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KAMPUCHEA

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CONTENTS

The Heart of the Matter	7
35 Years after Lidice: Tan Lap	19
Refugees from the Phnom Penh Regime Bear Witness	23
<i>Kampuchea Diary</i> : Memories of Militant Friendship	42
Chronology	57
APPENDIX	
Statement of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam on the Vietnam-Kampuchea Border Issue	79
Prime Minister Pham Van Dong Interviewed by <i>Vietnam News Agency</i>	86
Statement of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam on the Relations between Vietnam and Kampuchea	90
Facts about the "Indochinese Federation" Question	94
Facts about the Vietnam-Kampuchea Border Question	119
Statement of the Government of Democratic Kam- puchea to its Friends Far and Near Across the Five Continents and to World Opinion	144

THE HEART OF THE MATTER

HOANG NGUYEN

1977 draws to a close with Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, Nguyen Duy Trinh, in Jakarta during his series of official visits to Southeast Asian countries. He has come from Laos and will go on to visit Malaysia, the Philippines, and Thailand.

A press conference is held in Peking, at which Vietnam is painted as a regional trouble-maker. The timing is not coincidental. Nor is the choice of venue as an international rostrum any less deliberate on the part of the leaders of Democratic Kampuchea, who now heap slanders on Vietnam, accusing her of expansionist designs and aggression.

The move caused a sensation, as could only be expected. But even so, it could not prevent Nguyen Duy Trinh's round of visits to Southeast Asian countries being a well-deserved success. A strong current for peace, independence and neutrality has been flowing in the area for some time now, and with particular force since the US defeat in Indochina. Vietnam's four-point foreign policy in the region has established her as a major proponent of this happy trend¹. Nguyen Duy Trinh's tour which follow

1. In an interview granted to *Vietnam News Agency (VNA)* on July 5, 1976, Nguyen Duy Trinh, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, outlined the following principles of

numerous other Vietnamese diplomatic moves in the same direction, was warmly welcomed by Southeast Asian countries and recognized by them as a concrete measure of a policy they highly appreciate.

The success of the trip marks a new development in relations between Vietnam and her neighbours, and thereby undermines the schemes of imperialist and reactionary forces to limit the influence of the Vietnamese revolution and keep control of the people in this important region. What Democratic Kampuchea did at the Peking press conference has all the marks of such a scheme.

At the press conference, a statement by the Government of Democratic Kampuchea dated Dec 31, 1977 was made public. It alleged that Vietnam wants to annex Kampuchea in an Indochinese Federation; that the Vietnamese people are being taught to consider Kampuchea their number one enemy; and that troops are being sent to Kampuchea in order to

SRV policy regarding the basis for the establishment and development of relations of friendship and co-operation with Southeast Asian countries:

1 — Respect for each other's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality, mutual benefit and peaceful coexistence.

2 — Not to allow any foreign country to use one's territory as a base for direct or indirect aggression and intervention against the other country and other countries in the region.

3 — Establishment of friendly and good-neighbourly relations, economic co-operation and cultural exchanges on the basis of equality and mutual benefit. Settlement of disputes among the countries in the region through negotiations in a spirit of equality, mutual understanding and respect.

4 — Development of co-operation among the countries in the region for the building of prosperity in keeping with each country's specific conditions, and for the sake of independence, peace and genuine neutrality in Southeast Asian, thereby contributing to peace in the world.

plunder rice there to alleviate famine in Vietnam, to weaken Kampuchea, and to prepare for a large-scale invasion of that country.

“For decades now,” says the statement, “Vietnam has acted on this basic political strategy (to include Kampuchea in a so-called Indochinese Federation under Vietnamese control — *Ed.*), and has been using pressure, coercion, and provocations against Kampuchea to prevent her from living in complete independence and sovereignty.”

The rulers of Democratic Kampuchea, who once described the situation in very different terms, seem to want to re-write history. Let us recall, for instance, the following passage of a letter dated October 3, 1974, and addressed by Pol Pot, Secretary of the Communist Party of Kampuchea, to the Central Committee of the Vietnam Workers' Party:

“The Kampuchean revolution has recently made progress toward a victory of strategic importance against the US imperialists and the Pnom Penh clique of reactionaries. This is because our Party has had a correct political line and our people have fought resolutely and valiantly under the leadership of the Party. But our victories cannot be separated from the assistance of our brothers and comrades-in-arms, the Party and people of Vietnam. The victories we have won are victories for the solidarity and mutual assistance between the Parties and peoples of our two countries. The relations between our two Parties, based on mutual respect and absolute non-interference in each other's internal affairs, constitute a factor that cannot be dissociated from our victory.”

In the course of talks held in Hanoi in June 1975 between the delegation of the Vietnam Workers' Party and the Communist Party of Kampuchea, Pol

Not declared: "Though our victory is thanks to our own efforts we should not have achieved it without the assistance of the Vietnam Workers' Party, the Vietnamese army, and the people of the world, especially the Vietnamese people. Let me take a concrete example: we encountered great difficulties in the course of the final offensive in the 1975 dry season, from January to April 1975, mounted to wrest final victory; and our (Vietnamese—Ed.) brothers in the South, guided by our brothers in the North, shared their ammunition with us. Allow me to take this opportunity to express our sincere and deep gratitude toward the Vietnam Workers' Party and the Vietnamese people, towards our brothers in the North and our brothers in the South. Whenever we have had difficulties, you have shown us understanding and found ways and means to assist us, and as a result we were able to overcome our difficulties and press ahead with our revolutionary cause finally to the victory we have now won."

