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THE SITUATION IN KAMPUCHEA

Letter dated 12 November 1979 from the Permanent Representative of
Viet Nam to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General

I have the honour to forward herewith to Your Excellency the memorandum by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam on the discussion by the General Assembly of the so-called "situation in Kampuchea" and request you to have this letter and its enclosure circulated as a document of the Assembly under agenda item 123.

(Signed) HA VAN LAU
Ambassador Extraordinary and
Plenipotentiary,
Permanent Representative of the
Socialist Republic of Viet Nam

ANNEX

MEMORANDUM OF 10 NOVEMBER 1979
BY THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
OF THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF VIET NAM
ON THE U.N. GENERAL ASSEMBLY'S DISCUSSION
ON THE SO-CALLED " SITUATION IN KAMPUCHEA "

In the forthcoming days, the U.N. General Assembly is going to discuss the so-called "situation in Kampuchea" at the request of ASEAN countries. As far as the matter is concerned, the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea, in the September 21, 1979 message to the U.N. Secretary General and President of the U.N. General Assembly's 34th session, clearly stated :

- There is no so-called problem of "Situation in Kampuchea". The fascist genocidal Pol Pot - Ieng Sary regime, Peking's henchmen, has been overthrown by the Kampuchean people. Since January 7, 1979, the Kampuchean people have become masters of their destiny. The People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea is the only, authentic and legitimate representative of the Kampuchean people, and is governing the whole country. This situation is irreversible.

- All debates concerning Kampuchea without the agreement of the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea and the participation of its representatives are violations of the sovereignty and brazen interferences in the internal affairs of the Kampuchean people. All resolutions relating to Kampuchea, resulting from such debates, are illegal and completely invalid.

- The Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam fully supports this just stand of the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea, and once more thinks it necessary to make clear to the public the true situation in this part of the world.

1. At the beginning of this year, the world witnessed a most profound change in Kampuchea : The Kampuchean people, under the leadership of the National United Front for Salvation of Kampuchea, rose up to overthrow the Pol Pot - Ieng Sary clique, eliminating a fascist genocidal regime condemned and cursed by all mankind. The entire nation of Kampuchea, delivered from hell, are masters of their life and country. Kampuchea, once a new-type colony, an instrument of Peking's expansionism for waging war and carrying out aggression has become an independent and free nation, a positive factor for ensuring peace and stability in South-east Asia.

Every man of conscience in the world welcomes the victory of the Kampuchean people. Only the Peking ruling circle, the U.S. imperialists and reactionary forces are grudging of that historic change in Kampuchea. They continue to help, by every possible means, directly or indirectly, the remnants of Pol Pot - Ieng Sary, at the same time, under the signboard of "safeguarding the principles of refraining from military intervention in other countries", "protecting the right to self-determination of the Kampuchean people", they have spared no effort to defend the Pol Pot - Ieng Sary clique who have been overthrown by the Kampuchean people, they are demanding withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea and a political solution to the so-called Kampuchean question, but they, in fact, are making an attempt to restore the genocidal Pol Pot regime and once more impose it on the Kampuchean people contrary to the latter's aspirations.

In order to justify their support for the Pol Pot - Ieng Sary notorious murderers, oppose the Kampuchean people's right to self-determination, some people have argued that the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary regime, though repulsive, is still a legitimate one.

It should be pointed out that the fascist genocidal Pol Pot-Ieng Sary regime, since it carried out a policy of genocide, has been an illegal one because it has been acting against the interests and aspirations of the people and it can in no way represent the Kampuchean people.

It is common knowledge that the Pol Pot - Ieng Sary clique have betrayed the Kampuchean nation serving as puppets of the Peking ruling circle. The so-called "Democratic Kampuchea" was only a new-type colony of China.

Under Peking's direction, the Pol Pot - Ieng Sary clique established in Kampuchea a genocidal regime on the model of the Chinese cultural revolution, an unprecedentedly brutal regime in history. Within less than 4 years, using medieval methods of extermination, they killed 3 million Kampucheans, nearly half the Kampuchean population, comprising patriots, workers, peasants, intellectuals, workers in scientific, medical, educational, cultural, artistic fields and all those who opposed them. They massacred young people - the young shoots of the nation and future masters of the country. Over 4 million who survived were herded into "communes", real concentration camps, where they were forced to do hard labour, were physically destroyed and mentally repressed. They undermined national unity, exterminated minority peoples, eliminated Buddhism, a religion closely linked with the life of the Kampuchean people for many centuries, Islam and other religions. They completely destroyed the economic, cultural and social structure of Kampuchea, completely wiped out relations in family, villages, abolished cities, schools, hospitals, pagodas, money and markets... With their fascist policy of oppression and most brutal regime of imprisonment, the whole Kampuchean nation was threatened with extermination, Kampuchea was

turned into a hell drowned in blood and tears.

