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THE SITUATION IN KAMPUCHEA
INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION TO
AVERT NEW FLOWS OF REFUGEES
IMPORTANCE OF THE UNIVERSAL REALIZATION
OF THE RIGHT OF PEOPLES TO
SELF-DETERMINATION AND OF THE SPEEDY
GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL
COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES FOR THE EFFECTIVE
GUARANTEE AND OBSERVANCE OF HUMAN RIGHTS
INTERNATIONAL COVENANTS ON HUMAN RIGHTS
OFFICE OF THE UNITED NATIONS HIGH
COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES

SECURITY COUNCIL
Fortieth year

Letter dated 23 September 1985 from the Permanent Representative
of Democratic Kampuchea to the United Nations addressed to the
Secretary-General

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith, for your information, a document entitled "The Vietnamization of Kampuchea: a process of absorption of a people and nation".

I should be most grateful if you would have this text circulated as an official document of the General Assembly, under agenda items 22, 80, 93, 104 and 105, and of the Security Council.

(Signed) THIOUNN Prasith
Ambassador
Permanent Representative of
Democratic Kampuchea

ANNEX

THE VIETNAMIZATION OF KAMPUCHEA:
A PROCESS OF ABSORPTION OF A PEOPLE AND NATION

(a brief summing up through official statements and the media)

A. THE REAL OBJECTIVE OF VIETNAMESE
INVASION AND OCCUPATION OF KAMPUCHEA:
INDOCHINESE FEDERATION

1. The real objective of Vietnam has been always to annex Kampuchea into a Vietnamese "Indochinese Federation" which will become later on the "Great Vietnam". *

The Vietnamese Communist Party was named at the beginning, "Indochinese Communist Party". In 1951, it changed its name to "Vietnamese Workers' Party". Article 12 of Chapter Three of the Manifesto and Platform of the Party issued in February 1951, reads as follows:

"... the people of Vietnam are willing to enter into long term co-operation with the people of Laos and Cambodia, with a view to bringing about an independent, free, strong and prosperous federation of the States of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia."

A few weeks after the publication of that document, at the "National Congress of Unification" which merged the Vietminh Front into the Lien Viet, Ho Chi Minh stated: "I am all the more happy that our people have been joined by the two brother peoples, Cambodia and Laos. We are going to realize soon the great union of Vietnam-Laos-Cambodia." (quoted from "Voice of Vietnam", 19 March 1951)

Even more explicitly, a "top secret" Vietnamese Workers' Party directive circulated 8 months later informed Party members that "later on, when conditions permit this to be carried out, the three revolutionary parties of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos will be reunited to form a single Party."

On 24 February 1951, Vietnam News Agency wrote:
"... The Vietminh League is now planning to unite the national united fronts of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia into a national united front of Indochina, which will be called the Indochina National Independence League." 1/

See document A/40/636

1/ "Vietnamese Communism, its origins and developments" by Robert F. Turner - Hoover Institution Press - Stanford University - California

2. "... the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea ... must build ties of special solidarity, strategic alliance and close combat coordination according to a common strategic plan..." *Indochina is a single battlefield*". That is a strategic view point, a major lesson and a law governing the existence and development of the three fraternal countries. ... The resolution of the 5th Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam points out: *"The special relationship among Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea conforms to the law governing the development of the revolution in the three countries. It has a vital significance for the destiny of the three nations..."* " 2/

That is the essence of the doctrine of the "Indochina Federation" and of the so-called "Vietnam-Kampuchea-Laos special friendship and special solidarity".

3. "The Vietnamese in their historical background were not as communist, but as Vietnamese. In the 10th century, Vietnam was just a small tribe, a small nation, a small country near China called Tonkin. But after that, since they were ambitious people and they liked war, they went South, and made war against the Kingdom of Champa. They swallowed up the Kingdom of Champa which became in the 15th century Central Vietnam. Central Vietnam was a Muslim Kingdom before the 15th century called Champa. After conquering Champa, from the 15th century up to 18th century, they went South further and swallowed up South Cambodia which became in the 19th century South Vietnam. We, Cambodians, still call South Vietnam: South Cambodia (Kampuchea Krom).