Can the rulers of Democratic Kampuchea have forgotten pledges like the following that they made to their own consciences at a time when the latter were untroubled: "In all sincerity and from the bottom of my heart, I can assure you that in all circumstances, I will remain faithful to the line of great solidarity and of fraternal and revolutionary friendship between Kampuchea and Vietnam, whatever difficulties and adversities we may encounter"? (Excerpt from a letter dated March 4, 1974 from Pol Pot to Le Duc Tho, Political Bureau member of the Vietnam Workers' Party — Ed.)

Let us examine the main line of argument of the rulers of Democratic Kampuchea: Vietnam, it is alleged, long ago set the inclusion of Kampuchea in an Indochinese Federation controlled by Vietnam as a strategic objective. Yet Phnom Penh has yet to

produce a text or statement by the Vietnamese Party or State to back up this claim. (The Vietnamese Communist Party, founded in February 1930, changed its name to Indochinese Communist Party in October of the same year. This can be explained by the fact that there was then one political entity in the area — French Indochina — composed of five countries: Cambodia, Laos and three which derived from the partition of Vietnam into Tonkin, Annam and Cochinchina. In the context of leading the struggle of the people of those five countries against the common enemy — French imperialism — the founding of a single Communist Party for the whole of Indochina was perfectly logical. It is true that up to 1951 there was talk in the Indochinese Communist Party of the possibility of an Indochinese Federation being formed, but it was always stressed that such a development was contingent on the desires of the peoples concerned. Every nation has the right to self-determination: it may join the Indochinese federation or set up a separate state; it is free to join or leave the Federation; it may follow whichever system it likes. The fraternal alliance must be based on the principles of revolutionary sincerity, freedom and equality. Since the division of the Indochinese Communist Party (in 1951) into three separate parties, one in each of the three countries — Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia — and the recognition of the independence of these countries by the Geneva Agreements of 1954, Vietnam's leaders have never made any allusion whatsoever to an "Indochinese Federation.

Historical fact has thus been consciously distorted by the authorities in Phnom Penh.

Let us now look at the situation since the liberation of Kampuchea and Vietnam in April 1975. Documents made public in Hanoi, and which can be found in the appendix of this publication, will show the situation in its true light.

Immediately after the liberation of Phnom Penh on April 17, 1975, the leaders in Democratic Kampuchea instigated ill-treatment of Vietnamese nationals living in Kampuchea — who then numbered more than half a million. Thousands of them were killed, and the land and property of tens of thousands of others was plundered, while they were driven back to Vietnam. Attacks were launched by Kampuchean armed forces on the islands of Phu Quoc and Tho Chu, and they encroached on Vietnamese territory all along the border between the two countries. From April 1977, military operations against frontier areas from Ha Tien to Tay Ninh, were large-scale, involving whole divisions, supported by heavy artillery and mortar batteries firing from artillery positions on Kampuchean soil. Those attacks on Vietnam's territory, sometimes to a depth of 10 kilometres, are still going on. The crimes of unbelievable barbarity being committed are without any doubt aimed at vicious extermination. Dagger, spear, sabre and hammer blows on the Vietnamese civilians' faces and bellies cause particularly painful wounds before death.

All these acts have a premeditated nature: the attacks are carefully planned and carried out under unified guidance. Leaflets spread by the Kampuchean aggressors in border areas, and the admissions and notebooks of intelligence agents and officers and men of the Kampuchean armed forces captured in action provide irrefutable evidence of this. Racial hatred of the Vietnamese people is being systematically fanned. Kampuchean soldiers are given to believe that their national territory includes Saigon.

Medieval methods of killing — beheading, tearing livers out of corpses, disembowelling children, old people and women... — are all meant to feed this racial hatred to a point of no return.

For several months, the Vietnamese Party and Government patiently tried to solve the problem without resorting to the use of arms, but attacks and massacres continued. As they could not sit idly by and watch their national territory being encroached upon, their compatriots being killed, their property being plundered the armed forces in border areas were thus given orders to react in self-defence.

But, as is shown by documents in the appendix, what they hold dearest is the preservation of the fraternal friendship between the Vietnamese and Kampuchean peoples. Every possible means has been used to try and bring about a negotiated settlement on the basis of mutual respect for territorial sovereignty; and repeated proposals to this effect have been made. Pending a meeting between high-level leaders of the two Parties and States, the date of which was accepted by the Kampuchean rulers, but subsequently postponed by them, Vietnam took the initiative to convene a preparatory conference. This, unfortunately, did not lead to any solution as it was suspended by the Kampuchean side. Kampuchea retreated behind excuses time and again, succeeded in avoiding any more meetings, and thus had a free hand in stepping up military operations aimed at territorial infringement, and massacring and looting the civilian population.

Then on December 31, 1977, the Government of Democratic Kampuchea took the initiative to bring the dispute between Kampuchea and the SRV to public knowledge, hoping to catch the other side by surprise. But the answer of the Vietnamese side

was prompt. On the same day, the SRV Government issued a statement refuting the slanders and presenting the objective facts. "Once again," the statement said, "the Government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam proposes that the two sides meet as early as possible, at whatever level, so as to solve the border issue between the two countries together in a spirit of brotherly friendship."

However, Democratic Kampuchea rejected this constructive proposal. Its armed forces continued to encroach on Vietnam's territory in several places along the border and to perpetrate vile crimes against the civilian population, while its propaganda apparatus kept up its slander campaign against Vietnam and the Vietnamese people.

