Security Council.

(Signed) THICUNN Prasith  
Permanent Representative  
of Democratic Kampuchea

ANNEX

CRIMES OF THE HANOI AUTHORITIES AGAINST  
KAMPUCHEA AND AGAINST HUMANITY

By their aggression against Kampuchea, notable for the policy of genocide which they cold-bloodedly apply to the people of Kampuchea to break their resistance to the invasion and annexation of their country, the Hanoi authorities have unmasked, for all the world to see, their hegemonistic ambition not only in Kampuchea and Laos, but in the whole of South-East Asia.

That Vietnamese expansionism is not of recent vintage. As early as the seventeenth century, the Vietnamese came down from Tonkin (present-day North Viet Nam) and annexed and swallowed up the Islamic Kingdom of Champa (present-day Central Viet Nam) so that no Cham citizens survive.

Following the absorption of Champa, the Vietnamese expansionists came farther south and up to recent times (1939), they had already annexed 65,000 square km of Kampuchean territory formed by the area west of the Donai River and the Mekong Delta, which is now South Viet Nam.

Adamantly pursuing their regional expansionist designs, the Hanoi authorities committed the most heinous crimes against the people of Kampuchea (crimes against national rights and crimes of genocide), and against all humanity.

I. CRIMES AGAINST THE NATIONAL RIGHTS OF THE KAMPUCHEAN PEOPLE

Since 1930, when it was founded, the Vietnamese Communist Party (the erstwhile Indo-Chinese Communist Party) set as its objective the establishment of an "Indo-Chinese Federation" made up of Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea, to be ruled by Viet Nam. That "Indo-Chinese Federation" is merely one step towards the complete absorption of Kampuchea and Laos by Viet Nam as it absorbed the Islamic Kingdom of Champa and the Cham people. It is also designed to serve as a springboard for the expansion of Viet Nam throughout South-East Asia.

That is the hidden meaning of the official slogan "special Viet Nam-Laos-Kampuchea solidarity and friendship". Throughout Kampuchea's years of struggle for national liberation, that slogan was translated into a policy of division and subversion in Kampuchea's internal affairs. The so-called "special Viet Nam-Kampuchea solidarity" is actually nothing more than a long series of crimes and betrayals committed by the Hanoi authorities against the Kampuchean people.

The aim of the Vietnamese expansionists was to swallow up Kampuchea quietly so the world would not notice, as they did for Laos through the so-called "treaty of friendship and co-operation" signed on 18 July 1977. To that end, beginning with the first national liberation struggle of the Kampuchean people in 1947, waves of agents were infiltrated into Kampuchea to undermine the Government and indulge

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in sabotage and subversion, attempted coups d'état and assassinations of Kampuchean leaders who had asserted their independence. They persisted in all those traitorous activities without respite before, during and after the five-year war of national liberation (1970-1975).

During that five-year war, the Vietnamese expansionists exploited the sanctuaries of Kampuchea and many other kinds of aid given them by the people and Government of Kampuchea, in particular food, communications lines and hospitals, in order to create conditions for seizing power immediately after Kampuchea was liberated. When their attempts to set up joint Viet Nam-Kampuchea commands failed, they went so far in May 1970 as to organize a parallel army and a parallel government machinery in the army and in the Kampuchean State apparatus. They seized nearly all the Chinese military advisers attached to the Kampuchean liberation army to prevent them from entering the fighting.

During the Paris negotiations with the United States, the Hanoi authorities usurped the right to decide the fate of Kampuchea from its legal and legitimate Government. They openly told the world that they were determined to destroy the independence and neutrality of Kampuchea and turn it into a Vietnamese satellite. By the Paris agreements of 1973, they sought to compel the people of Kampuchea to abandon their national liberation struggle and place their destiny in the hands of Viet Nam. But the people of Kampuchea, spurred on by their patriotic fervor and their unshakable will to retain their independence, decided to fight on alone. After tremendous sacrifices, on 17 April 1975, the people of Kampuchea regained their national independence and sovereignty, their territorial integrity and their right to self-determination.

More than any other country, Kampuchea seeks only to live in peace and to enjoy relations of friendship and co-operation based on mutual respect for independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and strict equality and mutual advantage with all countries, including Viet Nam. But the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam has consistently sought to frustrate those profound aspirations and to trample underfoot the fundamental national rights of the people of Kampuchea.

It is an irrefutable fact that the Hanoi authorities could not have liberated South Viet Nam without the substantial assistance given them by the people and Government of Kampuchea: vast sanctuaries, hospitals, communications lines, means of transportation, food for several hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese soldiers. It was from the territory of Kampuchea that the Vietcong launched their attacks.

After the liberation of South Viet Nam, the Government of Democratic Kampuchea requested the Government of Viet Nam to withdraw all its armed forces remaining on Kampuchean territory in Taranakiri and Mondulkiri provinces since the war of national liberation at the latest by the end of June 1975. The Vietnamese refused. Worse, the Vietnamese armies began an attack on the Kampuchean armies the morning after 17 April 1975. They carried out a series of attacks against the Kampuchean armies all along the borders: for example, at Kaam Samna, Kandal province, the Vietnamese armies began their attacks on Kampuchea on 18 April 1975. Even worse,

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the Vietnamese Government began to send its nationals to settle on Kampuchean territory along the eastern borders. In some places, Vietnamese houses were built on Kampuchean territory. In others, at Peam Chor, Prey Veng province, for example, the Vietnamese Government actually settled its nationals on Kampuchean territory.

Thus, all along the borders, from Ratanakiri Province to Kampot Province, the Vietnamese armies engaged in acts of provocation and violation of the national sovereignty and territorial integrity of Kampuchea. Furthermore, the Vietnamese Government sent its armed forces to attack Kampuchea's offshore islands and attempted to seize Koh Ses, Koh Thmey and Koh Takiev Islands in the Gulf of Thailand. At the end of May 1975, the world was shocked to hear that Vietnamese naval and air units had attacked and seized Kampuchea's Koh Way Islands. It is clear therefore that the Vietnamese Government has been pursuing a policy of hegemony towards Kampuchea in an effort to subjugate it and annex it by force so that it can form part of an "Indo-Chinese Federation", which would also include Laos.

The people and Government of Kampuchea have always opposed Vietnamese regional hegemony and expansionism. However, since they were resolved to preserve friendship, peace and co-operation between the two countries and peoples, the top leaders of Kampuchea went to Hanoi in June 1975 to negotiate a "treaty of friendship and non-aggression" between Kampuchea and Viet Nam, based on mutual respect for independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-intervention in internal affairs and mutual advantages. If the Vietnamese side had agreed to that treaty, the people of Kampuchea and Viet Nam and all the peoples of the region would now be living together in peace, security, progress and friendship.

Blinded by their ambition to establish hegemony in Kampuchea, Laos and South-East Asia, the Hanoi authorities could not allow the Kampuchean people to live in independence, and to preserve the national sovereignty and territorial integrity of their country. Instead, they tried in every way to annex Kampuchea because without Kampuchea they could not build the "Indo-Chinese Federation" which was to be used as a springboard for their expansionist designs in South-East Asia.

The Vietnamese fifth column in Kampuchea who were later arrested disclosed that the basic objective of the Hanoi authorities was, by pressure and provocations along the borders:

To prevent the Kampuchean Government from organizing and consolidating the power of the State administration which was essential to the country's defence; and

To support the activities of the Vietnamese fifth column in Kampuchea who were seeking to create conditions for destabilizing the Government of Democratic Kampuchea and enabling the Hanoi authorities to seize the seat of power in Kampuchea and install a puppet government of their own.

