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GENERAL

大会



安全理事会

A/44/710
S/20948
6 November 1989
CHINESE
ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

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联合国难民事务高级专员办事处

1989年11月3日民主柬埔寨

常驻联合国代表给秘书长的信

谨随函附上民主柬埔寨联合政府外交部新闻处1989年10月30日编写的
题为“谁对柬埔寨人民犯了灭族罪行？”*的备忘录，备供参考。

请将本函和附件作为大会议程项目31、96、98、105和110的正式

* 仅以原件语文散发。

文件和安全理事会的正式文件分发为荷。

常驻代表

秀蒲拉西(签名)

ANNEX

MEMORANDUM

Who have
committed genocide
against the people
of Cambodia?

30 October 1989

Department of Press and Information
of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs
of the CGDK

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INTRODUCTION

We have not raised any particular issue relating to the unspeakable sufferings of the Cambodian people under Vietnamese occupation out of a spirit of compromise in the search of a comprehensive political solution in order to put an end to the Vietnamese war of aggression and occupation in Cambodia.

Yet Vietnam has raised the issue of "genocide" in all fora as a smoke-screen to cover up its own genocidal policy and practices in Cambodia. This has brought the search of a political settlement to a deadlock.

At the recently-held Paris International Conference on Cambodia, Vietnam has once again raised this issue as a pretext:

- (a) To justify its invasion and occupation of Cambodia and legalize its puppet regime;
- (b) To reject the role of the United Nations in controlling and verifying any Vietnamese forces concealed in whatever form in Cambodia;
- (c) To oppose the formation of a provisional quadripartite government under the leadership of H.R.H. Samdech NORODOM SIHANOUK, the task of which is:
 - To assist the UN-ICM in controlling and verifying that no Vietnamese forces remain in Cambodia;
 - To organize free, fair and democratic elections under the United Nations supervision.

It is against this background that we would like to shed light on this issue.

* * *

CHAPTER I

The Vietnamese war in Cambodia and its true nature: Vietnam's attempt to annex and to eliminate Cambodia as a nation and a people

The Vietnamese war in Cambodia is not a colonialist war in nature as ever witnessed in history.

It should be recalled that in their quest for colonies colonialist countries sent limited contingents of troops to colonize those territories and used indigeneous people to administer them. Their main objective was to use local labor force to exploit natural resources and to send raw materials to their own countries, in particular to fill the need of expanding industries and to turn those colonized countries into markets open to their industrial products.

In Cambodia the Vietnamese invasion and occupation aim at eliminating the Cambodian nation and people in order to transform the country into a Vietnamese province. In order to achieve their objective, the Vietnamese have, in addition to military means, waged the war through economic, political and cultural fields in a frenzied attempt to kill the population, to destroy Cambodian society, economy, political forces, cultural heritage and history so as to realize the complete Vietnamization of Cambodia. In this regard, the Vietnamese authorities have pursued the same strategy of Vietnamization of Cambodia as implemented by previous Hanoi's leadership vis-à-vis Kampuchea Krom (Lower Cambodia) in the 19th century.

1. What are the forces used by Vietnam to achieve its above-mentioned objective?

(i)- Military forces comprising 200,000 troops.

Vietnam had mobilized 200,000 troops to launch its large-scale invasion of Cambodia in late 1978, aimed at destroying the Democratic Kampuchea power structure.

In the conquered parts of Cambodia, the Vietnamese used these 200,000 troops "to pacify" the country and to wipe out resistance forces under such a slogan as "to wipe out the old administrative power and to set up a new one".

(ii)- 50,000 Vietnamese used as the administrative power.

Vietnam was compelled to bring into Cambodia's these 50,000 Vietnamese nationals to serve in the administrative apparatus because it did not have a political base composed of Cambodians at its service. Consequently, Vietnam had to rule the country with 200,000 troops and 50,000 Vietnamese administrative cadres at all levels. Thus the so-called "People's Republic of Kampuchea" (PRK) was hastily created with people like Heng Samrin,

Hun Sen and some others acting as figureheads, in an attempt to give the impression of an existing "Cambodian government".