The SRV Government remained patient. On Feb. 5, 1978, a new Vietnamese proposal in three points was put forward. The goodwill permeating this statement was recognized by broad sectors of world opinion. Explicitly, or implicitly on the part of many Asian, African and Latin American countries wishing to maintain their friendship with both Vietnam and Kampuchea, which is fully understandable, nearly every country in the world has expressed support for efforts aimed at a peaceful settlement of the dispute between Vietnam and Kampuchea, efforts which no one can deny are being made by the Vietnamese side only.

The Phnom Penh authorities are under pressure from public opinion and have resorted to delaying tactics, but their manoeuvres are transparent. They have demanded that Vietnamese troops that they say are in Kampuchean territory be withdrawn and that an atmosphere of friendship and mutual trust be created before negotiations are held. This implies similar allegations to those made by Phnom Penh in June 1977, when they insisted on "waiting until the situation returns to normal and some time without

further border clashes elapses..." before a meeting be held; in the meantime, they themselves attacked military, putting paid to all possible normalization of the situation. The demand was all the more absurd as the Vietnamese side had proposed that "the armed forces of each party be stationed within their respective territory five kilometres from the border." Another condition made by the rulers in Democratic Kampuchea to the resumption of talks was that Hanoi give up its aggressive designs against Kampuchea. But one can hardly help being surprised at a country which describes itself as being victim of aggression, turning down a proposal by the so-called aggressor to "discuss and conclude a treaty in which both parties undertake to respect each other's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity; to refrain from aggression, from the use of force or threats to use force in their relations with each other, from interference in each other's internal affairs, and from subversive activities against each other. to treat each other as equals; and to live in peace, friendship and as good neighbours. Hanoi also proposed the signing of a "border treaty between the two countries on the basis of respect for each other's territorial sovereignty within existing borders," and declared its readiness to accept some appropriate form of international guarantee and supervision to seal the pledges of both sides. (SRV statement of Feb. 5, 1978 — *Ed.*)

The fairness of the Vietnamese proposals is incontestable. but they still do not seem to be agreeable to the Phnom Penh authorities.

What is it they want? Is it really a few areas of borderland that are the origin of the clouds darkening the relations between our two countries? The frontiers, especially between developing countries,

can often create complex problems, which are inherited from history. But these disputes can always be settled in a friendly way, provided both sides are motivated by goodwill and a desire to reach an agreement in the interests of friendship between nations. The border agreement signed in July 1977 between the SRV and the Lao People's Democratic Republic is a perfect case in point.

We must look elsewhere for an explanation of Democratic Kampuchea's persistence in prolonging and aggravating this climate of hostility between her and Vietnam. The domestic situation in Kampuchea is a plausible reason. The regime that the country's leaders set up by force has been indignantly denounced in the press the world over, and is a regime that the Kampuchean people can no longer stand: their policies were bound to lead to the antagonisms which they are now frantically trying to attribute to "attempts at subversion" by Vietnam. Their aim is to create a conflict, both in the hope of diverting the attention of world public opinion from their domestic problems to such a conflict, and at the same time creating a pretext for repressing compatriots who oppose their present policies, as "pro-Vietnamese."

The authorities in Phnom Penh pride themselves on their political line, which they describe as being "based on independence, sovereignty and the principle of relying on our own strength." But they forget that in our times such a policy should go hand in hand with respect for other countries' independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. Genuine patriotism necessarily implies internationalism. Reverting to outmoded chauvinism and leaving the path of militant solidarity with nations fighting against imperialism — as the Kampuchean rulers are now

doing — can only lead into the orbit of the imperialists and reactionaries, who feel no sympathy with the growing movement for genuine peace, independence and neutrality in Southeast Asian countries, a movement to which the Socialist Republic of Vietnam has made a worthy contribution by implementing its above-mentioned four-point policy.

We must note a detail in the December 31, 1977 statement by the Government of Democratic Kampuchea: the accusation against Vietnam contained in the far-fetched claim that there are foreigners serving as advisers, experts, and commanders in units using the artillery and tanks that they have given as assistance, down to company level. Everybody knows that in the course of the Vietnam war against US aggression, there were many people in all countries of the world who wanted to go Vietnam as volunteers to help the vietnamese defend their country. The Vietnamese people did not accept their generous offers, but were nevertheless deeply grateful. No one in his right senses can believe that in the present conflict with Kampuchea, Vietnam is in need of foreign advisers, experts and commanders.

It is most revealing that the Phnom Penh leaders should invent this ludicrous story in the same breath as they affirm that any government-sponsored or individual economic, cultural, technical, scientific and military adviser or expert has a right to come to any country in that capacity, in keeping with the sovereignty of the country. That they choose this moment to affirm a principle which nobody opposes gives food for thought. Why should they do so unless there is something irregular going on? Could it be that their much-vaunted policy of independence and sovereignty and the principle of relying on one's own strength are empty words?

Let us hope that the Phnom Penh authorities come round to a realization of their blunders, and espouse once again a policy of genuine independence. They must think of the real interests of their country and their people — neighbours who have always been brothers of the Vietnamese people — and take the path of peace and friendship which the Socialist Republic of Vietnam has suggested to them.

April 1978

35 YEARS AFTER LIDICE: TAN LAP

VU CAN

"Xoom lap teu! Xoom lap teu o!" means: "Kill them! Kill them all!" in Khmer, and this medieval war-cry has been echoing in the Vietnamese provinces bordering on Democratic Kampuchea since mid-1975. Battalions and regiments of the Phnom Penh regime's blackshirts have crossed the border to "burn, annihilate, and destroy everything," as their threefold slogan runs.