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During this period, the Government of Democratic Kampuchea had to cope with acts of subversion and sabotage, and to fend off assassination attempts against Kampuchean officials and attempted coups d'etat organized by agents of the Vietnamese fifth column, as well as pressure and border violations by the Vietnamese army.

This plan having failed, the Hanoi authorities resolved to carry out their open aggression against Kampuchea, first in late 1977 and then in December 1978.

At the end of 1977, Hanoi sent 14 divisions to invade Kampuchea all along the eastern frontier, from Ratanakiri to Kampot. The spearhead of the Vietnamese army proceeded along national highways 22 and 7, the intention being to seize all the Kampuchean territory to the east of the Mekong River. Another advance unit tried to get control of national highway 1, and seize the principal town of Neak Luong, Svay Rieng. In the south-east the Vietnamese armed forces tried to take the city of Takeo. The Hanoi authorities thought that if they succeeded in seizing Kampuchea without a shot being fired, in line with their strategy of "lightning attack, lightning victory", the world would not react and would write it off as an internal affair in Kampuchea. The puppet régime they would have installed in Phnom Penh would restore a Vietnamese "peace" to Kampuchea.

But the Vietnamese military defeat of 6 January 1978 forced the Hanoi authorities to revise their plans and launch the major offensive of 25 December 1978.

The testimony given below illustrates this Vietnamese policy of hegemony in Kampuchea.

1. Testimony of Sam Kim, 39, second lieutenant, Vietnamese intelligence agent (living in Mien Luong, Vit Xoi commune, Vit Xoi district, Kien Giang Province, South Viet Nam), arrested on 14 February 1978 on Koh Pring Island, belonging to Kampuchea. He revealed that the Harbourmaster at Kien Giang had told him the following: "There is a long-standing feud between Viet Nam and Kampuchea. We are seizing the opportunity to attack Kampuchea and take it over. Kampuchea doesn't dare resist because we are a powerful country and we are the older of the two. We will take Kampuchea at the end of 1978 and by 1979 we will control it. We will send experts and technicians to prospect for raw materials like iron ore, gold and precious stones. When we find these raw materials we will ship them back to Viet Nam so that it will become prosperous and more powerful. In addition we will hand over all the rubber plantations, rice paddies and fields to Vietnamese to cultivate. The land is very fertile in Kampuchea, there are lots of rice paddies and forests and there is no poverty or famine as there is in Viet Nam now. After our victory, we will send our people to settle there. As for the Kampuchean people, we will exterminate every last one of them. Kampuchean territory will become Vietnamese territory. Then Viet Nam will become a wealthy big Power, and no one will dare fight us. We must take Kampuchea at all costs by the end of this year, 1978. We will make Kampuchea vanish just as Champa did."

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2. Testimony of Tran Van Thuong, Major, Deputy Chief of Staff of the Ninth Division (commanded by Col. Chin Phuoc), 34, born at Ninh Binh (North Viet Nam), member of the Vietnamese Communist Party since 1963, arrested on 18 January 1978 in Kampuchean territorial waters.

Major Tran Van Thuong disclosed that in the month of July 1972 he took political courses at the military and political school of the Central Committee of the Vietnamese Communist Party in Hanoi. His instructor, Colonel Thoi, taught him that:

"Laos, Kampuchea and Viet Nam are fraternal countries in a single 'Indo-Chinese Federation'. We must therefore safeguard and defend this Federation and make it strong. Viet Nam is a powerful country, the communist country which ranks next after the USSR. It is therefore a major Power in South-East Asia, particularly in Indo-China. It is the bulwar, the foundation of the 'Indo-Chinese Federation'. It heads the Indo-Chinese Communist Party. After the Indo-China war, we will be the elder brother of Indo-China. Therefore, we should uphold our prerogatives as head of the Indo-Chinese Communist Party. As the senior member of the Federation, we must defend and take responsibility for the future of the Indo-Chinese revolution. At the same time, we must take our younger brothers under our wing. We must not let them do what they want. They must obey us ...

"When the Indo-Chinese revolution finally triumphs, we, the Vietnamese, must pay particular attention to Kampuchea, because Kampuchea is a dissident ...

"Every cadre should know his job thoroughly and shoulder his responsibilities towards the Party. He should follow the Party line as a leader of Indo-China. It is our task to train and educate the cadres and build up the armies for the three countries. Everywhere, in all three countries of the Federation, we must have Vietnamese cadres in the military, political and economic spheres. We must train our cadres from the bottom to the top so as to be able to exercise control everywhere. Schooling and education are designed principally to train federal cadres."

Speaking of the acts of aggression against Kampuchea, he stated:

"In July 1975, the 19th regiment of the Ninth Division received orders to make camp in the Moc Hoa district, and the 18th to make camp in the province of An Giang, on Phnom Xam mountain. At that time, my unit launched two attacks on Kampuchea.

"The first time, my unit penetrated seven miles into the province of Takeo (Kampuchea). Faced with a heavy artillery counter-attack by the Kampuchean army, we were forced to withdraw.

"The second time, my unit again penetrated Takeo province (Kampuchea) to a distance of some nine kilometres. The Kampuchean army counter-attacked more strongly than the first time, with heavy artillery. We were forced to withdraw.

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"In August 1975, my regiment was replaced by the 'Three Yellow Stars' Division. My unit received reinforcements.

"In February 1976, my unit was sent to reinforce the Seventh Division in Hatien.

"From February to June 1976, my unit, under the command of Colonel Phat, attacked and invaded Kampuchea twice more. The first time, it penetrated to a depth of 10 kilometres in the direction of the town of Takeo. But the Kampuchean army counter-attacked violently with infantry and heavy artillery and forced us to fall back.

"The second time, my unit penetrated 12 kilometres into Takeo province, but we were violently attacked by the Kampuchean army's infantry and heavy artillery and forced to withdraw.

"In August 1976, my unit pushed 14 kilometres into Takeo province. We had to withstand a powerful counter-attack.

"In February 1977, my unit returned to Hatien.

"In August 1977, our spearhead was still being directed against Takeo province. If we succeeded in taking it, we were supposed to set up a security base there. My unit attacked and invaded Kampuchea twice more.

"The first time, it penetrated 14 kilometres into Takeo province. The Kampuchean army counter-attacked with heavy artillery.

"The second time, we again managed to push 14 kilometres into the country. But the counter-attack from the Kampuchean army was of unprecedented strength. My unit was forced to withdraw ... the fighting lasted 12 days.

"In December 1977, my unit took part in the fighting at Hatien. It penetrated eight kilometres inside Kampuchean territory.

"On 16 December 1977, my unit, the 18th regiment of the Ninth Division, took up positions on the island of Phu Quoc. In January 1978, Colonel Vinh informed me of the plan by the Central Committee of our Party to attack and take Takeo province. He explained that we would seize the whole of Takeo province in mid-March 1978. Our Party had entrusted the command of the front to General Can, who had accumulated a lot of experience on many fronts. According to the plan, we were supposed to instal a new government structure little by little - first at the level of the villages, communes and districts and finally at the provincial level, in the areas we had occupied in Takeo province. In setting up this power structure, we were to give the important jobs to our compatriots coming from Hanoi, the secondary functions being given to Kampuchean nationals who lived and worked with us and were sympathetic to Viet Nam.

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"Before my arrest I saw people from North Viet Nam being brought down to the south, into the provinces of An Giang and Hatien. More than 100,000 people had already arrived in Hatien and they were camped along the road between Hatien and Kien Luong for a distance of seven kilometres. These 100,000 were in addition to 900,000 others who were supposed to come and were preparing to come in and settle in Takeo province to take over there. This group was to form the nucleus because it was made up of veterans and the families of soldiers who had been invalided out or killed.