2. **How is Vietnam's genocidal policy implemented in Cambodia?**

A. **Slaughter of the Cambodian people**

As a matter of fact, the Vietnamese aggressors have committed countless genocidal crimes against the Cambodian people and sown devastations and ruins on Cambodia.

During the 1978-1979 dry season, at the first phase of Vietnam's blitzkrieg and large-scale invasion of Cambodia (December 1978 to May 1979), about 500,000 Cambodian civilians were mercilessly massacred by Vietnamese tanks and machine-guns.

During that blitzkrieg the Vietnamese troops looted the rice crop, which was a bumper one, transported it to Vietnam and destroyed the remaining in order to generate famine and starve to death the Cambodian population, thus hoping to wipe out any sign of resistance. That is why during the 1979 rainy season (May-October) nearly 500,000 other Cambodians died of famine. (UN document A/42/376)

In 1985 over 100,000 Cambodian civilians were sent to the "K-5" forced labor in western Cambodia. Out of this figure nearly 30,000 were killed, wounded or maimed. Also in 1985 the number of civilians sent to the "K-5" forced labor in central Cambodia reached 200,000, with over 10,000 of them killed, maimed, etc...

In 1986 the Vietnamese forces rounded up 70,000 more civilians to be sent to "K-5". Almost 10,000 of them were killed.

Since 1981 the Vietnamese authorities have also used toxic chemicals as a means to exterminate the Cambodian people. Almost 60,000 innocent civilians have been affected by these toxic chemical products, with over 30,000 dead or seriously suffering from chronic illness.

B. **Vietnamization policy:**

(i) **In the demographic field**

Since 1979 the Hanoi authorities have, in line with their planned program, systematically sent to Cambodia large numbers of Vietnamese settlers to install themselves in 6 main areas:

a. In the following districts:

- Peam Ro, Peam Chor and Trabek, in Prey Veng province;
- Svay Rieng, Prasot, Chantrea and Kompong Ro, in Svay Rieng province;
- Kampot and Touk Meas, in Kampot province;
- Kirivong, Prey Kabbas and Koh Andet, in Takeo province;
- Koh Thom and Loek Dek, in Kandal province.

In the above districts the Vietnamese settlers now make up an average of 75% of the population, with an average of 30,000 to 35,000 settlers per district. In all, there are about 450,000 Vietnamese settlers in these 14 districts.

b. There are now approximately 150,000 Vietnamese settlers in Phnom Penh and its suburbs.

c. Vietnamese settlers compose about 30% of the population living in coastal areas of Koh Kong and Kompong Som provinces, in the districts of Saang, Kien Svay, Lovea Em and Ponhea Loeu (in Kandal province), in the districts of Romeas Ek, Samrong and Rumduol (in Svay Rieng province), and in the district of Ponhea Krek (in Kompong Cham province). In all, there are about 150,000 Vietnamese settlers.

d. There are about 150,000 Vietnamese settlers on the banks of the Mekong river, from Rokar Kong, north of Phnom Penh, up to the district of Sambor in the province of Kratie.

e. There are about 150,000 Vietnamese settlers on the banks of the Tonle Sap river, from Prek Kdam to Chnok Troo (district of Baribo, province of Kompong Chhnang).

f. There are about 250,000 other Vietnamese settlers in the remaining parts of Cambodia, such as in the provinces of Pursat, Battambang, Siemreap, Preah Vihear, Kompong Thom, Stung Treng, Mondulkiri and Rattanakiri.

All together, there are now approximately 1,300,000 Vietnamese settlers in Cambodia.

According to their original scheme, the Vietnamese authorities have planned the completion of what they call the basic Vietnamization of Cambodia within ten years of their occupation of the country. In concrete terms, this plan means that starting from the year 1989 the Vietnamese settlers in Cambodia, including children of mixed marriages, should be as many as or slightly over the Cambodians themselves.