This sinister "Xoom lap teu! Xoom lap teu o!" was heard shrieking from Khmer commandos at 1 a.m. on September 25, 1977 as they burst into Tan Lap commune, Tan Bien district, Tay Ninh province, 80 km north of Ho Chi Minh City. In a few hours, these bestial wretches set fire to hundreds of peasant homes, and killed 500 persons with their sub-machine-guns, bayonets, and daggers, sparing neither old people, small children, nor pregnant women. It is nine years since the massacre of Son My by US troops under Lieutenant Calley's command; now Tan Lap will go down in history as a second Vietnamese Lidice, but even worse with regard to the atrocities committed. This new carnage is all the more horrifying as it was committed in peace time. Former comrades-in-arms during the anti-imperialist struggle have suddenly turned into hired murderers acting on an upsurge of blind, unjustified nationalist hatred.

Were it not for the patient restraint of the Vietnamese leaders, who preferred trying to approach

the Khmer side discreetly, and inviting them to settle all differences through negotiations, these crimes would have been denounced to the public immediately." The Vietnamese proposals were rejected one after the other. Phnom Penh persisted in its perfidious aggressive manoeuvres while accusing us of being the aggressors. They escalated their operations and unilaterally severed diplomatic relations with Hanoi on December 31, 1977. The Vietnamese side had no alternative when its efforts thus came to nothing, but to reveal the truth about these traitorous friends.

On January 6, 1978, the Press and Information Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Vietnam brought the case of Tan Lap of four months before to the knowledge of the press and showed a heart-rending documentary film on the massacre, and a group of Vietnamese and foreign correspondents were allowed to go to the scene of the crime for the first time. We were forty journalists from twelve countries, including envoys of international news agencies like TASS, Hsinhua News Agency, AFP, a Japanese television team, and the American NBC... We started from Ho Chi Minh City in the morning on January 27, 1978, and headed for the border with Kampuchea. On Highway One, near Tay Ninh town we met a convoy of Khmer soldiers who had been captured the day before by the regional armed forces. We spoke to several different Khmer refugees during our various halts, and heard how they had all fled from the blood-baths in their country. We finally turned onto Highway 22 to Tan Lap.

The devastated commune lies seven kilometres from the border, on Vietnamese territory. It is in the heart of a region that suffered from the harsh ordeals of US aggression, and had hardly begun to grow green again, when its five villages were completely

burned down, leaving gaping black wounds, and here and there the craters left by artillery shells, not yet overgrown. Almost all the inhabitants have left, and the place is deserted. Not a child playing, no one working the fields. In several emergency cemeteries, hundreds of neat graves all bear the same date: September 25, 1977, or according to the lunar calendar, the 13th day of the 8th month of the year of the Snake. And on the tombstones we read: Bui The Doan, 3 years old; Nguyen Van Ty, 16; Tran Thi Ty, 27; Tran Danh Giap, 36; Nguyen Thi Trang, 72;...

We interviewed six survivors of the massacre, among them Mrs Nguyen Thi Cu, a 29-year old widow. She used to live in Kampuchea, but she left Chup after having lost her husband, who was also a Vietnamese and who fell for the independence of Kampuchea, and she came to live with her parents in Tan Thanh village. On the night of the slaughter, her family went down to an underground shelter they had dug a few months before because of the increased tension in the border area. The blackshirts fired into the two ends of the shelter with sub-machine-guns before throwing hand grenades in at their victims. One of Mrs Cu's brothers who tried to escape was shot dead. It was sheer luck that the young woman was spared. She lay soaked with her relatives' blood, pretending to be dead, and waited till the following night to flee...

The testimonies were endless, every one more staggering than the last. The people of Tan Lap had been sound asleep when the first rounds of shells fell on their commune. Thinking this was the habitual artillery provocations, they all rushed to the shelters. But from there they could hear the shouting of the blackshirts approaching on all sides, "Xoom lap teu! Xoom lap teu o!" Their houses were set alight and

flamed like torches, and in the light of the fires, the attackers began their massacre, first of those who were trying to escape, and then those who were hiding in the shelters. 25 families were wiped out completely that night: Nguyen Van Sanh's family of five persons, Pham Khoi's family of six, Vu Dinh Thai's family of seven... At the commune school, which was also set on fire and turned into a slaughterhouse, eleven of the thirteen teachers living there were shot dead.

It was even more horrifying to hear how the Khmer troops treated their victims. 10-year old Ngoc Anh was paralysed with fright, and was squatting in the garden of his house. He was bayoneted as he sat there. Mrs Tran Thi Tuyet, 41, had been hit by an M.79 anti-personnel shell, and was lying in agony beside her baby when the blackshirts snatched the child by the ankles and tore him in two. Mrs Dong, five months pregnant, was spotted as she sat watching her husband die. She knelt before his murderers to ask for mercy but they grabbed her, cut her abdomen open with their knives, took out the foetus and threw it in her face. The barbarians were intoxicated by their cruelty, and their acts were a paroxysm of sadism. They withdrew to Khmer territory three days later, leaving a great number of mutilated bodies behind them, some cut to pieces, others beheaded, arms and legs removed, livers torn out...

The acts of these wretches have the blessing of their masters, and it is time to ask the leaders in Phnom Penh what kind of revolution it is they think they are carrying out, and where they intend to lead the Khmer nation. The dead in Tan Lap curse them and the living level their accusations at them. The file on their crimes is now opened, and they will have to answer for this new Lidice before the world.