"Colonel Vinh added that after taking Takeo province, we were to turn it into a solid military base for attacking and taking over the other provinces of Kampuchea. We were also supposed to take the Kampuchean islands. This is why Vinh gave me the job of inspecting the situation in Kampuchean territorial waters. He added that we should be very careful to preserve the future, so that we could enjoy the fruits of the conquest of Kampuchea. According to this plan, we were first supposed to take the Kampuchean islands near the island of Phu Quoc, then the other islands. At the same time, we were also supposed to attack the mainland.

"A little while later, the second intelligence unit commanded by Second Lieutenant Bay, went on a reconnaissance mission in Kampuchean territorial waters and sent daily reports to Colonel Vinh, the commander of the 18th regiment. Vinh then ordered me to go and inspect the situation in Kampuchean territorial waters. Between 2 and 15 January 1978 I made two sorties.

"The first time Huan, Huong and I took a vessel bearing the licence number VT 1320 and cruised towards Kampuchean territorial waters. We penetrated five kilometres inside those waters. We dropped anchor and took a tender over to the Kampuchean island closest to Phu Quoc. After observing the situation on the island I returned to my boat and went back to Phu Quoc.

"The second time I made the same journey as the first time but this time I went to inspect the coast of Kampuchea. I went along the coast for about 20 kilometres and having had a good look at the situation, I returned to my unit in Phu Quoc and made my report to Colonel Vinh.

"On 17 January 1978, Colonel Vinh informed me that there were three or four boats making daily trips back and forth in Kampuchean territorial waters about 15 kilometres to the west of Phu Quoc. He ordered my three-man unit to go and reconnoitre the situation on the spot.

"On 18 January 1978, Huan, Huong and I set off disguised as fishermen in the direction of Kampuchean territorial waters to the spot indicated by Vinh. We posed as fishermen the whole morning but saw no movement of either boats or ships. I then gave the order to return to Phu Quoc. Suddenly, about noon, a Kampuchean launch bore down on us and captured us at the spot where we were looking over the situation, in Kampuchean territorial waters."

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3. Testimony of Tran Van Tu, known as Nho, Lieutenant, second in command of a Vietnamese reconnaissance unit:

"My name is Tran Van Tu, known as Nho, 22 years old, born in the village of Khanh Hoa, Tan Khanh Dong commune, Lap Do district, Dong Thap province.

- Father's name: Tran Van Xuong;
- Mother's name: Nguyen Thi Vy;
- Joined the revolution: 17 September 1973;
- Joined the Ho Chi Minh Young Communist Union: 11 September 1975;
- Joined the Communist Party of Viet Nam: 9 December 1977;
- Served in third company, 5th battalion, 320th regiment, first division;
- Rank: Lieutenant;
- Position: second in command, third reconnaissance unit, 5th battalion;
- Captured on 24 December 1977, 12 kilometres inside Kampuchean territory.

My activities before entering Kampuchea:

My unit was encamped on the Viet Nam-Kampuchean border as of 25 September 1977. I was taught a lot of things at school. I was taught that we must:

1. Attack Kampuchea so as to take it over;
2. Attack Kampuchea to force it to join the 'Indo-Chinese Federation' under Vietnamese domination;
3. Take the rice, cattle, fowl, pigs and other things from Kampuchea and ship them to Viet Nam, which is now suffering from a famine;
4. Keep the secrets just mentioned, which are State secrets;
5. Also keep military secrets, particularly about military divisions, army units, weapons and munitions;
6. In case of arrest, keep quiet about your identity and life history, and don't admit anything.

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On 18 December 1977, while I was at the Duong Hoa school, five lorries took us in the direction of Sadec, and after taking the Cao Lanh road, we arrived in Hong Ngu. Three lorries went on, the other two stopped before reaching Hong Ngu. We went down the Hong Ngu river by boat, passed the town of Hong Ngu and turned along the Prek Krom or Song Ha river, which forms the border.

After reaching the border, I saw Regiment 320, which is my regiment. The unit was camped for 10 kilometres along the Prek Krom river. The 1st battalion was camped further out: this was a heavy artillery battalion. The 5th battalion was camped two kilometres from the 1st. This was made up of regional troops. Further on, two kilometres from the 5th battalion, the 2nd battalion, a battalion of regular troops, was camped. The 3rd battalion, camped two kilometres from the 2nd, was also a battalion of regular troops. The 4th battalion was camped two kilometres from the 3rd battalion. It was a reconnaissance unit of the first division of regular troops.

On arriving in my unit, I noticed that the troops were already prepared for combat. Each battalion contained a minimum of 150 men commanded by 20 North Vietnamese cadres aided by four or five Soviets. In general, there were about 20 Soviets among the officers of each regiment. The Soviets had changed their names and taken Vietnamese names. As for the weapons, they were ready too. There were two 105 mm guns, 61 mm and 60 mm mortars, B-40s, B-41s, M-79s, heavy machine-guns, medium-calibre machine-guns, AK automatic rifles, CKC semi-automatic rifles, C-rations like dried rice and jerry cans of water.

When the various units were ready for combat, Mr. Duc called 10 of us, including me, to a meeting at which he assigned me to make contact with a man called Hung in a village in Kampuchea in order to obtain information on the Kampuchean army troops, the number of people in the villages, to see if the patrols were being properly carried out, if the trenches had been dug properly and if the terrain was right for an offensive. I was also instructed to see whether there was an adequate supply of fowl, rice and other Kampuchean food. Having got all this information I had to report back to him. Then he would send in the army to attack Kampuchea and seize all this food.

Then Mr. Duc gave us, Tran Quang, Von Cong Luc and me, another mission.

At 9 a.m. our unit crossed the border river and then a field where the grass came up to our knees and a kilometre farther on we reached a forest of reeds with a path through it. After walking two kilometres through this forest, the unit reached a field and after walking one kilometre we reached a canal. Then I met a man. I asked him:

'Your name is Hung, isn't it?' He replied in the affirmative. 'I'm Duc's man', I added, 'I've come to see you, as arranged with Duc, so we can size up the situation together.' Hung then replied: 'If you are Duc's man, come and see me tonight at 11 o'clock in that forest of reeds over there. I'll signal with my torch.'

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A little later, we returned to our unit. That evening, as arranged with Hung in the morning, my group and Phuong's set off again.

Lieutenant Phuong's group consisted of seven men: as company commander, Lieutenant Nguyen Thanh Phuong himself led the reconnaissance unit made up of Vo Van Nhon, Tran Quang Luan, Nguyen Van Ton, Vo Van Ngon, Ngo Van Be Em and Ngo Van Loy.

Once we crossed the river, Phuong divided us into two groups. He led his group off to the left. I led mine to the right.

As arranged with him that morning, I met Hung at 11 in the evening at the agreed spot. At that meeting Hung had four other men with him. He led my group off to a village to see how things were. I noted that the village was easy to attack because it was sparsely populated. It was 10 kilometres inside Kampuchean territory.

After that, Hung took me to reconnoitre a second village, 2 kilometres from the first. I noted that that village was heavily populated and that the terrain did not really lend itself to an attack. Therefore, we could not attack it yet.

By that time, it was 2 o'clock in the morning. My group returned to the unit around dawn.

I reported to Mr. Duc: the first village can be successfully attacked because the population is small. The second village is heavily populated and the terrain is unsuitable for an attack. Therefore we cannot attack it yet.

Mr. Duc had already positioned the forces to attack that very night. He ordered my group to go and have another look at the situation.