"This means that the Vietnamese are very expansionists. If one studies the history of the Vietnamese, one can see that from a small country near the border of China, Vietnam became a big country with the North, the Central and the South. The Central was a Muslim Kingdom called Champa which was swallowed up by the Vietnamese, and the South was South Cambodia (Kampuchea Krom) which also was swallowed up by the Vietnamese.

"And now, since they have problems at home --overpopulated with nearly 60 millions-- and since Cambodia is underpopulated (5 millions) and weak but rich in agriculture, and when the Vietnamese lack fish, lack rice, lack land in Vietnam, they can find all those things in Cambodia. When they need to have one part of their population leave Vietnam to occupy foreign land, they send them naturally to Laos and to Cambodia ... they need what Hitler used to call a "vital space" : to expand the land to accommodate the surplus of their population inside Vietnam." 3/

2/ *"The Vietnam People's Army and its lofty international duty in friendly Cambodia"* by General Le Duc Anh, Commander-in-Chief of Vietnamese forces in Kampuchea, and published by the Vietnam People's Army monthly magazine Tap Chi Quan Doi Nhan Dan (December 1984)

3/ His Royal Highness Samdech NORODOM Sihanouk, President of Democratic Kampuchea in his interview with Peter McGill, The Observer , May 22, 1985

B. THE PROCESS OF VIETNAMIZATION OF KAMPUCHEA

4. "The present situation in Kampuchea has been worsening as a result of the fact that over and above 200,000 Vietnamese soldiers and thousands of "technicians" and "advisors" from Hanoi, who control a part of our country, there are about 600,000 Vietnamese settlers who have been sent to our country to exploit our land and rice-fields, our villages, forests, lakes and rivers, our coasts and other natural resources." 4/

5. "The purpose of this transfer is to gradually populate Kampuchea with Vietnamese nationals and to conquer the Khmer people through sheer numbers with a view to reducing them to an ethnic minority in a Kampuchea to be incorporated in an "Indo-Chinese Federation" dominated by Vietnam.

'It must be stressed that the Vietnamese settlers in question are no ordinary immigrants. They are organized in units, divided into family groups and armed and they are being used by the Vietnamese occupation forces to implement their policy of systematic Vietnamization of Kampuchea." 5/

6. "..., the Vietnamese forces of aggression and colonization have caused immense destructions to Kampuchea and brought about death, mourning, sorrow as well as untold sufferings to the Kampuchean people by deliberately creating famine and using the most sophisticated conventional and chemical weapons. Hundreds of thousands of Kampuchean people have been killed. The socio-economic environment has been ceaselessly deteriorating. The people of Kampuchea are exhausted. A great number of them, fleeing the Vietnamese invasion, have become refugees in foreign countries or in their own, in the liberated areas, controlled by the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea.

"Furthermore, since 1980, Vietnam has undertaken the physical "Vietnamization" of Kampuchea. Having driven Kampuchean peasants from their lands and their ancestral villages, they have gradually and systematically replaced them by hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese settlers who have expropriated their natural wealth and resources. Entire regions of Kampuchea are today reserved exclusively for these settlers. This is not a case of ordinary migration but rather a real policy of planned resettlement of the Vietnamese population aimed at altering the land's legal status and the social, cultural and economic environment, and creating a population imbalance which ultimately threatens Kampuchea's national identity. There is no worse misfortune for a people and a nation than to lose their identity.