REFUGEES FROM THE PHNOM PENH REGIME BEAR WITNESS

VU CAN

The exodus of the Kampucheans to Vietnam increases with the Kampuchean forces' aggression against their former Vietnamese ally. This is no coincidence, and the two phenomena shed light on Democratic Kampuchea, an enigmatic country, to say the least.

They have been arriving intermittently in waves, all depending on the obstacles to their flight; tens, even hundreds of thousands of Khmer civilians of all walks of life have sought refuge in the Vietnamese provinces of Tay Ninh, Long An, Dong Thap, An Giang and Kien Giang. They are frequently pursued or intercepted by the Kampuchean troops, who fire at them like game, and claim countless victims. According to the refugees in the Rach Gia camp, 150 kilometres southwest of Ho Chi Minh City, only 30 of 100 people trying to escape survived to cross the border.

The tragedy of it is simply unimaginable. When the first Kampuchean refugees came across the border, the Vietnamese authorities acted in good faith and from a desire not to aggravate things and persuaded them to return to their country, not suspecting for a moment that they might be mown down immediately on crossing back over. This is, alas, what happened. So we have had to receive the growing numbers of Kampuchean refugees seeking asylum, even though the burden of caring for them is beyond the means

of a country which, as everyone knows, has just emerged from thirty years of resistance to imperialist aggression.

We have not had any accurate idea of what has been going on behind the wall Democratic Kampuchea put up around itself at birth. Were one to believe Phnom Penh radio, the achievements of the country are so magnificent as to arouse jealousy of any of the revolutionary regimes of our time. But from the Kampuchean refugees in Vietnam we have striking evidence which, added to that provided by their unfortunate brothers taking refuge in other countries, provides a clearer insight into realities in Kampuchea.

Four Million Sub-Citizens

The refugees confirm that Democratic Kampuchea divides its citizens into two categories: the "originals" belonging to the "basic population," who lived in the former liberated zones or collaborated with the revolution, and the "new ones," who lived in the towns or villages liberated at the end, totalling about 4 million, more than half the population. Expelled from their homes immediately on the total victory of the Kampuchean patriots, on April 17, 1975, these "new citizens" were directed to places scattered all over the country, where the idea was that they were to take part in manual labour under the supervision of the "originals," at least theoretically... The forced exodus took a heavy toll of Kampucheans. Hundreds of thousands were summarily executed on the road, and died from exhaustion on the journey. Hundreds of thousands of others have died on the work-sites, from exhaustion, ill-treatment, under-nourishment and disease. It is not without reason that knowledgeable sources should assess the number of victims of

the new regime as up to 800,000, in the first year of its existence only, until mid-1976. Five years of war for national liberation, from 1970 to 1975, did not cost Kampuchea as much loss of life as this.

According to the refugees from Phnom Penh at Rach Gia camp, the Kampuchean authorities—the Angkar (“Organization” in Khmer language) cadres—nurture an implacable hatred against the “new citizens” and have no qualms about submitting them to unimaginable sufferings. Every inhabitant—from the age of 5 upwards, has to work from dawn till dusk, and sometimes even late into the night. The food they receive is a thin rice gruel, sometimes without salt, and they are housed in henhouses, pigsties, stables and the like, which are pompously called “revolutionary dwellings.” They are stripped of their valuables and are denied all contact with the local population, and for the least infringement of the rules they are sent to the Higher Organization, the mysterious *Angkar Loeu*, which has never pardoned anybody.

“The new masters are rough and pitiless,” was the opinion of a group of people from Phnom Penh to whom we talked. “They killed the soldiers of the old regime indiscriminately—officers, N.C.O.’s and even the rank and file, despite the fact that they all surrendered their weapons to them, except the Preah Vihear garrison near the Thai border, which resisted up to May 25, 1975, five weeks after Phnom Penh was liberated, on April 17th. All members of the administration, important or not, were shot dead, as were a great number of intellectuals, doctors, technicians, teachers, and students... Medicines are in short supply and these barbarians frequently get rid of sick people in our category so as not to have to take care of them. There have never been so many people killed so inhumanly, even in wartime.”

The same testimonies can be found in the letter sent to Mr Kurt Waldheim, UN Secretary-General, by the refugees at Rach Gia camp. The letter dated January 25, 1978, is signed by Messrs Ong Neakthau, Heng-iv Chuoi, Sui Hoeung, Va Kheang, Tit Mi Ombaur, Vuong Cham, Em Sokun and Pol Rim, and speaks of a resumption of massacres in 1977. The letter makes it clear that after a short lull in 1976 "the authorities summoned their chosen victims, first one by one, then by groups of two, five or ten, to eliminate them secretly in a most barbarous manner. Their armed forces might attack and round us up in the daytime when we were working, or at night when we were sound asleep; not even children were spared. Sometimes whole families were murdered and thrown into the same ditch."

It is clear that the four million "new" Kampuchians are not regarded as part of the population proper. They are sub-citizens.

Hard Labour and Subsistence Rations for All

The inhuman conditions imposed on the "new" Kampuchians do not seem to imply so very human status for the rest, however. The "basic population" themselves are subject to a regime of hard labour in exchange for subsistence rations. They are subject to the iron discipline of the draconian rules of Angkar, the omnipresent "Organization."

"All the rights promised by the revolution are now denied by Angkar," said Mr Kuong Um, former co-op farmer in Koctac village, Chantria district, Svey Rieng province, who came to Tay Ninh (Vietnam) on February 28, 1977. He went on, "Our agricultural co-operative was set up in 1975 with 272 households, 223 hectares of farm land, and 30 draught animals — buffaloes and oxen — which was far from sufficient.