In foreign affairs, the Pol Pot - Ieng Sary clique carried out an aggressive and warlike policy, completely contrary to the principles of the non-aligned movement and the Charter of the United Nations : waging a brutal war of aggression against Viet Nam, continuously carrying out armed provocations against all neighbouring countries, refusing all international relations and co-operation, including those with non-aligned countries, closing the door to the outside world. Under the Pol Pot - Ieng Sary regime, Kampuchea became a springboard for Chinese expansionism, a danger to peace and security in South-east Asia.

Such a brutal regime, opposing the Kampuchean people, peace and security of the Southeast Asian countries, cursed by all mankind, like the Somoza, Amin, Bokassa, Pinochet cliques, tyrant Pahlavi and the racist Junta in Rhodesia, should not exist and should not be considered as legal, because they have opposed the peoples of Nicaragua, Uganda, Central Africa, Chile, Iran, have trampled upon the national rights of the people of Zimbabwe and have been condemned by progressive mankind.

Exercising their sacred right to self-determination, the Kampuchean people rose up to overthrow the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique, save the country and themselves. This is a just and legitimate cause, in conformity with the interest of peace, national independence, democracy and social progress, with the principles of the non-aligned movement and the Charter of the United Nations.

As early as 1973, the people in many localities and army units, from Rattanakiri to Koh Kong rose up against the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary regime. From 1975 to 1978 the struggle increasingly developed and spread throughout the country with continuous uprisings among which were the January 1976 uprising of the patriotic forces headed by Hunim, Minister of Information of the Pol Pot government, the January 1977 armed insurrection of the people of northern Siemriep and Battambang, March-April 1977 armed insurrection of the northern Kompongcham and Mondunkiri, and particularly the armed uprisings in the provinces of the eastern military zone in May 1978. The armed forces who turned against the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique appeared everywhere in the country. The struggle against the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique to save the country and the nation became an extensive movement of the people with the participation of all strata of population, anti-Pol Pot forces, including many high-ranking officers and cadres of the Pol Pot regime. Resistance bases were set up in many places from the northwest, northeast to southwest, southeast of Kampuchea. In such circumstances, the National United Front for the Salvation of Kampuchea came into being, broadly uniting all patriots, all forces opposing the genocidal regime, to gain real independence and freedom. Acting in accordance with a programme of action to save the country and the people, responding to the supreme interests and urgent aspirations of the Kampuchean people, and with the wholehearted support of the people, the Front has become the sole authentic and legitimate representative of the Kampuchean people, like

the Sandino Front, the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe, Swapo, the Palestine Liberation Organization which have become the only, authentic and legitimate representatives of the peoples of Nicaragua, Zimbabwe, Namibia, Palestine, and have been recognized by many countries in the world, particularly by the non-aligned countries.

Crystallizing the people's movement of struggle and being the sole authentic and legitimate representative of the Kampuchean people, the National United Front for the Salvation of Kampuchea and later the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea has the right to use all methods and means of struggle, and the right to call for support and assistance from outside so as to lead their just struggle to victory, like the Sandino Front which has the right to appeal for support from the peoples of Latin American countries to defeat the dictatorial Somoza Junta, the Liberation Front of Uganda which has the right to call for help by Tanzania to overthrow dictator Amin, the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe, Swapo which have the right to call for assistance by the five-front-line countries and other African countries to fight against the racists, liberate Zimbabwe and Namibia, and the Palestine Liberation Movement which has the right to call on support by the Arab countries and the world people to fight the Israeli Zionists. This is a lawful and legitimate right recognized by the United Nations and the movement of non-aligned countries. The United Nations and the non-Aligned movement have passed resolutions confirming the rights and obligations of nations to give moral and material support to national liberation movements.

The Arab peoples and the world people have given an all-sided support, including military support to the PLO in the struggle against the Israeli Zionists. The peoples of the five front-line countries and other countries of Africa have helped and supported the fighters of the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe and the Namibian and South African Patriots.

The whole of Latin America has stood by the side of the Sandino Front and given the patriots of Nicaragua moral and material support to overthrow the fascist Somoza regime. Tanzania has sent troops to help the Liberation Front of Uganda to overthrow dictator Amin.

The response by the Vietnamese armed forces to the Appeal of the National United Front for the Salvation of Kampuchea to help the Kampuchean people and armed forces in their offensive and uprising to overthrow the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique was clearly a just action in full conformity with international morale, international law and the trend of our time.