This plan was drawn up by Le Duan, then Vietnamese Communist Party Chief, and other members of the Politburo. It has since then been implemented by Le Duc Tho, Pham Hung, Hay So and the CP48 Office of the Vietnamese Communist Party Central Committee, which directs and controls the Phnom Penh puppet regime and its communist party.

The plan constitutes a real program of genocide against the Cambodian people, and of Vietnamization of Cambodia, based on military

and administrative forces as a pressure and on Vietnamese settlers as a means to carry out demographic changes in Cambodia and to Vietnamize her economy, society, culture, perception, ways of thinking, customs, language and ways of life.

However, the Vietnamese authorities have failed to achieve the totality of their planned objective as a result of the struggle of the Cambodian people under the leadership of the Cambodian National resistance (CNR) and the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea (CGDK) with H.R.H. Samdech NORODOM SIHANOUK as their Leader.

Without that struggle over the past almost 11 years, Cambodia by now would still be called "People's Republic of Kampuchea", and she would be similar to a Vietnamese province with the Cambodian population becoming a minority group.

It should be stressed that these Vietnamese settlers are not refugees, as in the case of Vietnamese refugees or boat people in Hong Kong or other countries of South-East Asia. They are also different from foreign residents in any given country. They have been organized politically and militarily or paramilitarily. In Cambodia's ongoing fighting areas, the Vietnamese settlers have been organized into groups of 10 to 12 families each, armed with automatic rifles or even with B.40 rocket-launchers. Those armed settlers participate, together with the Vietnamese troops, in occupying Cambodia and in defending the puppet regime against the resistance forces. There are about 60,000 Vietnamese armed settlers. Moreover, the Hanoi authorities have also sent political cadres and military officers and soldiers specialized in intelligence and sabotage activities to live among the settlers. There are currently about 50,000 of them in Cambodia.

(ii) In the political field

In addition to these administrative and demographic changes, the Vietnamese have also tried hard to bring about changes in the political conception of Cambodians by using the following slogans:

- "Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia are the three brotherly countries";
- "The special friendship and solidarity of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia shall last tens of thousand years";
- "Ho Chi Minh is Indochina's Father";
- "The Vietnamese army is invincible";
- "The affairs of Indochina must be run by Vietnam", etc...

(iii) In the economic field

The Vietnamese invasion has also imposed economic changes on Cambodia.

Fishing in the Tonle Sap Lake and in major fishing areas of Cambodia is in the hands of the Vietnamese.

The Vietnamese have destroyed Cambodia's forests by cutting logs to be sent to Vietnam. Forest by-products such as resin and creeper of all kinds have also been collected and sent to Vietnam. Even small trees have been cut down and transformed into charcoal to be exported to Vietnam. This has brought about adverse effects on forest and natural environment which, in turn, is the source of the sharp decrease of rainfall in Cambodia.

Many factories in the capital city of Phnom Penh and in provincial towns have been dismantled and sent to Vietnam. Still worse, doors, windows and even screws and small pieces of logs have been collected to be sold in Vietnam. This is partly what the Vietnamese settlers have been doing in Cambodia. Moreover, there are some other Vietnamese who have come to Cambodia just to plunder all those things and then returned to Vietnam. This is what has happened in particular in Cambodia's provinces bordering on Vietnam, such as Takeo, Kampot, Kandal, Prey Veng and Svay Rieng.

Internal and external trades, and even small and medium-sized shops and hair-dressing-shops in Phnom Penh and provincial towns are controlled by the Vietnamese.

(iv) In the cultural and educational fields

Every classroom in Cambodia must have a picture of Ho Chi Minh to be respected by Cambodian pupils and students as the Father of Cambodia and Indochina. Moreover, every classroom must also have such slogans as "Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia are the three brotherly countries", "The special friendship and solidarity of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia shall last tens of thousand years", etc...

School curriculum has been duplicated from that of Vietnam. The theory and conception of "Indochina Federation" has been one of the major topics in school curriculum. The teaching of Vietnamese is compulsory.

School books in all fields have been prepared in line with the "Indochina Federation" strategy.