"In its history, Vietnam has demonstrated what it has been capable of. It has already "swallowed up" the Islamic Kingdom of Champa, making it the present Central Vietnam, after having annihilated the Cham

4/ Address by His Royal Highness Prince NORODOM Sihanouk, President of Democratic Kampuchea, before the 38th session of the United Nations General Assembly - 4 October 1983

5/ Statement by the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea - 13 October 1983 - UN document A/38/510

population. It has afterwards "swallowed up" a great part of Kampuchean territory in the delta of the Mekong river to make it as the present South Vietnam, where several millions of Kampuchean people having been "Vietnamized", have already lost their national identity." 6/

7. Since the beginning of this year, more than 100,000 newly arrived Vietnamese settlers have been added to the more than 600,000 already in place.

"... recent visitors to Cambodia have reported seeing Vietnamese settlers who were clearly new comers and who spoke no Khmer, the name of the language and ethnic group of the Cambodian majority... A Western relief agency official who lived in Phnom Penh a few years ago said after a recent return trip that he was "amazed" at the number of Vietnamese settlers he saw. "The traders of farm product tend to be Vietnamese, not Khmer anymore", he said" 7/

"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 Vietnamese on several Kilometers... One interlocutor met by chance and asked about the Vietnamese presence, immediately said that he would have problem with the police if it could be proven that he had discussed this matter with a foreigner. "The Vietnamese are everywhere. They have come here in Cambodia as shop-keepers in the markets, workers or peasants," that interlocutor pointed out... In Phnom Penh, in the heart of the city, Vietnamese families have opened rows of small stores --draperies, hardwares or restaurants-- where the photo of Ho Chi Minh occupies a place of honour inside ... Around the capital, the AFP correspondent could also observe the villages inhabited mainly if not entirely by Vietnamese... And he added that according to Cambodian witnesses, the Vietnamese civilians arrive often in the region of Phnom Penh in truck-loads..." 8/

"Willibald Pahr, the former Austrian Foreign Minister who is now Chairman of the International Conference on Kampuchea, ..., said at a news conference here that information he had gathered indicated that at a minimum, 500,000 Vietnamese had been settled in Cambodia, a country of 6 million to 7 million people. "And I have heard figures much higher," Mr. Pahr added. "This must be of concern" he said, "to all those trying to re-establish the independence of Cambodia" " 9/

8. "Absolutely Vietnam wants Cambodia as its permanent colony. Because there is a process of Vietnamization of Cambodia: Vietnamization of

6/ *Statement of His Royal Highness Prince NORODOM Sihanouk, President of Democratic Kampuchea, on the question of population - 25 April 1984 for the International Conference on population, Mexico 6-13 August 1984*

7/ "Vietnam's Vietnam? Hanoi's forces bogged down next door" - William Branigin in The Washington Post - April 25, 1985

8/ "Les Vietnamiens sont de plus en plus nombreux au Cambodge" - AFP special envoy Charles Antoine de Nerciat - AFP April 22, 1985

9/ "Vietnamese influx in Cambodia stirs concern" by Barbara Crossette in The New York Times, September 9, 1984

educational system, Vietnamization of the population by marriage mixture, Vietnamization of the economy, Vietnamization of the administrative apparatus" 10/

9. In the regions still under the control of the occupiers, the "Vietnamization" in all fields continues unabated. In schools, meetings and public places, the inculcation of the doctrine of "Indochina Federation" with Ho Chi Minh proclaimed as "the father of Indochina" and the doctrine of "special friendship Vietnam-Kampuchea" and "special friendship Vietnam-Kampuchea-Laos" aims at eliminating the nationalism and national identity of the people of Kampuchea.

The history of Kampuchea is being rewritten accordingly by the Vietnamese. "Most of the teaching books are published in Vietnam. One of them, used by 4th grade teachers (6th grade in our schools) shows on its cover a unified "Indochina", all in red, in testimony of the brotherly ties which unite the 3 countries. Therefore, Vietnam rewrites the regional history and Cambodia loses her identity in it." 11/

"Nearly six years after the Vietnamese invasion of Kampuchea, the Vietnamization process is now well under way. The first Indochinese Culture Conference, convened in Phnom Penh in April 1984, concluded with a statement projecting "the establishment -an important objective- of a new culture, which must be popularized in all localities of each country." In fact, the Vietnamization of schooling is accelerating, while the Vietnamese advisors are encouraged to take Khmer wives. Regular pools of young Khmers, as well as young Vietnamese, aged from 14 to 20, are being given six-months of indoctrination training, in order to propagate all over Kampuchea the new ideological mould, based on the cult of Ho Chi Minh, the defence and promotion of the so-called collective mastery, the Indochinese solidarity and socialist internationalism.