Moreover, in history, particularly during the last 100 years, the three Indochinese countries have continuously been victims of foreign aggression forces. The colonialists, Japanese militarists, U.S. imperialists and the Chinese expansionists all nurture an ambition to dominate Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea. They considered these three countries as a single battlefield in their schemes of aggression. At the same time they unceasingly tried by every means to sow division among the three countries, to pit one against the other so as to facilitate their domination over these countries. At present, when the Peking

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expansionists are striving to undermine the solidarity among the three countries, they are also calling on the imperialist and reactionary forces to form an anti-Viet Nam front and support the strengthening of ASEAN in order to oppose the three Indochinese countries.

Therefore, in order to gain and defend the independence and freedom of each country, it is vital that the people of the three countries be closely united. In this spirit, over the last thirty years, the Vietnamese armed forces have three times stood shoulder to shoulder with the armed forces of the Kampuchean and Lao peoples in their struggle against the common enemy, thereby cultivating militant solidarity and pure friendship. The world people have praised these lofty feelings, considering them a decisive factor to ensure victory for each country. Only the imperialists and reactionaries do not want to see the peoples of these three countries united.

The presence of Vietnamese armed forces now in Kampuchea, in accordance with the Treaty of peace, friendship and cooperation between Viet Nam and Kampuchea, is necessary to defend together with the Kampuchean people, the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Kampuchea and to frustrate the manoeuvres of the Peking expansionists, the imperialist and reactionary forces to deny the Kampuchean people their fundamental national rights and to restore the genocidal regime in Kampuchea. That is an urgent call of the three million killed Kampuchians and of over four million Kampuchians who survive and are dauntlessly struggling to build up and defend their life in independence and freedom. That is an imperative requirement of the militant solidarity for the defence of the vital interests of the two peoples. That is a demand of all men of conscience in the world that such unforgivable monstrous crimes as committed by the henchmen of Peking be not allowed to reoccur on the soil of long suffering Kampuchea.

As soon as the threat of aggression and interference by the Peking expansionists, the imperialist and reactionary forces is eliminated and when the Kampuchean people and the People's Revolutionary Council request it the Vietnamese armed forces will immediately withdraw from Kampuchea, as they had done twice voluntarily in the past after having accomplished their international duty. This is a matter concerning only the Kampuchean and Vietnamese peoples and only the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea is entitled to make such a request. To demand that Viet Nam immediately withdraw its armed forces is to require it to do an extremely inhumane act and not to abide by its commitment to a sister nation and to create conditions for the Peking expansionists, the imperialist and reactionary forces to bring Pol Pot clique back and restore the genocidal regime opposed to the Kampuchean people.

At the United Nations, some people who demand a solution to the Kampuchean question on the one hand are trying to keep the seat for the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique and refusing to acknowledge that the People's Revolutionary Council is controlling the whole of Kampuchea; on the other hand,

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in Kampuchea where there is no more place for the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique to stand, they obdurately persist in presenting the situation there as that of a country having two zones of control and two administrations.

It should be pointed out that since January 7, 1979, Kampuchea has its own masters, the Kampuchean people have really become masters of their destiny and their country has gained real independence and freedom.

Now in free Kampuchea, there is only one administration i.e. The People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea - the sole legitimate and authentic representative of the Kampuchean people. Loyal to the interests and aspiration of the Kampuchean people, the People's Revolutionary Council has clearly shown the character of a people's power loved, trusted and supported by the people.

Under the leadership of the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea, the Kampuchean people, after only a short period of time, have emerged from hell and recorded tremendous achievements; the people and armed forces of Kampuchea have made a clean sweep of the last dens of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique and in the main destroyed the remnant troops of the latter: political power has been set up from central to grassroot levels and is now controlling the whole country. Normal family and village life has been restored after long years of separation. Schools and hospitals are being reopened, cultural and religious life has been promptly restored. In the economic field, agricultural and industrial production communication transports are being gradually restored. With tremendous efforts made by the people and the administration at various levels and with great and effective assistance by Viet Nam, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, the Kampuchean people are step by step removing the threat of famine and overcoming extremely serious aftermaths of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary genocidal regime.

The People's Revolutionary Council pursues a foreign policy of independence, peace, friendship and non-alignment in conformity with the objectives of the non-aligned movement and the U.N. charter. The just cause of the Kampuchean people enjoys the sympathy and broad support of progressive people throughout the world. Within only nine months, the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea has been recognized by more than 30 countries. In 1954 when its first war of resistance had been brought to a successful end, the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, nine years after its foundation, was recognized by only 12 countries.