We had to turn the soil with hoes and even harness ourselves to the ploughs. We had to work away all day long in exchange for 100 grammes of rice per head, a ration which was fortunately doubled at the end of 1976. We all had to eat in commuqn. In 1976 4 or 5-member families received 3 metres of cloth, larger families 4 or 5 metres. There were an average three or four deaths a month, most of them small children. However, the Angkar men and their families fared well: they had meat to eat and were well dressed. The peasants did not dare to show their discontent. People who did so were flung into Khdop prison. Up till the time I escaped, eight of my co-villagers had been sent there, including two women. Two others, Phon and Macen, had been summarily executed."

The evidence from different people concurs on basic points: the "basic population" works for Angkar from 10 to 12 hours a day, in the morning, afternoon, frequently in the evening, and even at night in the light of torches or in the moonlight. Men and women are in separate brigades and eat in separate refectories; they receive 200 grammes of rice per day each. Most of the time, this is made into a thin gruel seasoned with salt or *prahok* brine, and the rice is rarely cooked in the traditional way. Animals raised by families, like pigs and poultry, are sent to collective kitchens. Children and old people alike have to work in order to eat.

We are thus led to believe that the Kampuchean leaders have decided to build up a society of egalitarian communities in which there are "neither haves nor have-nots," based on a return to agrarian civilization, as they themselves declare, and by keeping ruthless control of each member. It is probably this spirit that has led to all modern conveniences of the population, such as bicycles, motorbikes, radios and sewing-machines being confiscated and disposed of.

The new Kampuchean State has neither money, nor markets; all the primary needs of the citizens are supposed to be taken care of by Angkar. The postal service seems to have been abolished on the grounds that Kampuchean citizens do not need to exchange letters. Schools have ceased functioning, for literacy courses are reckoned sufficient schooling for farmhands who only use simple traditional methods in their work.

All social life has been disrupted, and family life has also ceased to exist. Family cooking is forbidden. Husband and wife only meet at night, after their exhausting, depressing days. Children live apart from their parents, who have no authority over them whatsoever, the idea being that all their love should flow to Angkar. Marriage has also become an Angkar affair: couples cannot meet without its permission, marriage is an administrative procedure, and the contract concluded is for life. As a means of ensuring the loyalty of Kampuchean citizens, Angkar encourages denouncement and had set up a mutual supervision system in each labour brigade.

All this seems hard to believe, but the various witnesses have all given such similar evidence that one cannot doubt that these really are the facts.

Mr Chum Mom, another Kampuchean peasant, from Khum Da village, Mimot district, Kompong Cham province, says, "The new regime is thoroughly unacceptable. It is turning the Kampuchean people into animals; the lives we lead are not human. What our compatriots in Kampuchea are having to put up with is living death."

Religion and Ethnic Minorities Trampled under Foot

Much of Kampuchea was deeply Buddhist before the coming of the new masters. There were more

than 3,000 pagodas, with about 70,000 bonzes, about one per cent of the population. Buddhist monasteries which had for long been the only educational centres, still played a central role in the social and cultural life of the country, many of them having their own schools, others serving as students' hostels, and others still as old people's homes. Buddhist monks had great moral authority, and frequently sympathized with the revolution. Buddhist tolerance and compassion, one of the striking features of Khmer personality, were highly conducive to the concord between the Buddhist majority and other believers, chiefly the 150,000 Islamic Khmers, most of them of Cham origin, as well as about 55,000 Christians.

Article 20 of the January 5, 1976 Constitution stipulates: "Every citizen of Kampuchea has the right to have his own beliefs and practise his own religions, or to have no belief or religion." A dead letter.

"The new regime has ransacked all our Buddhist sanctuaries," was 67-year-old Venerable Som Sam's denunciation. He was Superior of Puong Pan monastery, Svey Rieng province. Cement statues of Buddha have been turned into whetstones. Statues in bronze are reported to have been remoulded into more useful articles. Bonzes are accused of being parasites and driven out of their pagodas. Those who protest are taken away and executed. There has never been such persecution in any country of Buddha's adepts."

The Kampuchean people find this vandalism against Buddhism most offensive, and the refugees, from Phnom Penh and other provinces, are unanimous in condemning it as one of the regime's most heinous crimes. The people, of both "new" and "old" categories, are sincerely pained when they call to mind the burnings of the pagodas in their native villages,

and the bonzes they venerated being forced to work as slaves like themselves.

I did not have an occasion to talk to any Kampuchean Christians, and so have no direct evidence of what has happened in these communities. But the following written testimony by an Islamic Kampuchean leads me to believe that all religions and minorities are subject to repressive measures of an odious sadistic nature :

“My name is Saleman Samon. I belong to the Cham ethnic group and I live at Coki village, Mimot district, Kompong Cham province. Under the iron heel of the reactionaries (read the Phnom Penh authorities — *Ed.*) our people are subjected to unimaginable sufferings. We have to work all day long, till eleven at night, and even till two or three o'clock in the morning. The food we receive is a bowlful of thin rice gruel with salt each meal, and every one or two months we get a meal of meat cooked with vegetables or green bananas, the meat ration being a piece about the size of a finger. The worst is that they try every means to destroy our religion. They have turned our places of worship into henhouses, pigsties or depots. They forbade our women to wear long hair as is the custom of our people, and they compelled us to eat pork, which is forbidden for us, on pain of being beaten. We were terrified, and many of us obeyed their cruel orders. Those who protested were led away by the reactionaries and have not been seen since.”