On 24 December 1977, at 2 o'clock in the afternoon, my group, consisting of three men, set off to reconnoitre and clear the way for the army to launch its attack. At 6 o'clock, we reached the plain where the canal is, the site of our previous meeting. We ran into an ambush set by the Kampuchean army and that was how my group was taken prisoner."

The evidence given by these witnesses, and so many others, is clear proof of Viet Nam's expansionist policy in Kampuchea and in South-East Asia and, at the same time, of the acts of aggression being perpetrated by the Vietnamese armed forces against the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Kampuchea, with a view to destabilizing its Government and annexing the country.

The resounding military defeat of 6 January 1978 and the no less resounding failure of the attempted coup d'état of May 1978 forced the Hanoi authorities to mount a further attack, much larger in scale than the one in 1977.

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On that subject, Roland-Pierre Paringaux, South-East Asia correspondent of the newspaper Le Monde, wrote as follows under the headlines "How the conflict between Viet Nam and Cambodia began" and "Hanoi had been preparing the overthrow of the Khmer Rouge régime since February 1978":

"Details have recently come to light on the development of the crisis between Phnom Penh and Hanoi. In July 1978 the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Viet Nam decided to launch an all-out military offensive against Democratic Kampuchea as soon as the dry season began. That decision was motivated by the failure of the destabilization policy applied to the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique, which had been the subject of an earlier meeting of the Central Committee of the Vietnamese Communist Party held in February of that year, two months before the public disclosure of the conflict between Hanoi and Phnom Penh and two weeks after the Vietnamese proposed plan for a negotiated settlement.

"At that session, the Vietnamese leaders had decided to lend their support to a coup d'état organized by the proponents of a policy of solidarity with Viet Nam within the Khmer Rouge apparatus. The coup d'état was to lead to the 'liberation' of those regions of Cambodia situated east of the Mekong. The plot was denounced by Mr. Ieng Sary. The Minister for Foreign Affairs affirmed that the coup had been prepared by six members and alternates of the Central Committee of the Vietnamese Communist Party in co-operation 'with infiltrators who had long been taking orders from Hanoi'.

"It was immediately after that failure that Radio Hanoi, for the first time since December 1977, began to concede that there was an internal resistance movement in parts of eastern Cambodia, and to permit the use of its facilities to broadcast appeals for a general uprising against the Khmer Rouge. At the same time, the Vietnamese were training Khmer refugees in Viet Nam who were to form the administrative and military backbone of the régime set up in Phnom Penh in January 1979." (Le Monde, 10 April 1979)

Let us mention another eye-witness report published by Le Monde on 23 March 1979. According to Mr. Hoang Tung, Editor-in-Chief of the Viet Nam people's daily Nhan Dan, the possibility of overthrowing "the Khmer Rouge régime of Mr. Pol Pot had been discussed in 1970", that is to say, five years before the liberation of Kampuchea in 1975.

These reports from Le Monde correspondents and the disclosures mentioned above confirm:

1. The policy of interference in the internal affairs of Kampuchea by the Hanoi authorities, and the policy of systematic aggression by those self-same authorities against Democratic Kampuchea whose independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity are being cynically trampled under foot by the Hanoi authorities.

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2. The existence and criminal activities of the Vietnamese fifth column in Kampuchea, whose mission is to overthrow the legal and legitimate Government of the people of Kampuchea by subversion, sabotage, assassination attempts and coups d'état.

3. The lack of foundation for the lying propaganda of Hanoi which, to achieve its expansionist aims in Kampuchea, hypocritically alleged that there was a "popular uprising" in Kampuchea, and that it had intervened there out of "internationalist duty", whereas the whole international community has acknowledged that the armed intervention of 200,000 Vietnamese troops is one of the gravest and most deliberate violations of the fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations and of non-alignment.

But the crimes of Viet Nam do not stop there. Today, the Hanoi authorities are committing crimes of genocide in Kampuchea to exterminate the Kampuchean race and civilization - crimes which are the most serious and the most barbarous yet. They are crimes against humanity as a whole.

## II. CRIMES OF GENOCIDE AGAINST THE PEOPLE OF KAMPUCHEA

The tragic outcome of this policy of genocide practised by the Hanoi authorities in Kampuchea has proved to be of a magnitude unprecedented in the history of mankind.

All peoples, countries, international organizations and individuals who cherish peace, justice and humanism throughout the world are deeply shocked, upset and concerned.

To break the Kampuchean people's will for independence and their heroic resistance against invasion and occupation, the Vietnamese expansionists are resorting to a policy of genocide perpetrated by their armed forces, numbering over 200,000 men, who are carrying out the order to "Burn everything, destroy everything, exterminate everything" in Kampuchea. Concurrently with this barbarous, criminal and heinous policy, the Vietnamese Government has deliberately used "famine" as a weapon to annihilate a people, to achieve its sinister aims, and to extricate itself from a war in which over 200,000 soldiers, armed with the most modern weaponry, have become bogged down.

The Washington Post of 12 October 1979, in an editorial entitled "Vietnam: Genocide", stated:

"Having practiced genocide on one ethnic group, Vietnam promptly turned upon another. As part of an evident effort to dominate the whole Indochinese peninsula, Hanoi has put hundreds of thousands of Cambodians - perhaps even millions - under the threat of starvation. These people have been driven from their homes and fields into barren no-man's lands where all the combatants in the continuing war in Cambodia, but especially the Vietnamese, are using crop destruction and denial tactics to impose their political control ...

"It seems to be part of Hanoi's plan to use what it calls the 'food shortage' to solve what is in its expansionist view a real problem in Cambodia: the presence of Cambodians. Genocide, far from being an incidental product of a political decision, almost seems to be the decision. Vietnam does not appear to want Cambodians to be saved from famine even in the parts of Cambodia that it controls."

In the course of 10 months of a war of aggression, the Hanoi authorities have been guilty of the following monstrous crimes:

- More than 500,000 Kampuchean civilians, men, women, children and old people, have been massacred by the Vietnamese army;
- More than 500,000 others have died of hunger, especially women, children and the elderly;

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- Several hundred thousand people have been driven from their land and their homes and have become destitute refugees in Thailand.

The whole population of Kampuchea, numbering over 7 million, has been the victim of the most cruel and barbarous war in the history of mankind.

The President of the Presidium of Democratic Kampuchea, Khien Samphân, in a message dated 23 June 1979 to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, focusing on the problem of Kampuchean refugees, drew the attention of the Secretary-General to that problem in these terms:

"This problem has arisen from the war of aggression being waged by the Hanoi authorities, who are sowing devastation and ruin in Kampuchea and subjecting the Kampuchean people to veritable genocide. This war is causing the Thai Government many difficulties while constituting a serious threat to the defence, security, economy and entire society of Thailand.

Despite the tremendous difficulties resulting from the barbarous war of aggression of the Hanoi authorities, the Government of Democratic Kampuchea has joined its efforts with those of the Thai Government in seeking ad hoc solutions to this problem. It has accordingly taken back all these Kampuchean refugees, allowing them to re-enter the country in batches of tens of thousands and applying ad hoc solutions with regard to their living and working conditions. However, all our successive efforts to arrive at a final solution of the problem of Kampuchean refugees have proved incapable of succeeding because they have been thwarted every time by the attacks and the sweep operations which the Vietnamese forces of aggression are constantly launching against the civilian population. In order to escape a massacre, the latter are forced once again to seek temporary refuge in Thailand.