Of course, the new administration still faces extremely difficult and complex tasks and serious consequences left by the genocidal regime which cannot be remedied before long. However, any impartial observer would recognize that after only short period of time, the image of Kampuchea has remarkably changed. The great and all-round achievements in the last nine months have proved the extraordinary vitality of a nation which, just emerged from hell, is firmly taking in hand its own destiny, resolutely struggling, building and defending its life in independence and freedom.

These achievements also show that the present situation in Kampuchea is irreversible. No reactionary force can check the Kampuchean people from marching forward on the path of their just struggle.

The so-called two zones of control and two administrations in Kampuchea do not exist at all. The Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique which has been overthrown by the Kampuchean people has no place whatsoever on the territory of Kampuchea. A handful of their remnant troops are only gangs of bandits without the people's support. The revolutionary administration of Kampuchea is continuing to trace them down to ensure security and protect the people's life. That is a normal undertaking, just in the same way as the administrations in many Southeast Asian countries have been frequently and on a much larger scale launching military operations to mop up the opposition forces in their countries. How could one find in such operations a pretext to draw a conclusion that in Thailand, Malaysia, Burma... there also exist two zones of control and two administrations and it is necessary to find a political solution for these countries.

Some people are also deliberately exaggerating and making fuss about the alleged famine in Kampuchea and demanding absurd conditions for the organization of humanitarian aid also in an attempt to present Kampuchea as a country with two zones of control and two administrations. They know, only too well that the Pol Pot bandits are ruthless murderers who massacred women and children or forced them to flee with them, and also killed the Thai civilians who protected them. In spite of all that these people are demanding aid for the Pol Pot bandits, "in order to quickly ward off starvation", in fact, they want to save not the Kampuchean people, but the Pol Pot bandits who are hiding in the border areas between Thailand and Kampuchea and are now in a desperate situation. In reality they want to make use of the signboard of humanitarian aid to legalize their supplies sent to the Pol Pot bandits and help the latter to continue their activities against the Kampuchean people. Actually, they have given thousands of tons of supplies and set up logistic bases for the Pol Pot bandits in sanctuaries along the border between Thailand and Kampuchea, while only a few hundred tons of food and medicine have been distributed to the Kampuchean population.

Obviously, the creation of the myth about two zones of control and two administrations in Kampuchea and the demand for a political solution to the Kampuchean question, are only a manoeuvre of the Peking reactionaries in collusion with the U.S. imperialists and other reactionary forces to save the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique, to re-impose the genocidal regime on the Kampuchean people and to oppose the right to self-determination of the Kampuchean people. Any manoeuvre to find a political solution to the so-called Kampuchean question constitutes a brazen interference in the internal affairs of Kampuchea, contrary to the principles of the non-aligned movement and the U.N. Charter. No one, not even the United Nations, has the right to put forward a "solution" on behalf of the Kampuchean people. Only the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea, the sole legitimate, genuine representative of the Kampuchean people is entitled to have its decisive say.

In the past, even when it still existed, the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary regime was illegal and in no way represented the Kampuchean people. Today, that regime which has been overthrown by the Kampuchean people, is a political corpse that represents nobody. The Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique have always been a tool of the Peking expansionists. The People's Revolutionary Tribunal of Kampuchea, acting in accordance with the rules of the Nuremberg Tribunal, has sentenced to death Pol Pot and Ieng Sary. This is the judgement not only of the Kampuchean people but also of all men of conscience in the world.

It is an insult to the United Nations organization to allow the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique to make trouble in this organization, against the will of the Kampuchean people and the whole of mankind. For the sake of the U.N. prestige, of peace and justice, it is necessary to drive immediately the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique out of the United Nations. The Peking reactionaries and the U.S. imperialists have used weapons to fight the Kampuchean people, but they could not save the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique from collapse. All attempts to use the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary criminals who are trying to elude punishment by the Kampuchean people, will certainly meet with utter failure.

2. Peking ruling circle's efforts to maintain the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique who have been overthrown by the Kampuchean people, to reestablish the genocidal regime in Kampuchea are part of their dark design against the Vietnamese and other Indochinese peoples, with a view to realizing their hegemonistic schemes in South East Asia.

As Viet Nam occupies a very important position in China's strategy, the Peking reactionaries have always tried by every means to take hold of this country, to make it dependent on China in an attempt to use Viet Nam as an instrument to realize Peking's hegemonistic schemes in South East Asia. That is why, Peking does not want a unified, strong Viet Nam which is independent of China. It has been, therefore, continuously seeking to divide and weaken Viet Nam.