Cambodia's history has been rewritten to suit that of the "Indochina Federation" strategy.

(v) In the geographic field:
(Dissolution of boundaries
between Cambodia and Vietnam)

The Vietnamese authorities have dissolved step by step Cambodia's land and sea boundaries through the so-called "Vietnam-Cambodia border treaty" mapped out by Vietnam.

Under the terms of that treaty, the Vietnamese are free to enter Cambodia without any passport or visa and to settle there.

This Vietnamese-imposed border treaty between Vietnam and Cambodia is similar to the Vietnam-Laos border treaty of 1977. These two treaties have actually dissolved the borders between the three countries in the framework of a preconceived plan aimed at bringing changes to the geographic, political and demographic maps through the systematic installation of Vietnamese settlers in Cambodia and Laos.

This is to indicate that the Vietnamese authorities have been doing their utmost to absorb Cambodia step by step in terms of land and people.

Should Vietnam succeed in so doing, what would happen to Cambodia? And what changes would she face in the political field as well as in other fields such as defense, trade, social affairs, culture, customs and ways of life? Is it not the Vietnamization of Cambodia in all fields?

* * *

CHAPTER II

Testimony and evidence

1. H.R.H. Samdech NORODOM SIHANOUK,
Leader of the CNR and President of Democratic Kampuchea

(i) In His address before the 37th session of the United Nations General Assembly on 26 October 1982, on item entitled "The Situation in Kampuchea", H.R.H. Samdech NORODOM SIHANOUK, Leader of the CNR and President of Democratic Kampuchea, pointed out that:

"Vietnam, as we all know, does not send a massive army of occupation to Kampuchea, nor does it send its settlers to install themselves in the areas which have been depopulated, except to achieve, by incorporating Laos as well to its empire, this 'Indochina Federation' for which the Party of Hanoi, called Vietminh, has so strenuously fought."

(ii) In a press conference in Bangkok on 6 August 1986 H.R.H. Samdech NORODOM SIHANOUK, drew the attention of the world community to the agonizing process of Vietnamization of Cambodia as follows:

"The ongoing process of Vietnamization of Cambodia through the settlement of hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese nationals in key Cambodian areas must remain the main focus of international concern..."

(iii) In His 20 October 1986 address before the 41st Session of the United Nations General Assembly on item entitled "the Situation in Kampuchea", H.R.H. Samdech NORODOM SIHANOUK pointed out the true nature of the treaties between Vietnam and its puppet regime as follows:

"Those 'agreements' and 'treaties' are actually masquerades of the same type as 'meetings' or 'conferences' of the so-called 'three Indochinese countries', aimed at on the one hand at showing the world the legitimacy of the Phnom Penh puppet regime, and, on the other, at laying the so-called 'legal' foundations of the gradual absorption of Kampuchea by Vietnam."

(iv) Quite recently, in His interview in Khmer with the "Voice of America" broadcast on 6 September 1989, H.R.H. Samdech NORODOM SIHANOUK again pinpointed this danger as follows:

"Now Vietnam has announced that it would withdraw all its troops from Cambodia by the end of September 1989. Actually, it has tried to mislead the world community. Vietnam will withdraw only some 20,000 to 30,000 troops from Cambodia, but there will remain in

Cambodia nearly or even over 100,000 Vietnamese troops disguised as Khmer soldiers in the army of the Heng Samrin-Hun Sen regime.

"Moreover, there are more than one million Vietnamese settlers who have come to plunder our lands and to transform our country into a colony of Vietnam. If the Cambodian patriots do not wage the struggle against the Vietnamese colonialists, our Cambodia will face the danger of disappearing as was the case of Lower Cambodia (present South-Vietnam) which had been annexed into Vietnam.

"By the same token, if we were to allow the Vietnamese and Heng Samrin-Hun Sen regime which serves Vietnam's interests to do whatever they want, that is to be masters of the whole Indochina, Cambodia would become in a not distant future a country with the Vietnamese forming the majority of the population. Cambodia would then become another Lower Cambodia, that is simply a province or a part of Vietnam".