The lot of all these refugees is particularly tragic. It is even more so than that of other refugees, since all these innocent people are direct victims of the war of devastation and of the genocide perpetrated by the Vietnamese aggressors. Wherever they go, the latter engage in massacres and acts of banditry, destroying and looting everything - crops, rice, livestock and homes. Those refugees who were able to escape a massacre the first time have to flee from the Vietnamese troops again, in fact repeatedly, never seeing an end to it. And each time all families, without exception, suffer severely either through separation or loss or from the machine-gunning, heavy bombing and artillery barrages laid down by the Vietnamese forces of aggression against villages, roads or forests. Even old people, children and pregnant women do not escape these massacres. This is something which should stagger the conscience of mankind." (A/34/331)

This appeal was heard by the international community. More specifically, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, Secretary-General of the United Nations, in a press conference on 19 October last made the following moving statement:

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"I asked for this opportunity to meet with you because of the national tragedy that the world community is now witnessing. The proportion of that tragedy may have no parallel in history. I am referring, of course, to the fate of the population of Kampuchea. We are speaking of a country which, according to most accounts, has lost up to one half of its entire population. The Kampuchean people are suffering misery and deprivation on a massive scale."  
(SG/SM/2810-ICEF/1439)

Examples of Vietnamese crimes of genocide in Kampuchea

Here are a few examples illustrative of these barbarous crimes:

(a) In the province of Takeo, in Kirivong district, in the village of Phnom Den, situated some 20 kilometres from the Vietnamese frontier, the Vietnamese invasion forces, on 30 December 1978, massacred almost 20,000 men, women, children and old people from Kampuchea Krom, who had fled oppression in South Viet Nam in 1977 and 1978 to seek refuge in Kampuchea.

(b) At Phnom Penh in January 1979 the Hanoi authorities ordered the massacre of 2,000 sick and wounded who could not be evacuated from the hospitals before the arrival of the Vietnamese attacking troops.

(c) At Nimet, near Sisophon, in north-west Kampuchea, on 27 January 1979, the Vietnamese aggressors took prisoner 52 young girls from an agricultural production brigade, subjected them to gang rape, and then massacred them.

(d) On 15 February 1979, in the Chhouk district in the province of Kampot, and on 18 February 1979 in the Tram Kâk district of Takeo province, the Vietnamese aggressors rounded up 100 or so inhabitants, including infants and pregnant women, doused them with petrol, and burnt them alive.

(e) At the Leay Bo co-operative in Takeo province, on 19 March 1979, the Vietnamese aggressors tied up dozens of people, hung them from the trees and caused them to bleed to death after a long and terrible agony.

(f) During March and April 1979, the Vietnamese attacking armies massacred tens of thousands of members of co-operatives in Kampot province who had put up strong resistance. Several hundred victims were shot to death and thrown into the sea.

(g) In Takeo province, at the Leay Bo co-operative, in early April last, the Vietnamese hordes seized the babies of Khmer patriots who refused to become their slaves, and tossed them in the air on to the points of their bayonets.

(h) The Vietnamese aggressors are making widespread use of toxic chemicals. They are using a chemical which adheres to the leaves of trees in the form of

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droplets. When these droplets fall on people they become giddy, collapse, spit blood, go into death-throes and succumb within 24 hours. These toxic chemicals killed eight people at Phnom Reachtorng, north of Kirirom in Kampong Speu province on 25 and 26 July and on 28 and 29 August. Six people were killed at Andaung Toek and Thmar Baing in Koh Kong province on 5 and 6 September, and 15 in western Battambang on 1, 3 and 4 October.

(i) On 5 October 1979 at Bavel (Battambang province) on the banks of the river Mongkulborei, a group of 30 Vietnamese soldiers surrounded and massacred almost 100 people, most of them old people, women and children, who were harvesting wild rice. These people lived in the zone under provisional control of the Vietnamese aggressors. As all their land, rice-fields and crops had been plundered and destroyed by the aggressors, they were searching for food to ward off death by starvation.

(j) In September 1979, the Vietnamese aggressors killed 33 defenceless people, including eight children, in the Koh Chbar district, Kampong Cham province. They plundered and destroyed 600 hectares of rice, maize and manioc, as well as 1,500 hectares of recently replanted rice paddies. Fifty houses, 12 schools and 6 hospitals were razed to the ground.

In the Rovieng district of Preah Vihear province, the Vietnamese aggressors destroyed 110 hectares of paddy together with 100 hectares of recently replanted rice fields. They seized 100 head of cattle and 60 pigs, burnt down 15 houses, 3 schools and 2 hospitals, and massacred 13 people.

### III. CRIMES COMMITTED BY THE HANOI AUTHORITIES AGAINST THE ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL RIGHTS OF THE PEOPLE OF KAMPUCHEA

It goes without saying that all the economic, social, cultural and political rights of the Kampuchean people have not only been violated, but destroyed by the Vietnamese army of aggression. At a time when the very survival of the Kampuchean nation is at stake, it is pointless to talk of the existence of such rights in Kampuchea.

Let us recall, however, that the criminal plan of the Hanoi authorities is to "destroy everything" in Kampuchea.

From 1975 until the end of 1978, Kampuchea, that ancient and glorious land of Angkor with its innumerable artistic and cultural treasures and its wealth of natural and agricultural resources, was transformed by the skills of the Kampuchean people into a land, lush and green all the year round, with dams, reservoirs, irrigation channels and vast expanses of rice-paddies. All foreign visitors bear witness to that fact:

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1. The Far Eastern Economic Review in its Asia 1979 Yearbook writes:

"... A team of Japanese diplomats based in Peking and an economist attached to the mission visited Cambodia in August. The group has reported that it did not get the impression people were deprived of food. Supplies seemed to be adequate. Vegetables were abundant, with plenty of fruit, and the diet was supplemented by pig-breeding ... The economist found agriculture in better shape than before the liberation and irrigation much better organized than at that time. The Japanese mission presumed that the Pol Pot régime was stable ...

"The apparent achievement of Cambodian agriculture, especially in the cultivation of rice, may be attributed to its simple but highly productive building of irrigation dams, the improvement of dykes for more effective retention of water and the construction of reservoirs ...

"The construction of these water-control projects has brought a third of the country's farmland under irrigation. In some areas, the Japanese mission revealed, there were two rice crops. The Yugoslavs said some of the new artificial lakes have about 200 million cubic metres of water ..."

2. A group of Yugoslav journalists visited Kampuchea in April 1978 and wrote in the 19 May 1978 issue of the American weekly Seven Days: "We didn't get the impression that the Kampuchean countryside is suffering any food shortages; rice is undoubtedly ample in this land rich in water and canals, and fish is similarly abundant; the climate assures that anything planted has to bear fruit, so there are also plenty of vegetables ..."

3. Richard Dudman, chief Washington correspondent of the St. Louis Dispatch visited Democratic Kampuchea in December 1978, just one week before the Vietnamese aggression and wrote:

"One of Cambodia's biggest achievements in these three-plus years was its housing program, a sudden mass upgrading of the individual family homes from the standard that has existed for centuries ... Prior to the Vietnamese invasion, simple but attractive individual wooden houses in several styles were going up by the thousands all over the country to replace the old thatched huts ...

"I saw no evidence of starvation, however. My observations of hundreds of ordinary Cambodians suggested that they got an adequate diet, if a plain one ...

"On the simple question of economic viability, this rich agricultural country once more appeared to be flourishing and potentially prosperous - at least until the Vietnamese invaders moved in."

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Since 25 December 1978, when the Hanoi authorities loosed 120,000 soldiers, supported by several hundred tanks, heavy artillery and many planes and warships, to attack and lay waste Kampuchea, the country has become a desolate and barren land where nothing will grow, not even at the height of the rainy season.