In the past, the Peking reactionaries made every effort to profit by the two victorious resistance wars waged by the Vietnamese people, to weaken the French colonialists and the U.S. imperialists. When these colonialists and imperialists had been weakened and, faced with imminent defeat, had to play "the Chinese card", in an attempt to avoid total defeat in Viet Nam, China used the Vietnamese people's blood, colluded with the imperialists in order to emerge as the number-one power in the world. Moreover, China tried to keep Viet Nam divided and maintain the opposing forces in Indochina, and created conditions for China to gain control over the Indochinese countries and to expand to South East Asia.

The Peking reactionaries were enraged when the victory of the patriotic struggle of the Vietnamese people against U.S. aggression in 1975 led to complete liberation of south Viet Nam and national reunification, wholly upset Peking's strategic plan of colluding with the imperialists, against revolutionary movement and socialism in this region. Since then they have been resorting to all wicked and cruel designs, and openly and systematically carrying out a hostile policy toward the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam.

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In order to oppose Viet Nam and the three Indochinese countries as a whole, China has long tried to get hold of Kampuchea which it considered the weakest link among the three Indochinese countries. It has trained, bought over, organised and directed agents of various kinds in Kampuchea, divided and weakened the Kampuchean revolution, undermined the solidarity between Kampuchea and Viet Nam and Laos, set Kampuchea against Viet Nam and Laos. It has been helping the Pol Pot clique to infiltrate into the revolutionary party of Kampuchea and step by step usurp the leading roles in order to undermine the party and turn it into a Maoist party, and destroy the Kampuchean revolution. After the April 17, 1975 victory of the Kampuchean people, the Peking reactionaries, with their monopoly of aid to the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique and in their assistance to the latter in building an army of 23 divisions which exceeded Kampuchea's economic capabilities and defence requirements, turned Kampuchea into a springboard for expansion in the region. They used the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique as a shock force, to carry out an aggressive war against Viet Nam from its south-western border, a war which, together with China's aggression against Viet Nam from the north, constituted a two-pronged campaign against Viet Nam.

On the other hand, the Peking reactionaries coerced and enticed hundreds of thousands of Hoa people to leave Viet Nam, causing more difficulties to Viet Nam in the economic, political and social fields. At the same time, they instigated Hoa reactionaries to cause internal disturbances in coordination with military attacks from outside. Taking advantage of the difficulties facing Viet Nam due to the 30 year war and the natural calamities and disregarding the U.N. resolution on reconstruction aid to Viet Nam, they found pretexts to cut off aid, withdraw their experts and exerted pressure on other countries to stop aid to Viet Nam, in an attempt to isolate Viet Nam politically, and encircle Viet Nam economically in order to weaken and subjugate Viet Nam.

At the same time they have increased interference in the internal affairs of Laos and threatened to invade that country. They left no stone unturned to sow division between Laos and Viet Nam, to drive a wedge between the ASEAN countries and the Indochinese countries, to sow division among Southeast Asian countries, causing a tense situation in the region with a view to realizing their hegemonistic designs.

- In order to slanderously accuse Viet Nam of aggressing Kampuchea and justify the Pol Pot clique's aggression against Viet Nam, the Peking reactionaries have always alleged that "how dare Kampuchea, a small country, invade Viet Nam".

The whole world is aware of the fact that the fascist Pol Pot - Ieng Sary clique have murdered 3 million Kampuchean and ill-treated 4 million remaining others in hard-labour camps, thus committing self-genocide against their nation. Since the Pol Pot - Ieng Sary clique have done such unimaginable things, their aggression against Viet Nam is understandable. Israel is a small country, but the Israeli expansionists dared attack Arab countries because behind them are the U.S. imperialists and international Zionist forces. The South African, Rhodesian racists dared attack Angola, Mozambique, Zambia, Botswana and the national liberation movement in Southern Africa because they were incited by and got arms supplies from Great Britain, the United States and other NATO countries.

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Similarly, the Pol Pot - Ieng Sary clique dared launch venturous aggression against Viet Nam because behind them were three and a half million Chinese troops armed with nuclear weapons. It was the reactionaries in the Peking ruling circle, who were the originators, organizers, commanders and suppliers of all kinds of weapons and war materials for that criminal war against the Vietnamese people.

With regard to the anti-Viet Nam war unleashed by the Pol Pot - Ieng Sary clique under Peking's order, Viet Nam has excersized utmost restraint in military field and persistently tried to find a negotiated solution.

When the Pol Pot - Ieng Sary clique intensified the war and unilaterally severed diplomatic relations with Viet Nam, the Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam did not break diplomatic relations with Kampuchea and put forth a three-point proposal on February 5, 1978 which was warmly hailed by world opinion : an immediate end should be put to all hostile military activities in the border region, the armed forces of each side should be stationed within their respective territory, five kilometres from the border, the two sides should meet at once to conclude a treaty of friendship and non-aggression and sign a border treaty, the two sides should reach an agreement on an appropriate form of international guarantee and control.