2. H.E. Mr. SON SANN,
Prime Minister of the Coalition Government
of Democratic Kampuchea (CGDK)

H.E. Mr. SON SANN, Prime Minister of the CGDK, has on his part pointed out time and again the danger of the presence of more than one million Vietnamese settlers in Cambodia.

(i) In his interview with Xinhua News Agency broadcast by Radio Beijing on 10 August 1989, Prime Minister SON SANN stressed that:

"The Vietnamese settlers make up one fifth of the Cambodian population. So there are more than one million Vietnamese settlers. Among them, one in five is armed. Actually, those armed people are Vietnamese troops in civilian clothes. If those Vietnamese settlers are not withdrawn together with the Vietnamese troops from Cambodia, we cannot say that the withdrawal is completed."

(ii) In his message to the Cambodian people broadcast by "The Voice of the Khmer" on 14 September 1989 before he left for the 44th Session of the UNGA, Prime Minister SON SANN again stressed as follows:

"As far as the Vietnamese settlers are concerned, I would like our brothers and sisters to be very, very cautious. When they annexed the Kingdom of Champa in the 17th century, and later on when they also annexed Kampuchea Krom (Lower Cambodia) which is today's South-Vietnam, the Vietnamese used the same manoeuvres by sending Vietnamese settlers to establish themselves in Kampuchea Krom. When their number grew very high, the Cambodians opposed them. The Vietnamese used troops to invade and occupy Kampuchea Krom. After the invasion, they sent in more Vietnamese settlers. Thus, starting as a minority group, they became the majority in Kampuchea Krom. That was the way we lost Kampuchea Krom.

"Now the Vietnamese are doing the same thing in Cambodia. I would like our brothers and sisters to know that those Vietnamese settlers have come to plunder our lands, properties and jobs. Among those settlers, a great number are Vietnamese soldiers sent by the Hanoi authorities to take control of Cambodia. This is the way the Vietnamese want to transform Cambodia into a Vietnamese province."

3. ASEAN joint communique on the situation in Kampuchea, issued at Kuala Lumpur on 9 July 1985 (Excerpts)

"The Foreign Ministers noted with serious concern the oppressive conditions under which the Kampuchean people have to live under Vietnamese occupation, especially the practice of compelling civilians to work in the war zones in the country, which had caused numerous casualties. They shared the serious apprehension of the Kampuchean people about the dangers of continuing demographic changes in their country as a result of Vietnamese settlements. They also continued to be concerned at the ongoing process of Vietnamization of Kampuchea. They noted that increasing dissatisfaction with Vietnamese colonization has continued to drive masses of Kampuchean people to the Thai-Kampuchean border."

4. United Nations resolutions:

The General Assembly of the United Nations has over the past several years pointed out that it is:

"seriously concerned about reported demographic changes being imposed in Kampuchea by foreign occupation forces". (UNGA Resolution A/43/19 adopted by 122 votes against 19).

5. Testimony of a Vietnamese soldier, Lê Thuong, born on 1 January 1960 in the town of Huế, Binh Tri Thien province, and living in Ho Chi Minh City (Excerpts)

"When I was in the army, a large number of Vietnamese soldiers of regiment 2 in Phnom Penh were sent to learn the Khmer language. After learning khmer, some of them were assigned to the administrative departments responsible for villages, districts and provinces, while others were assigned to units of Khmer soldiers in the Heng Samrin army (the army of the puppet administration in Phnom Penh) in brigades 92 and 93. They only changed uniforms. That was a cynical action by the leadership in Hanoi designed to deceive the international community. As for troop withdrawals, only the wounded and the disabled were sent back to Vietnam. Apart from that, there were only troop movements from the front to the rear and vice-versa.

"The aim of assigning Vietnamese soldiers to the Khmer units of the Heng Samrin army, and to brigades 92 and 93, is to continue the occupation of Kampuchea and incorporate Kampuchea and Laos in the

Indochinese Federation. That measure is also aimed at preparing for the possibility of elections in Kampuchea.