"The Vietnamization of education and culture in Kampuchea constitutes only the most visible aspect of the process. In fact, the Phnom Penh regime is today locked, completely, within an integrated system of domination that the Vietnamese Communist Party has constantly learnt and improved upon through its experience in South Vietnam and in Laos." 12/

10. The Vietnamization of the administration apparatus of the Phnom Penh regime is well-known. Recently, Reuter correspondent, Joseph de Rienzo, wrote from Thailand in a cable dated July 25, 1985 : " A doctor who ran Kampuchea's largest hospital has fled to Thailand to escape what he said the Vietnamese plans to colonize his country. Dr. So Saren, former Vice-President

10/ His Royal Highness Prince NORODOM Sihanouk, President of Democratic Kampuchea in his interview with Peter Megill, The Observer, May 22 1985

11/ Marie Alexandrine Martin, naturalist and ethnologist, Research scientist at CNRS (France) in "Le processus de Vietnamisation au Cambodge" in Politique Internationale, No 28 - Summer 1984 - page 189

12/ "The Vietnamization of Kampuchea: a new model of colonialism" in Indochina Report - Pre-publication issue - October 1984 - page 16

of the Kampuchean-Soviet Friendship Hospital, told reporters ... he decided to flee ... because "the Vietnamese intend to kill us off" ... So, who made an official visit to the Soviet Union in January, said "Vietnamese officials took part in all policy decision in Kampuchea. Vietnamese Deputy-Minister of Health Nguyen Tang Am was permanently attached to Kampuchea's Health Ministry", he added. Diplomats in Bangkok confirmed Vietnamese Deputy-Ministers were generally assigned to all Kampuchean Ministries."

"... The highest positions are assigned to those who have the best knowledge of the Vietnamese language. But it is not enough: the middle and low cadres attend in Phnom Penh a political reorientation courses; those in high position are sent to Vietnam (Hanoi, Ho Chi Minh-ville, Thu-Duc ...) so as to receive a political training during several months based essentially on marxism-leninism. Despite the important post they fill after the training, they are not entirely trustworthy since even minor sentence written by them must have the approval of a Vietnamese advisor." 13/

11. All the provinces of Kampuchea have been twinned with Vietnamese provinces in order to control the natural resources of Kampuchea and dispossess the Kampuchean people. "This technique allows the Vietnamese to reap the full benefit of the national resources of Kampuchea under the umbrella of the so-called "shining solidarity between Vietnam and Kampuchea", since the twinning process imposes all kinds of accompanying obligations upon the Khmer people." 14/

"It is not a coincidence that the rich province of Battambang is coupled with the over-populated region of Qua-Nam/Danang. Indeed, a good part of rice from this Khmer province is sent to Vietnam in order, the authorities said, to help the inhabitants of Qua-Nam/Danang to live." 15/

12. "In the early eighteenth century, when the Vietnamese became the masters of Cambodia, they applied themselves in every possible way to destroying its culture and obliterating its past; they razed the Bhuddist temples of the Lesser Vehicle and replaced them with their pagodas of the Greater Vehicle. They even changed the colour of the robe worn by the bonzes. Cambodian officials had to wear the costume of the mandarins of the Court of Hué. The army occupied even the smallest villages, and the soldiers took Cambodian women as their wives and concubines. As they do now..." Jean Larteguy adds, "For them conquest meant, yesterday as today, the death of Cambodia and total Vietnamization. In 1982 they only have to take more precautions than was necessary in 1810..." 16/