On March 10, 1978, the representative of Viet Nam at the United Nations met the U.N. Secretary General and asked the United Nations to help bring about a negotiated solution, but the Secretary General held that it would be difficult for the Security Council to arrive at the unanimity of views implying that China would be opposed to the proposal.

In March 1978, Viet Nam again requested the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Sri Lanka in his capacity as Chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement to help both Viet Nam and Kampuchea to sit at a negotiation table. But this was categorically rejected by the Kampuchean side.

In July 1978, at the Belgrade Conference of Foreign Ministers of non-aligned countries, Viet Nam submitted a draft resolution, calling upon both sides - Viet Nam and Kampuchea - to find a negotiated solution to the conflict. But Sri Lanka as Chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement and Yugoslavia, the host country, advised Viet Nam to withdraw that draft on the ground that the Kampuchean side objected to it.

In November 1978, the United States sent a note to the Security Council, drawing the latter's attention to the explosive situation along the Viet Nam - Kampuchea border. But the Pol Pot clique sent a note to the Security Council, opposing any acts that might be decided upon by the Council with regard to the Kampuchean issue. They did so because at that time, they were massing 19 out of a total of 23 divisions along Viet Nam's South-Western border, in an attempt to launch a large-scale attack deep into Vietnamese territory, directly threatening Ho Chi Minh City, in coordination with the attacks to be launched by hundreds of

thousands of Chinese troops deployed close to the Northern border of Viet Nam.

Viet Nam persisted in seeking a negotiated settlement because it attached great importance to the bonds of friendship with the Kampuchean people, because it badly needed peace to rebuild the country and, also because it always respected the principle of solving disputes between countries through negotiations, on the basis of equality and respect for each other's legitimate national rights.

That, however, does not mean to renounce one's legitimate right to self-defence, to tie up one's own hands when the enemy invade one's country, engage in wanton killing and destruction against one's people and country.

Driven into a situation when all their efforts to find a negotiated solution to the questions concerning Viet Nam - Kampuchea relations were systematically rebuffed by the Kampuchean side, and facing the danger of a large-scale two-pronged offensive feverishly prepared by the Peking expansionists, the Vietnamese people had no other alternative than to resort to their legitimate right of self-defence to deal counter-blows at the forces of aggression and war provocation with a view to defending their independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, and the lives and property of the people. In such a situation, any government that has a sense of responsibility to its nation, has to act in a resolute manner and annihilate the aggressive forces at their very lairs and staging bases, just as Tanzania had done in face of attacks launched by the Amin clique. If the Vietnamese people had not in time defeated the aggressive war launched from their South-Western border, and created favourable conditions for the Kampuchean people to rise up to overthrow the Pol Pot - Ieng Sary clique, the Vietnamese people would have been driven into a very dangerous situation, because only a few weeks later, the Peking reactionaries launched large-scale attacks with more than 600,000 troops on Viet Nam's Northern border.

- In order to cover up their hegemonistic policy, the Peking reactionary rulers put forward allegations that they opposed Viet Nam because Viet Nam wanted to establish an Indochinese federation, because Viet Nam was the Soviet Union's henchman and, pursued a "regional hegemony" policy in South-East Asia.

It is common knowledge that over the past 20 years, a prominent feature of Peking politics which has become a "State policy" consists in calling those who are to be eliminated "counter-revolutionary" elements and those who are to be rehabilitated "revolutionaries". The label "great proletarian cultural revolution" has been used to destroy the cultural heritage, carry out most barbarous crimes and acts of an anti-cultural character. They used to consider the U.S. imperialists the most dangerous enemy of the Chinese people and of the world people, and to say that the nature of imperialism would never change, today they consider the U.S. the closest ally and call themselves the NATO of the East. As regards

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Viet Nam, when they had to win it over, they praised it to the skies, but when this manoeuvre failed they tried by every means to weaken Viet Nam and stain its image in the world.

During the past 2,000 years, long time before the Soviet Union came into being, China had repeatedly invaded Viet Nam. Moreover, they have cut off aids for countries which clearly have no friendly relations with the Soviet Union and were considered once their closest allies. They have made such a volte-face against these countries only because the latter refuse to tail after China and collude with the U.S. imperialists.