"The leadership in Hanoi has also sent a very large number of Vietnamese nationals to settle in Kampuchea. These Vietnamese settlers are either construction workers, street hawkers, carpenters or small shopkeepers, but they are secretly organized, and they meet every month or every fortnight. They have acquired Khmer nationality and have the same rights as Khmers. They have been organized into groups of 'patriotic Vietnamese for Kampuchea'. These Vietnamese nationals are ready to participate in any elections organized by the four Kampuchean parties". (UN document A/44/92)

6. Testimony of a Vietnamese settler, Ho Tac Kha, living in Kampuchea, 28 years old, living in the fourth quarter of the town of Rat Xu, Kien Thanh district, Rach Gia province (South-Vietnam)

"I arrived in Kampuchea on 28 July 1988. I have been in Phnom Penh, Kompong Chhnang and Battambang."

(a) Concerning Vietnamese soldiers disguised as Khmer soldiers (of the puppet army), Ho Tac Kha said:

"In the capital, Phnom Penh: In the command posts, Vietnamese soldiers wearing the uniforms of Khmer soldiers (of the puppet army) speak Khmer among themselves. At the Technical School near the fuel dump, there is a large Vietnamese barracks, barracks No 16, an important rallying point for Vietnamese soldiers recently arrived from Vietnam and awaiting assignment to the various battlefields in Kampuchea.

"In Kompong Chhnang: There are approximately 1,200 Vietnamese soldiers wearing the uniforms of Khmer soldiers and stationed along with Khmer soldiers (of the puppet army) in positions along the length of the 3km road linking the town to the airfield. These Vietnamese soldiers speak Khmer. In these positions, comings and goings are very strictly monitored."

(b) Concerning Vietnamese settlers with Khmer national identity cards, he further said:

"In Phnom Penh: These Vietnamese settlers live along the Tonle Sap river from Chrui Changwar bridge to Kilometre 6, by barracks No 16. There are organized into groups or pockets of 100 people each, and are secretly armed. Others have established themselves in the old market. North and south of Chrui Changwar bridge, along the Tonle Sap river, the Vietnamese settlers have built many houses."

"In Battambang: Along the river and near the former market, close to the town, there is a large barracks for Vietnamese soldiers en route to assignments in the battlefields in the west of Kampuchea. Many Vietnamese settlers live near the barracks. They are secretly

organized and armed. In fact, they represent a back-up force for the Vietnamese soldiers in the barracks. They meet once a week. They belong to the 'association of patriotic Vietnamese for Kampuchea' and have Khmer nationality. They pay monthly subscriptions." (UN document A/44/92)

7. Newspaper reports and scholars:

- James Webb of The Washington Post (14 April 1983):

"At present, 200,000 Vietnamese soldiers occupy Cambodia. Behind them, following a policy dictated by Hanoi, hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese are beginning to establish themselves in the country. In history there are few more obvious examples of a 'final solution' devised to blot out a national and ethnic identity. The Cambodians... are now being absorbed."

- Charles Antoine de Nerclat, an AFP reporter (22 April 1985):

"The number of Vietnamese who have come to settle in Cambodia has been unceasingly increased... A simple walk on the bank of the Tonle Sap river enables us to notice the existence of allotments occupied mainly by the Vietnamese on several kilometres... In Phnom Penh, Vietnamese families have opened rows of small stores... Around the capital, the villages (are) inhabited mainly if not entirely by Vietnamese."

- Dr. Esmeralda Lucioli, a medical doctor, in an article entitled "Daily life in Cambodia: A personal account" (Indochina Report: April-June 1988):

"History was rewritten with a new interpretation of the facts... The friendship between Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos was portrayed as a centenary reality. Vietnamese as a foreign language was taught in secondary schools and also among civil servants... The occasional plays were written to illustrate revolutionary concepts and to show the generosity of the Vietnamese 'liberators' of the country."