13/ Marie Alexandrine Martin, *op.cit.* p. 185

14/ "The Vietnamization of Kampuchea : a new model of colonialism",
op.cit. p. 10

15/ Marie Alexandrine Martin, *op.cit.* p. 187

16/ Jean Larteguy in Paris Match, November 26, 1982

13. "What is at stake in Cambodia is the fate not just of a country but of a civilization. The Vietnamese are already colonizing Cambodia with hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese "settlers". They have begun to "Vietnamize" not just the countryside but the culture of Cambodia" 17/

14. "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 who have been almost eliminated are now being absorbed." 18/

15. "Any assessment of the situation in Kampuchea must be based on an in-depth knowledge of how the Vietnamese domination system works and what are the basic trends at work within this country. In Hanoi's view, the Vietnamization of Kampuchea, as well as that of Laos, constitutes undoubtedly the last phase of a strategy which would assure the VCP the final victory: the total domination of Indochina. And as long as the current leadership runs Vietnam --almost the same leaders who have drawn and carried on the Great Design of an Indochinese federation-- most probably, there will be no change in Hanoi's perspective." 19/

C. THE RESOLVE OF THE PEOPLE OF KAMPUCHEA
TO PRESERVE THEIR INDEPENDENCE AND
NATIONAL IDENTITY

16. During his visit to refugee holding centres located near Thailand's northeastern border on June 22, 1985, H.E. Abdul Kadir Sheikh, Deputy Foreign Minister of Malaysia said: "When Hanoi makes a statement, it talks as if the Thai-Kampuchean border is the Thai-Vietnamese border and there is no Kampuchea already. We have to remind them that they have no business to be here in the first place." 20/

17/ "US Congressman Stephen J. Solarz in 'Help the Democratic Resistance' in The Washington Post - May 7, 1985

18/ James Webb, in The Washington Post, April 14, 1983

19/ "The Vietnamization of Kampuchea: a new model of colonialism" op.cit. p. 16

20/ Malaysian Digest, June 30, 1985

17. "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 "*Indochinese Federation*" for which the Party of Hanoi, called Vietminh, has so strenuously fought.

"But this "*Federation*" in which Vietnam will play the role of master and Kampuchea and Laos the role of docile satellites, we cannot accept it at any price. Our people and our Government will never renounce our struggle for national liberation until complete withdrawal of all Vietnamese forces from our territory and the restoration of our right to self-determination...

"We, Kampuchean patriots, we have no other choice if we want to gain back our country: we must struggle." 21/

18. "However, this doesn't mean that there is not hope for Kampuchea and its people. This is because of two major reasons: Firstly, it is predictable that the Vietnamization process is also producing its own "*perverse effects*", thus creating a generalised enmity against the Vietnamese occupying forces. Secondly, since the formation of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, the Khmer people have shown their preferences, thus creating the conditions for steady development of the Khmer resistance movement." 22/

19. "Today, it is beyond doubt that the Vietnamese are settling down in Cambodia. Without doubt the Hanoi leaders hoped that by brandishing the scarecrow "*Khmer Rouges*", the Cambodians would in the long run, end by giving in like the Laotians did. Now, on the contrary, difficulties have been increasing year after year. That is why, instead of carrying out gradually the planned measures, Hanoi has been compelled to Vietnamize openly, and with brutality in all fields (political, economic, cultural, military), at the risk of being charged by the international community with violation of Human rights. The people (of Kampuchea) who are suffering all kinds of humiliations and exactions, are admirable of dignity in the present terrible ordeal. And if the Khmers wish to find out some agreements with their dangerous neighbour for the future, they have not omit to specify that they will never accept to be the *bâmreu* -the servants- of the Vietnamese." 23/

21/ His Royal Highness Samdech NORODOM Sihanouk, President of Democratic Kampuchea, address before the 37th session of the UNGA - October 26, 1982

22/ "*The Vietnamization of Kampuchea : a new model of colonialism*"
op.cit. p. 16

23/ "*Marie Alexandrine Martin*" op.cit. p. 189-190