In order to consolidate their rule over Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea, the French colonialists created French Indochina. In order to fight against the common enemy, the revolutionaries of the three countries founded the Indochinese Communist Party and contemplated to create after the triumph of the revolution, an Indochinese federation, in accordance with the aspirations of the three peoples and on a voluntary basis, in 1951, when the revolution in the three countries had become mature, at the proposal of the Vietnamese communists, the Indochinese Communist Party declared its dissolution and since then, the Party of the working class of each country has been responsible for the leadership of the revolutionary struggle in each country, and at the same time, the three parties united with each other in the struggle against the common enemy. And since then, the question of the Indochinese federation has no longer been raised. As a signatory to the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Indochina, the 1962 Geneva Agreement on Laos and the 1973 Paris Agreement on Viet Nam, Viet Nam has solemnly undertaken to respect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Laos and Kampuchea. Over the past years, the leaders of the three countries have reaffirmed, in a number of joint statements, their commitment to respect each other's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, to unite and help each other in the struggle against the common enemy as well as in national construction to bring prosperity to each country in accordance with its own way; beside, the Vietnamese armed forces after having defeated the colonialists and the U.S. imperialists in Laos and Kampuchea, voluntarily withdrew, in respect of the independence and sovereignty of Laos and Kampuchea, Chinese slanderous charges that Viet Nam set up the so-called Indochinese federation while it no longer exists and while the three peoples are strengthening their solidarity against the common enemy are only aimed at undermining the solidarity between the three Indochinese peoples.

Over the past 30 years, to justify their war of aggression against the Vietnamese people, the colonialists and U.S. imperialists have used such arguments as "opposing communist aggression and expansion" and "Viet Nam being the agent of the Soviet Union and China". Today, the Peking ruling circle are rehashing the U.S. imperialists' arguments in the hope of justifying their two criminal wars of aggression against Viet Nam from the South-West and the North and their hostile policy toward the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam.

- The Chinese ruling circle have arrogantly reserved for themselves the right to "teach Viet Nam a lesson" and continue to threaten to "give Viet Nam a second lesson", even "many more lessons".

Previously, in August 1964, the U.S. imperialists invented the Bac Bo (Tonkin) Gulf incident to have a pretext for reprisal and attack the Democratic

Republic of Viet Nam. Today, the Chinese rulers are repeating all the U.S. allegations and ways of acting, using the pretext of "launching counter-offensive in self-defence" to cover up their design to invade and annex Viet Nam. When attacking Viet Nam, they claimed that Viet Nam had engaged in border provocations against China, when sitting at the negotiation table they categorically rejected the Vietnamese side's three-point proposal on urgent measures to put an end to armed provocations and to ensure peace and stability in border areas of the two countries, to restore normal relations and to settle border and territorial problems between the two countries. It is evident that they are deliberately maintaining a permanent threat of war, coupled with an anti-Viet Nam campaign in the political field and with economic blockade in an attempt to weaken and subdue Viet Nam.

Like the U.S. imperialists who gave themselves the right to be an international gendarme, the Chinese rulers have claimed the right to "give a lesson" to any nation which refuses to obey them, thus trampling underfoot the U.N. Charter and the most fundamental principles of international law.

It is necessary to resolutely check this insolent and foolish policy based on the law of the jungle which is being practised by the Chinese rulers, otherwise, a dangerous precedent will be created in international relations and the green light will be given to the countries advocating an expansionist and big-nation hegemonistic policy to attack and invade other countries as they like, thus sabotaging the peace and security of other nations and plunging mankind into a catastrophic war.

This is all the more imperative, as the Chinese leadership are feverishly stepping up preparations for a new military adventure, a new aggression against Viet Nam. They are massing important forces close to the Sino-Vietnamese border, intensifying armed provocations, in gross violation of the land, airspace and territorial waters of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam. They are unceasingly carrying out a propaganda campaign to arouse anti-Viet Nam chauvinistic and big-nation feelings among the Chinese people. They are increasingly stepping up subversive activities in Laos and threatening to invade that country. Hoping desperately to reimpose the genocidal regime on the Kampuchean people, they are trying to help a handful of Pol Pot - Ieng Sary bandits to undermine the independence and sovereignty of Kampuchea and to prevent the Kampuchean people from building a new life. They are striving to closely collude with the imperialist forces and enticing some backward circles in South-East Asian countries to lend a helping hand to the Pol Pot bandits to oppose the just cause of Viet Nam, Kampuchea and Laos.

3. The situation as expounded above shows that the Chinese rulers, in collusion with the U.S. imperialists and the other reactionary forces, in vociferously defending the principle of non-interference in other country's internal affairs, defending the right to self-determination of the Kampuchean people, demanding that Viet Nam withdraw its troops from Kampuchea and clamouring for a solution to the so-called "Kampuchean question" in fact

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aim at denying the Kampuchean people their right to self-determination, opposing the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Council which is actually controlling Kampuchea, opposing the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam. In reality, they try to restore the genocidal regime in Kampuchea, to realize their wild ambition to subdue and annex the three Indochinese countries and use Indochina as a springboard for expansion to South East Asia.