Skull-bashers at the Service of the “Revolution”

41-year-old Mr Phoun Sarcoun was a school-teacher in Mimot, Kompong Cham province, before he fled to Vietnam. The self-styled “democracy” in Kampuchea has cost this intellectual dear : his wife and his three children killed.

"The inhuman forced labour and terrible privations imposed on the people have made Kampuchea what must be the most miserable country of our times," he says. "More horrifying is the physical elimination of citizens judged recalcitrant or even just suspected of being so. Anyone disobeying a regulation is liable to find himself and his family being chased into the forest and left there to starve. There are frequent mass executions. At first, it was the traitors who had collaborated with the old regime who were executed; but now it is the turn of the 'new traitors,' i.e., people who oppose the new regime, many of whom are Red Khmers themselves. The village authorities have the power to arrest and to kill people at will. The executioners simply crack the prisoners' skulls with a pick or a hoe, slit their throats, hack off their heads with an axe, or chop their bodies in two with a hatchet. To save bullets, they say. But the real purpose is to terrorize the people completely."

The following are the scarcely credible, but nevertheless true testimonies to this effect from Kampuchean refugees who fled to Tay Ninh on the morning of January 6, 1978.

"We were 100 families in all who decided to leave the country," Mr Usoi tells us. He is 41, and is a native of Sangke commune, Chomron district, Svey Rieng province. "The group as a whole moved slowly, at the pace of the pregnant women and small children among us. The troops caught up with us at the frontier, opened heavy fire at us, and killed 45 persons. The group I was with crossed over into Vietnamese territory, but they pursued us all the same and killed six more people. The victims were from Sangke, Chop, and Bomon. The soldiers captured many children, pierced their hands, and led them away. My family narrowly escaped death that day, but everyone in my brother's perished, except for a 12-year-old boy."

The fate of those villagers intercepted on the Kampuchean side of border was described in no less shocking detail by Mrs Thanh Rem, 35, a fellow villager of Mr Usoi :

"We were nearly at the frontier when the troops burst on us like a storm, and forced us to retrace our steps. They began firing at the mass of refugees, killing my father, my mother and several of my relatives. The ground was strewn with corpses. The soldiers cut the heads off the bodies, took out the brains and stuffed the skulls with grass. Then they photographed and filmed the mutilated bodies. They will probably use this as their "evidence" in accusing the Vietnamese troops of having attacked this area and massacred the Kampuchean civilian population."

The People's Anger : a Volcano

The Kampuchean officers who were taken prisoners in Tay Ninh, were carrying documents which read, among other things : "The enemy is attacking us everywhere, in all fields, and particularly on the economic front. They aim to cause our people misery and hunger and to make us lose confidence in the Party. Under the correct leadership of the Party, we are striking back violently. We are unceasingly on the offensive, hold the initiative absolutely, and are in a position to beat off the enemy at all times." This is an excerpt from the political report at a local conference of the Communist Party of Kampuchea in the Eastern Military Zone (Zone 203), in July 1977.

But who is the real, omnipresent enemy of the Kampuchean "revolution," the source of the haunting obsession in the Kampuchean leaders' minds? None other than the Kampuchean people themselves, whose conditions many have compared to those of

the slaves of the Angkor Empire. This is what 23-year-old Mr Xat Xon's testimony reflects. He is a native of Kompong Cham and a former soldier in the Red Khmers' armed forces :

"The Khmer people have been terrorized into complete silence. But there is general discontent. No one wants to work any longer. In fact, people are no longer capable of much work after all the forced labour on limited rations, let alone the regular persecution. With the exception of the professional executioners, we are all waiting for something to happen to change all this. Many sturdy men in the villages have fled, taking the weapons of the troops or the members of the self-defence corps with them. Popular protest has been put down by bloody repressions, for example on the banks of the Mekong, where a Cham village with a population of over 500 was exterminated. The government has launched sweep operations to clear forest regions, mobilizing larger and larger units for the purpose. There have been many Khmer uprisings in different places."

The witnesses' testimonies agree on there being a vast movement of opposition, which ranges in form from sit-down strikes to armed activity of a defensive character. In most cases these are spontaneous. But the leaders are clearly afraid that the movement should be co-ordinated, and this is why they are perpetrating this atrocious repression, even against members of the Party.

"There were massive arrests between February and September 1977," Mr Xat Son continued. "There were 300 cadres arrested in March in my district of Tabo Khomun alone ; they were accused of treason, taken away, and haven't been heard of since. Among the arrested leading cadres were comrades Ky Luon, Sok Sam, and Long Rokkha, in charge of economic, social, and military affairs respectively ; Chang Samat, commander of a battalion of the regional armed

forces, and numerous leading cadres at grassroots level. They were members of an underground revolutionary organization within the ranks of the terrible Angkar, which was organized at all levels, central, zonal, provincial, district, commune, and village. A new generation of cadres sponsored by the clique in power and chosen among the most faithful to the regime has taken over in all districts. They include the bloodthirsty Min Tol who is now responsible for military affairs. However, the really cruel and the enthusiasts for the regime are in the minority : most of the cadres carry out their superiors' order with pretended 'revolutionary ardour' just to avoid being black-listed."