- Marie Alexandrine Martin, in a booklet entitled "Vietnamized Cambodia: A silent ethnocide" (Indochina Report: July-September 1986):

"During political lecture, the Khmers are taught that there is no boundary between Cambodia and Vietnam as they are brotherly countries."

"During the political lectures, the Vietnamese experts asked us (a civil servant said) to be understanding regarding the Khmer-Vietnamese boundary. They told us not to think of the previous frontiers, but to plainly think of this frontier as the 'new Cambodia' frontier controlled by the Vietnamese forces."

* * *

CHAPTER III

Consequences of Vietnam's genocidal policy on Cambodia

The Vietnamese genocidal policy has had over the past almost 11 years very adverse consequences on Cambodia and the Cambodian people.

The sending of more than one million Vietnamese settlers to occupy rich lands of Cambodia has brought about boundless sufferings to the Cambodian people because these settlers have plundered their rice-fields, farms, houses and villages, forcing them to flee their own homes and to become "displaced persons" in their own country or to seek refuge abroad.

Furthermore, although the number of Vietnamese settlers has not reached the top level of Hanoi's original plan because of the struggle of the Cambodian people led by the CNR and the CGDK with H.R.H. Samdech NORODOM SIHANOUK as their Leader, it has nevertheless brought about drastic demographic changes in Cambodia. As a result of the pressure by the Vietnamese occupying military and administrative forces, far-reaching changes are being made in the fields of conception, way of thinking, culture, clothing, language, customs, etc... In short, this has resulted in a deep change of Cambodia's society, fraught with unpredictable consequences. This has prompted the international community to view its serious concern at the demographic changes in Cambodia, as expressed in the successive United Nations General Assembly resolutions on "The situation in Kampuchea".

Hong Kong, with a population of 5 million, has to face complex economic, social and even security problems created by the presence of 50,000 Vietnamese refugees (boat people). The question being raised is: How much concern would one million Vietnamese boat people cause to Hong Kong?

Thailand, too, has to face national security, economic and social problems created by Vietnamese refugees. Other Southeast Asian countries which have been giving shelter to Vietnamese boat people experience the same problems. Even Japan, an economic power, with only a limited number of Vietnamese refugees, has expressed her concern.

In view of the above, one can realize the magnitude, scope and gravity of the problem posed by the presence of more than one million Vietnamese settlers to the national security, economy, social affairs and even the survival of Cambodia who has only 7 million people.

* * *

CHAPTER IV

If Vietnam succeeded in exterminating the Cambodian people and nation, what would be the consequences on other Southeast Asian countries?

As can be seen earlier, the original plan of the Hanoi authorities is much more ambitious than the one they have actually achieved. According to this original plan, the number of Vietnamese settlers would be equal to or slightly higher than that of the Cambodian population itself by 1989 at the latest.

Besides, the plan to annex Laos is closely linked to that of Cambodia. The Vietnam-Laos treaty of 1977 abolished the Lao-Vietnamese border. But Vietnam has not been able to absorb Laos completely because it has also Cambodia to absorb. Should Vietnam be in a position to absorb Cambodia within the 10-year timeframe mapped out originally, it would certainly speed up its annexation of Laos.

Also according to this plan, Vietnam would have dominated completely Indochina from 1983 to 1989. If it were so, what would be Vietnam's political, manpower and military influence over Southeast Asia and its consequences on South China Sea and the Straits of Malacca? And what would then be the strategic position of the Soviet Union in the region?

Vietnam has the reputation of not respecting or abiding by treaties or agreements it has signed. A case in point was the promise made by the Hanoi leadership to H.R.H. Samdech NORODOM SIHANOUK. They had solemnly proclaimed in writing that they would respect the status of Cambodians in Kampuchea Krom (present South-Vietnam) as a minority group with their own rights, customs and ways of life. Now, what happened to those Cambodians in South-Vietnam? They have almost been completely Vietnamized through the policy of forced assimilation: their grand-parents, parents and children have become Vietnamese citizens. They have their names changed into Vietnamese ones. Even the names of villages have been changed. Everything has become Vietnamese.