It is necessary to shed light on the fact that those who are acting as if they were most concerned about the right to self-determination of the Kampuchean people and are clamouring for withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea are the ones who have most frantically opposed the independence and sovereignty of the three Indochinese countries. Over the past 2,000 years, China has repeatedly invaded Viet Nam and over the last 30 years it has left no stone unturned in its attempt to subdue and annex the Indochinese countries, and pave the way to the conquest of South-East Asia. The United States carried out the most brutal war of aggression ever known in history against the three Indochinese peoples. Japan once invaded and occupied the Indochinese countries. Australia sent its troops to help the U.S. expeditionary corps fight against the Vietnamese people. Many ASEAN countries cooperated with the United States in various forms, including the dispatch of troops to help the United States in its war of aggression against the Indochinese peoples.

Those who most noisily oppose the legal presence of Vietnamese armed forces in Kampuchea are those who are trying to maintain and support the presence in foreign countries of the biggest expeditionary corps. The United States has more than a million troops and thousands of military bases throughout the world. China is occupying part of the territory of neighbouring countries, the Hoang Sa (Paracels) Islands of Viet Nam and a number of places along Viet Nam's Northern border. Japan is allowing the United States to station troops on Okinawa, one of the biggest U.S. military bases in Asia. Many ASEAN countries have been and are allowing the United States to station troops and set up military bases on their territories and are calling on the United States to increase its military presence in South East Asia. A number of territories are under illegal occupation by foreign troops, in violation of the resolutions of the U.N. General Assembly.

Those who are most vociferously slandering Viet Nam, accusing Viet Nam of invading Kampuchea as if they were concerned with the defence of the principle of abstaining from military intervention in other countries are those who supported and encouraged the Peking reactionaries when the latter sent 600,000 troops to invade Viet Nam. They are in fact encouraging China to step up preparations for a second war of aggression against Viet Nam, to threaten to invade Laos and to attempt to restore the genocidal regime in Kampuchea.

The ASEAN countries know very well that Viet Nam will never send its troops to Thailand or any other Southeast Asian country. Viet Nam is willing to forget the past and look to the future to build and develop, together with the other Southeast Asian countries, relations of friendship and long-term cooperation in the interests of each country and for the sake of peace and stability in the region, in accordance with the principles laid down in the joint statements between Prime Minister Pham Van Dong and the leaders of the ASEAN countries. Viet Nam has proposed to establish a zone of peace and neutrality and sign a treaty of mutual non-aggression between Viet Nam and each member of the ASEAN. But while refusing

to accept Vietnamese peace proposals, the ASEAN members invariably followed the Peking rulers in accusing Viet Nam of threatening Thailand and fabricated the so-called danger of aggression by Viet Nam. One can only interpret such an attitude of the ASEAN members as "a double-dealing game" against Viet Nam, a manoeuvre to cover up their assistance to the genocidal Pol Pot clique and an interference in the internal affairs of Kampuchea.

In the past, the United States made a mistake in waging a war of aggression against Viet Nam and the Indochinese countries. This war has left lasting consequences for the United States. At present, in collusion with China to oppose Viet Nam and the Indochinese peoples, the United States is making another mistake and certainly this will bring about disastrous consequences to the United States.

Obviously those who pretend to show their greatest concern about the right to self-determination of the Kampuchean people are the Chinese reactionaries, the U.S. imperialists and other reactionary forces who have trampled most brazenly upon the independence and freedom of the Kampuchean people. As a matter of fact, they do not want to recognize the Kampuchean people's right to fight and overthrow the genocidal Pol Pot - Ieng Sary regime, to regain their right to live and defend their country's independence and sovereignty. They do not want to recognize the Vietnamese people's right to exercise their legitimate right of self-defence to fight back against the aggressors, and they do not want to recognize the Vietnamese and Kampuchean peoples's right to help each other in the struggle against the common enemy, for the defence of the independence and freedom of each country.

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In short, the essence of the present situation in Kampuchea is neither the question of withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea, nor that of finding a political solution to the so-called "Kampuchean question". The actual problem is that the policy of aggression and expansion pursued by the Chinese rulers in connivance with the U.S. imperialists and other reactionary forces is seriously threatening the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea and seriously endangering the independence, peace, and stability of Southeast Asian countries and threatening world peace. Therefore, it is an imperative task now to unmask, sternly condemn and at the same time, take effective measures to check in time the criminal schemes that the Peking reactionaries are hatching against the Indochinese peoples, the Southeast Asian countries, in an attempt to undermine peace and stability in this region and in the world.