Whole towns, administrative centres, thousands of agricultural co-operatives, schools, technical and scientific training institutes, factories and hospitals, dams and reservoirs, thousands of kilometres of irrigation canals, have been systematically destroyed by the Vietnamese aggressors. In order to bring about the death by starvation of our people and break their resistance, the aggressors have prevented them from working the land, have destroyed more than a million hectares of rice fields and farmland, all farm implements, more than a million of our draught animals, cattle and buffalo.

On the subject of these crimes of destruction and plunder committed in Kampuchea by the Vietnamese aggressors, the journalist Elizabeth Becker wrote the following in The Washington Post of 25 September 1979:

"The refugees made the sharpest criticisms. 'The Vietnamese have taken out rice, tires, machinery from factories, cloth, furniture, spare parts for vehicles, anything of value', said Han Tao, a Cambodian refugee from the eastern province of Kampong Cham. Han Tao said he watched the Vietnamese drive these goods out in the trucks along Route 7 into Viet Nam.

"'The strategy of the Vietnamese was to make it appear that the people stole everything from warehouses. In Kampong Cham city they let us take some things from the warehouse and filmed us with their cameras. Then they put the cameras away and took for themselves anything of real value', Han Tao continued. 'Boats, cars, they all went to Viet Nam.'

"Han Tao's testimony was confirmed by other refugees in his camp at Surin, Thailand, and by refugees much farther south near the Gulf of Thailand, at a camp near Trat. 'I saw myself the Vietnamese taking out beds, tires, everything', said Wu Shu Zwang, a Cambodian refugee from the East bank of the Mekong.

"'The Vietnamese took it out in trucks. They took the rice and brought back wheat', he said. 'They used the wheat to buy goods in the market'.

"Partial confirmation was available in Viet Nam itself. One foreign official who recently visited Cambodia told me that a fleet of white Mercedes had been taken to Viet Nam and hastily returned to Phnom Penh from Ho Chi Minh city (formerly Saigon) to ferry visitors around during a show trial of Pol Pot in absentia.

"'Like any occupying army there were some spoils', the official said. 'But when so many foreigners arrived in Phnom Penh the Vietnamese had to "lend" the cars back to the Cambodians'.

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"Convincing proof of plunder can be found in the antique shops of Ho Chi Minh City and Hanoi. The theft and export of Cambodian art treasures must be widespread judging from what can be found in Vietnamese shops. There were common wooden Buddhas, priceless stone carvings, brass objects, dancing apsara figures and what were described as Angkor-era busts."

#### IV. ESTABLISHMENT OF VIETNAMESE SETTLEMENTS IN KAMPUCHEA

The President of the Presidium of Democratic Kampuchea, in his message of 23 June 1979, drew the attention of the Secretary-General of the United Nations to the problem of Vietnamese nationals sent from Viet Nam by the Hanoi authorities to settle in Kampuchean territory to replace Kampuchean populations which had been annihilated.

Mr. Khieu Samphân wrote:

"The purpose of the Hanoi authorities in behaving in this way is to complete their policy of settling nothing but Vietnamese throughout the territory of Kampuchea.

"The Kampuchean people are thus in mortal danger from the Hanoi authorities, who are now carrying out a policy of systematic extermination against the Kampuchean race and endeavouring to erase Kampuchea from the map of the world.

"The Hanoi authorities have been bold enough to deport hundreds of thousands of their fellow-countrymen onto the high seas, before the eyes of the whole world. Why then should they hesitate to subject the Kampuchean people to genocide or to wipe out the Kampuchean race without any awareness on the part of world opinion?

"Accordingly, towards the end of May 1979, the Hanoi authorities settled nearly 200,000 Vietnamese nationals in Kampuchean territory, distributing them throughout the coastal and eastern provinces. And now, while continuing the genocide against the Kampuchean people, forcing them to leave their country, the Hanoi authorities are bringing in Vietnamese nationals and systematically settling them in Kampuchean territory.

"Here, then, is another aspect of the Hanoi authorities' policy of exporting refugees of which world opinion is still unaware. But this policy is even more barbarous and even more staggering to the conscience of mankind than that practised towards other refugees, because it is a most cruel and most savage act of aggression for which the Vietnamese forces of aggression constitute the spearhead, burning everything, destroying everything, subjecting the people of Kampuchea to veritable genocide and settling Vietnamese nationals in Kampuchean territory. It is an act without precedent

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in human history. The Hanoi authorities are swallowing up Kampuchea and wiping out the Kampuchean race by subjecting the Kampuchean people to veritable genocide, unknown to the entire world. This is something that is not only tragic but also shocking to the conscience of all mankind.

"We should be grateful if you would submit the two problems described above for discussion at the next international conference on refugees, with a view to finding a timely and appropriate solution, in the name of the Charter of the United Nations, of international law, of humanity, of justice and of all mankind." (A/34/331)

Since that time, the Hanoi authorities have stepped up the resettlement of Vietnamese, who now number more than 250,000, in Kampuchea. For purposes of plundering the fish-breeding and fisheries resources of Kampuchea, the Hanoi authorities have established more than 20,000 settlers in the Great Lakes region.

#### V. CRIMES OF THE HANOI AUTHORITIES AGAINST THE CIVILIZATION OF KAMPUCHEA

Today the whole of Kampuchea is the target of plunder by Vietnamese hordes which have pillaged, among other things, the artistic and cultural wealth of Kampuchea, the priceless legacy of our people's 2,000-year-old civilization. The Vietnamese have shipped everything they found in Kampuchea to Viet Nam: gold and silver objets d'art, precious stones, rare peices from our museums, the Silver Pagoda, the Royal Palace, masterpieces of sculpture, reliefs from the monuments of Angkor, representing the summits of Khmer civilization and the cultural and artistic heritage of all mankind. The Hanoi authorities hid them in coffins in order to ship them out to Viet Nam.

Our people and Government carefully guarded the monuments of Angkor in particular during the five years of the first war of national liberation (1970-1975) and in the period following liberation.

Heads of State and Government and the many guests who visited Kampuchea after 1975 were able to see how well-preserved the monuments were, but they are being destroyed by the Vietnamese aggressors since they invaded Kampuchea in December 1978.

Elizabeth Becker, a journalist for The Washington Post, wrote on 25 September 1979:

"Convincing proof of plunder can be found in the antique shops of Ho Chi Minh City and Hanoi. The theft and export of Cambodian art treasures must be widespread judging from what can be found in Vietnamese shops. There were common wooden Buddhas, priceless stone carvings, brass objects, dancing apsara figures and what were described as Angkor-era busts.

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"One piece was mounted on a dark wooden block, the type used by museums.

"Questions put to shopkeepers about these pieces and their origins led to police surveillance and my guide abruptly ended the day's shopping trip when I persisted.

"The Cambodian art began appearing in Ho Chi Minh City about February, March", said one foreign resident. "They've only recently found their way up to Hanoi. The wooden Buddha I bought was still dirty from the axle grease of an army truck, I am sure."

The newspaper Le Monde of 21 August 1979 contained the following on that same subject:

"Tourists and diplomats who visited the temples (Angkor) last year had found them to be intact".

#### VI. CRIMES COMMITTED AGAINST THE LAO AND VIETNAMESE PEOPLES

The Hanoi authorities have subjected the Lao and Vietnamese peoples to harsh oppression and repression. Their policy is aimed at eliminating all opposition from the Lao patriots who refuse to stand by while their country is turned into a colony for Vietnamese settlement. Several hundred thousand Lao have had to leave their country and seek refuge abroad, especially in Thailand.