At present, the Vietnamese have failed to repeat this in Cambodia because of the hard-fought struggle of the Cambodian people and the CNR under the leadership of H.R.H. Samdech NORODOM SIHANOUK, together with the support of the international community. Their complete annexation of Laos has also failed. As a result, the Vietnamese southward thrust has been held in check.

However, this does not mean that the danger of Cambodia being absorbed or obliterated by Vietnam, and its consequences on South-East Asia have disappeared. Any false step would help Vietnam to achieve its objective in Indochina, and subsequently in South-East Asia, thus causing a brutal change in the balance of forces in the region with unpredictable consequences.

* * *

CONCLUSION

The assessment of the consequences of the Vietnamese genocidal policy against Cambodia and the Cambodian people on the international community is not a guessing game. It would become a real danger if Vietnam were allowed to turn black into white, to portray its victim as genocidal criminals and to wash its hands of the actual genocidal crimes it has been committing against the people of Cambodia.

The struggle of the Cambodian people, the CNR and the CGDK is not only against the genocidal policy of Vietnam and for the survival of Cambodia, but it is also against the strategic policy of Vietnam and the Soviet Union. The support of the world community to that struggle constitutes both a precious contribution to the survival of Cambodia and to preventing the Soviet Union and Vietnam from imposing their domination and control on other countries.

By the same token, the continuing struggle of the Cambodian people and the CNR, as well as the support of the world community to that struggle will have the same strategic significance.

The Cambodian people and the CGDK, under the leadership of H.R.H. Samdech NORODOM SIHANOUK, remain forever grateful to friendly countries and peoples, in particular those of ASEAN, for their invaluable support which has been a great encouragement to the Cambodian people in their struggle for national survival, independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. We would like to call on them to continue to provide the same support until a comprehensive and just political solution is reached. Such a solution must secure:

- The withdrawal of all categories of Vietnamese forces from Cambodia, whether disguised or concealed, under the effective control and verification of the United Nations;
- The formation of a provisional quadripartite government, on an equal footing, under the leadership of H.R.H. Samdech NORODOM SIHANOUK. That provisional government shall have the task to assist the United Nations in controlling and verifying the Vietnamese withdrawal and in checking whether there still remain Vietnamese concealed forces and caches of arms in Cambodia, and to organize free, fair and democratic elections under the supervision of the United Nations, enabling the Cambodian people to exercise their sacred right to self-determination.

Any government installed by Vietnam is unacceptable to the Cambodian people and the world community. Only a Cambodian national government genuinely elected by the Cambodian people is acceptable. Needless to say, the Cambodian people can choose freely their own national government only after the complete withdrawal of all categories of Vietnamese forces from Cambodia and the formation of a provisional quadripartite government, on an equal footing, under the leadership of H.R.H. Samdech NORODOM SIHANOUK, who is the only personality accepted by all.

30 October 1989

Department of Press and Information
of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs
of the CGDK

APPENDIX II

In 1979 the Cambodian population had to flee the Vietnamese invaders. By the end of 1979 and in early 1980 the world had been appalled by gripping scenes of hundreds of thousands of starving Cambodian refugees arriving at the Thai-Cambodian border. Hundreds of thousands of them had succumbed before they could reach the border.

Besides, crops and food-stocks were systematically destroyed, plundered, sent to Vietnam or kept for the exclusive use of the occupying forces. Thus, in addition to their sophisticated weapons, the Vietnamese invaders deliberately created famine in an attempt to wipe out any resistance of the Cambodian people.

The following pictures were taken by a Japanese journalist in 1980:

難民・飢餓の国境線 チュエイポン!

撮影 = 三留理男

編集・構成 = 粟津潔 + 週刊ポスト

小学館

CAMBODIA



In the wake of the Vietnamese invasion in 1979, hundreds of thousands of Kampuchean people, mostly women and children, died of famine deliberately created and used by the Vietnamese aggressors.

Pictures were taken by Japanese Photographer TADAO MITOME, in 1980



Japanese Photographer TADAO MITOME, in 1980