As regards the Vietnamese themselves, the entire world has been witness to the tragic plight of the more than 1 million "boat people", victims of the inhuman policy of the Hanoi authorities. According to informed sources, more than 200,000 Vietnamese have died at sea since 1975 (The Washington Post, 3 August 1979). The Hanoi authorities have exploited the plight of the unfortunate refugees to extort payment in gold. The amount of their take is estimated at \$US 3 billion this year. In April of this year, the Vietnamese authorities wrung \$240 million out of the refugees. According to first-hand reports, each refugee was forced to pay the Vietnamese authorities between \$US 1,000 and 4,000. This policy of repression and oppression is used even against the Vietnamese leaders themselves who refuse to support it. There is, for example, the well-known case of Mr. Hoang Van Hoan, Vice-President of the Standing Committee of the National Assembly of Viet Nam, founding member of the Vietnamese Communist Party, and member of the Politburo, until 1976. Today, he has left his country because he refused to support the Fascist dictatorship of the Le Duan clique. Addressing his fellow countrymen, he said:

"Owing to the persecution of revolutionaries by the dictatorial Lê Duan and company, I can no longer serve the people in Viet Nam and have had to leave my country with bitterness and sorrow.

"Under the control of Lê Duan and company, Viet Nam today is no longer an independent and sovereign country, but one subservient to a foreign power economically, politically, militarily and diplomatically.

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"Lê Duan and company have thrown our people back into thralldom and reduced them to a life of unprecedented hardships and devoid of any democratic freedoms - a life of humiliation and oppression.

"There is nothing socialist about Lê Duan and company although they style themselves socialists'.

"He (Hoang Van Hoan) was sharply critical of what he said was Viet Nam's mobilization for 'a war against China', its 'invasion' of Cambodia and its 'control' of Laos. He said that Viet Nam has sent more than 100,000 troops, plus cadres and 'other personnel' into Cambodia." (Washington Post, 10 August 1979).

In an open letter to the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, published by The New York Times and The Washington Post on 30 May 1979, many prominent Americans stated the following:

"Thousands of innocent Vietnamese, many whose only 'crimes' are those of conscience, are being arrested, detained and tortured in prisons and re-education camps. Instead of bringing hope and reconciliation to war-torn Viet Nam, your government has created a painful nightmare that overshadows significant progress achieved in many areas of Vietnamese society.

"Your government stated in February 1977 that some 50,000 people were then incarcerated. Journalists, independent observers and refugees estimate the current number of political prisoners between 150,000 and 200,000.

"Whatever the exact figure, the facts form a grim mosaic. Verified reports have appeared in the press around the globe, from Le Monde and the Observer to The Washington Post and Newsweek. We have heard the horror stories from the people of Viet Nam - from workers and peasants, Catholic nuns and Buddhist priests, from the boat people, the artists and professionals and those who fought alongside the NLF.

"-The jails are overflowing with thousands upon thousands of 'detainees'.

"-People disappear and never return.

"-People are shipped to re-education centers, fed a starvation diet of stale rice, forced to squat bound wrist to ankle, suffocated in 'connex' boxes.

"-People are used as human mine detectors, clearing live mine fields with their hands and feet.

"For many, life is hell and death is prayed for.

"Many victims are men, women and children who supported and fought for the causes of reunification and self-determination; those who as pacifists,

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members of religious groups, or on moral and philosophic grounds opposed the authoritarian policies of Thieu and Ky; artists and intellectuals whose commitment to creative expression is anathema to the totalitarian policies of your government.

"Requests by Amnesty International and others for impartial investigations of prison conditions remain unanswered. Families who inquire about husbands, wives, daughters or sons are ignored.

"It was an abiding commitment to fundamental principles of human dignity, freedom and self-determination that motivated so many Americans to oppose the government of South Viet Nam and our country's participation in the war. It is that same commitment that compels us to speak out against your brutal disregard of human rights. As in the 60s, we raise our voices now so that your people may live.

"We appeal to you to end the imprisonment and torture - to allow an international team of neutral observers to inspect your prisons and re-education centers.

"We urge you to follow the tenets of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights which, as member of the United Nations, your country is pledged to uphold.

"We urge you to reaffirm your stated commitment to the basic principles of freedom and human dignity ... to establish real peace in Viet Nam."

#### VII. CRIMES AGAINST INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY

The Vietnamese policy of hegemony in Kampuchea, Laos and South-East Asia constitutes a serious threat to world peace and security, particularly the peace and security of South-East Asia.

In July 1977, by virtue of a "treaty of friendship and co-operation" between Vientiane and Hanoi, Laos was annexed by Viet Nam, and converted by Viet Nam into a new colony for Vietnamese settlement: 60,000 Vietnamese soldiers stationed in Laos are carrying out a policy of repression and oppression of the patriotic Lao people. With the "annexation" of Laos, Viet Nam pushed its frontiers as far as Thailand, whose peace and security are directly threatened. Several hundred thousand Vietnamese have been settled in Laos and have taken over control of the country from the Lao people.

The war of aggression unleashed against Democratic Kampuchea in December 1978, apart from violating the fundamental principles of the United Nations Charter and the principles of non-alignment, constitutes a new and real threat to international peace and security. The Secretary-General of the United Nations in his annual report (A/34/1) commented as follows:

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"The United Nations has been especially preoccupied this year with developments in Indo-China - developments which not only raise fundamental questions of Charter principles but also have been accompanied by vast and tragic humanitarian problems. Naturally these matters were predominant in the discussions I had during my visit to the region. The concern of the international community has, throughout this year, been focused both on the political and military developments in Indo-China and on their humanitarian consequences. It has seemed to me that, at the level of human tragedy now prevailing in that part of the world, humanitarian concerns must be attended to without delay."

The Secretary-General went on:

"This view is in no sense intended to downgrade the importance of a political settlement in the area. The situation which has followed the long and cruel war in Indo-China not only threatens the peace and stability of South-East Asia; it could very well also become a threat to world peace. It is of the utmost importance that the process of adjustment start at once and be carried on in a constructive and forward-looking spirit by all parties. As I have already informed them, I am ready to provide any assistance which the Governments concerned may think useful or desirable."

He concluded:

"In this as in other situations that have recently arisen, it is imperative that all efforts be directed towards finding a settlement in conformity with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, in particular respect for the territorial integrity and political independence of all States, non-interference in internal affairs and the non-use of force."

In proposing item 123 on "The Situation in Kampuchea" as an agenda item for consideration by the United Nations General Assembly, the five ASEAN countries, for their part, emphasized the risks of a widespread conflict in South-East Asia.

It should also be recalled that on two occasions, on 15 January and 16 March 1979, the Security Council adopted by 13 votes to 2, with one permanent member voting against, draft resolutions submitted by the non-aligned countries members of the Council and by the five ASEAN countries respectively calling for an end to the Vietnamese war of aggression against Kampuchea and the total withdrawal of foreign troops from Kampuchea leaving the people of Kampuchea free to determine their own destiny without foreign interference.

Faced with this universal condemnation of their policies, the Hanoi authorities resorted to deceptive tactics, to campaigns of denigration and calumny against the people and Government of Kampuchea and to threats and blackmail against all peace-, justice- and independence-loving peoples and countries throughout the world.

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VIII. ARROGANT AND PERFIDIOUS MANOEUVRES BY THE HANOI  
AUTHORITIES TO COVER UP THEIR CRIMES OF GENOCIDE  
AGAINST THE PEOPLE OF KAMPUCHEA AND THEIR CRIMES  
AGAINST HUMANITY

No one now questions the reality of the regional expansionism practised by the Hanoi authorities. Some people of good faith are less aware, however, of the lies, slander, treachery and sophistry which the Hanoi authorities have exalted to the level of principles as a basis for their international relations. Their aim is to cover up their criminal annexation of Kampuchea and extermination of the Kampuchean people and thereafter to pursue their expansionist drive in the whole of South-East Asia.

Thus, they lied shamelessly to the Security Council in January 1979 when they claimed that there were no Vietnamese troops in Kampuchea. Then, when caught in the act of aggression with more than 120,000 soldiers in Kampuchea, they hastened to invoke the so-called "Treaty of Friendship and Co-operation", signed two months after their aggression with the puppet régime installed three weeks after their invasion. That régime has no roots in Kampuchea and is only a shadow government for the Vietnamese army of occupation. All decisions are actually taken and all affairs are actually handled from Saigon, under the personal direction of two members of the Politburo of the Vietnamese Communist Party, Le Duc Tho and Pham Hung. In Phnom Penh itself, the puppet administration is under the direct control of a Vietnamese triumvirate. In addition, the Phnom Penh puppets have no army apart from a few hundred soldiers forcibly incorporated into the Vietnamese army and closely supervised by Vietnamese officers.

Again, in an attempt to cover up their abominable crimes of genocide against the people of Kampuchea, the Hanoi authorities did not hesitate brazenly to deceive world opinion by establishing a so-called "People's Revolutionary Court", which Agence France Presse of 17 August 1979 described as being "a very well organized meeting ... for which witnesses had carefully rehearsed their statements beforehand". Le Monde of 10 August 1979 wrote that Western observers had noted that the Vietnamese occupier, in organizing this trial, hoped to exploit it "for political and moral advantage since it was judge in its own case". In staging this operation, the Vietnamese occupier was also trying to "justify the presence in Cambodia and Laos of some 250,000 Vietnamese soldiers". Finally, the Le Monde editorial of 21 August 1979 noted that "these legal and political manoeuvres are more sinister than amusing when you consider that millions of Cambodians are likely to starve to death in the months to come and that the Khmer race, like the Chams who at one time occupied part of Viet Nam, could well disappear from the face of the earth".

The Hanoi authorities deployed their fifth column in Kampuchea to murder tens of thousands of Kampuchean patriots between 1975 and 1978 and, in 10 months of aggression, they have already massacred more than 500,000 Kampucheans and caused more than 500,000 others to starve to death. In their monstrous perfidy, they dare to blame the Government of Democratic Kampuchea for these deaths. This smear campaign is designed simply to cover up the heinous crimes of genocide perpetrated

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by the Hanoi authorities in their attempts to exterminate the nation and people of Kampuchea.

The Government of Democratic Kampuchea, established by the people of Kampuchea whom it led to victory after five years of a war of national liberation, is too conscious of the profound aspirations of its people, of the annexationist aims of the Hanoi authorities and of the magnitude of the devastation visited on post-war Kampuchea to do anything which might jeopardize its consistent policy of national unity. That policy seeks to mobilize all the country's material and human resources and all its intellectual, physical and spiritual forces with a view to improving Kampuchea's defence, rapidly rebuilding the country and improving the living conditions of a population on which war has inflicted endless suffering.

Clearly, a Government which had mistreated its own people would not have succeeded in a mere three years, between 1975 and 1978, in resolving the problems of food, housing, clothing and medicine for the whole population. It would not have been able to eradicate malaria. It would not have been able to improve its people's living conditions so rapidly.

Clearly, a Government which had so mistreated its own people would not have received such massive, staunch support from that people, which is now prepared for so many sacrifices in its difficult war of national resistance against the Vietnamese invasion that has pinned down more than 200,000 Vietnamese soldiers in Kampuchea.

The Hanoi authorities, caught up in their own treacherous and sordid manoeuvres and lies, are trying desperately to cover up their crimes of genocide against the people of Kampuchea and their crimes against their own people.

In the last four years, the Hanoi authorities have used more than one billion dollars of international humanitarian aid not to improve the living conditions of the Vietnamese people but to serve their policy of aggression and expansionism in South-East Asia. That is why the living conditions of the Vietnamese people are worse now than before Viet Nam's liberation. In the Washington Post of 26 September 1979, Elizabeth Becker wrote from Hanoi:

"Nothing stuns a new visitor to northern Viet Nam and Hanoi more than the grinding poverty. The frail bodies, the tattered clothing, the dilapidated buildings and the scarcity of everything from meat to medicine is not what one expects in the capital of a legendary military power and the third largest Communist country.

"Much of this poverty is new. I know this doesn't make sense at first. I didn't understand it, said a Western resident of Hanoi. But you could watch it through Tet (the Asian lunar New Year). Each year, the table has been more meager. In 1976, the Tet was incredible: meat, fish, sweets, everything you could want. Last year, it was nothing. Some people didn't have rice.

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... While 1978 was the year of Viet Nam's best rice crop in history (13 million tons), it cannot offset this year's food shortage, which is considered the worst Viet Nam has faced, according to Le Vinh, vice-director of the economic institute of the Commission for Social Science of Viet Nam. 'You could say we can feed our own people this year because we produced all we need: 12.5 million tons. But we cannot feed the people', he said. 'We had to put our rice to other uses.' The other uses, he said, were raising livestock and feeding Viet Nam's army stationed in Laos, Cambodia and along the northern border. 'Now we have to give more food and spend greater amounts on the military. More of our foreign currency is reserved for the military', said Le Vinh. 'The army takes the trucks we need for transportation and the labor we need to build up agriculture, every sector of the economy'".

This criminal policy of aggression and regional expansionism on the part of the Hanoi authorities is the underlying cause of the misery and suffering of the Vietnamese people, of more than a million "boat people", of the genocide of the people of Kampuchea, of the sufferings of the Lao people and of the threats to the peace, security and stability of South-East Asia as a whole.

IX. ONLY THE TOTAL WITHDRAWAL OF VIETNAMESE TROOPS FROM  
KAMPUCHEA CAN PUT AN END TO THE CRIMES OF THE HANOI  
AUTHORITIES IN KAMPUCHEA

Driven by their unbridled expansionism, the Hanoi authorities are continuing their crimes in defiance of condemnation by the international community. In the last few months, they have sent several additional divisions and very large amounts of modern military equipment into Kampuchea in order to intensify their crimes of genocide in Kampuchea and their crimes against humanity. The situation in South-East Asia is deteriorating constantly. The peace, security and stability of the region are increasingly threatened. At any moment, the flames of the war of aggression and expansionism waged by the Hanoi authorities could set the whole of South-East Asia ablaze. The independence and territorial integrity of all the countries in the region are directly jeopardized.

As these crimes of the Hanoi authorities escalate, the United Nations and all countries which cherish peace, justice and independence and uphold the sacred principles of the Charter must take the necessary steps to put a stop to them. Only then can the people of Kampuchea live in peace and security within their own borders, with honour and national dignity, in an independent, united, peaceful, neutral and non-aligned Kampuchea, and only then can peace, security and stability in South-East Asia be restored. To that end, it is vital and urgent that the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam cease its aggression against Kampuchea and immediately and unconditionally withdraw all its armed forces of occupation and all its settlements from Kampuchea in strict compliance with the United Nations Charter. In other words, it is vital and urgent that the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam respect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Democratic Kampuchea and the right of the people of Kampuchea to decide its own destiny

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without foreign interference. Kampuchea's internal problems will be resolved in accordance with the political programme of the Front de Grande Union Nationale Patriotique et Démocratique du Kampuchea. In other words, Kampuchea's social and political system will be determined by the people of Kampuchea themselves through free, general elections by direct, secret ballot, to be held under the supervision of the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

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