There is no less opposition in the army, where similar massacres occurred in the course of last year. According to Mr Xat Son, 200 officers and men of the 23rd Military Region who were considered suspect were executed on the night of March 31, 1977. Other witnesses, whose names it would be wiser not to give, have revealed a number of significant events in the military zone bordering on Vietnam :

"The reactionaries have been making frenzied attacks on the armed forces in our zone since April 1977. First they disarmed the 75th Battalion of the 21st Infantry Regiment ; then two weeks later they arrested 100 of its officers and men, most of whom were members of the Party and the Communist Youth Organization. The following month, the 35th, 55th, and 59th Battalions of the same regiment suffered the same fate as the 75th. Finally, by June, none of the original commanding officers were left in the regiment : they had all been purged, the chief of military operations Chan Hol and the political commissar Sok Sat included. Arrests were also made at division commander and at zonal level. The High Command itself was purged, in the strictest secrecy

at the time. In most cases, the purged were tied up, tortured and disposed of without trial."

All the testimonies concur and bear out that the opposition is as broad as the policy of the Kampuchean leaders is bloody.

An External Enemy, the Natural Scapegoat

"The Yuon have never been friends of the Khmer people; they are our hereditary enemies, the cause of our miseries, in the past as well as at present. We must work to increase our agricultural production, tighten our belts and stock provisions to fight the Yuon. We must not only prevent them from conquering our country and enslaving our people, but also wrest back Cochinchina which used to be our."

"Yuon" is the pejorative Khmer term for Vietnamese. "Cochinchina" refers to the vast delta formed by the Mekong and the Dong Nai rivers, with a population of 15 million Vietnamese, more than double the present population of Kampuchea. These remarks are Angkar's ideological nourishment fed to the peasants of Chan, Kompong Trabec district, Preyveng province. According to Mr Pek Pol, a former inhabitant of this commune, the cadres there use these ideas in one form or another whenever they want to galvanize the masses. Refugees from other regions of Kampuchea have similar tales to relate. The language used by the local authorities, as in the above, coincides in the main with that of Radio Phnom Penh, which for the past year has been calling Vietnam "the No.1 enemy of the Khmer nation."

The situation has become explosive because of the people's discontent, and has caused the Khmer leaders to blame Vietnam for all the difficulties encountered by the Kampuchean State: all opponents are automatically labelled traitors, if not agents of a foreign

power. It is in this same spirit that the "Revolutionary Flag," the theoretical organ of the Communist Party of Kampuchea, has made an assessment of the country's situation: "Our victories in all fields are highly significant. They testify to the success of our persevering and hard struggle, the struggle between ourselves and our enemies, internal and external, between the revolution and counter-revolution, internal and external, between the collectivity and the individual, between socialism and capitalism, between the correct Khmer revolution under the leadership of the Communist Party of Kampuchea on the one hand and the CIA, the KGB, the Annamites and their agents [...] on the other. These different categories of foes have endeavoured to establish three great espionage networks inside our Party, our Revolution, and our Army in order to destroy them, and they have been doing this work for 27 years now. But we have succeeded in identifying them, and we eliminated most of them in the first quarter of 1977."

"Annamite" is another pejorative term meaning Vietnamese; it was the term used by the French in colonial days. We shall not try to reason why Phnom Penh puts US imperialism, the Soviet Union, and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam all in the same basket, but we shall make an attempt at understanding what the intentions of the Kampuchean leadership are when they claim that alleged agents of a foreign power have for 27 years now been infiltrated into the Khmer revolutionary organizations. Let us retrace history with a former Red Khmer cadre, who escaped purge, and who joined the Indochinese Communist Party in the very first years of the war of resistance against the French colonialists, then the Khmer People's Revolutionary Party before it became the present Communist Party of Kampuchea in 1960:

“Call me Surya. It's not my real name, but I can't tell you anything for the time being under my true name.

“We all know that ‘French Indochina’ was divided into five parts, three as a result of the partition of Vietnam, namely Tonkin, Annam and Cochinchina, the two others being Laos and Cambodia. The Indochinese Communist Party, which was founded in 1930, was resolved to bring about a successful revolution in the whole of Indochina. It split into three Marxist-Leninist-oriented national parties — The Vietnam Workers' Party, the Khmer People's Revolutionary Party, and the Lao People's Revolutionary Party — 27 years ago. The three parties co-operated with each other in a spirit of equality and fraternity, and achieved victories for the Revolution in Vietnam, Kampuchea and Laos that earned the world's admiration. However, an extremist and chauvinist tendency appeared within the Khmer Party, and it has become more and more apparent since the liberation of Phnom Penh, characterized by a tyrannical domestic policy and a bellicose and almost isolationist foreign policy. Almost all the old Party members opposed it in one way or another, and it was not until mid-1976 that the situation deteriorated radically. The ‘Red Flag,’ organ of the Communist Youth, carried an article about the history of the Communist Party of Kampuchea in its September 1976 issue, in which it stated that the Party had been founded in 1951 and had received considerable aid from brother parties, particularly the Vietnamese Party. However, at about the same time, the ‘new forces’ stated in the ‘Revolutionary Flag’ that the Party came into being in 1960, that it had developed along specifically Khmer lines, and was completely self-reliant from all points of view. Such a falsification of history by the CPK is a denial of the role played as regards

theoretical aspects until then, by necessity by veterans and former allies. Shortly thereafter, we received a directive from 'Service 870' — the C.C.'s code name, about purging members who were allegedly under Vietnamese influence and who did not sympathize with the line that was being followed: those who 'had no faith in the Khmer leadership' were to be sent to do manual work under surveillance, and the 'declared discontents' were to be dismissed from the Party and handed over to the Security Service. An immense purge started; under the slogan of 'threefold elimination': of the agents of the CIA, those of the Soviet KGB and those of the Vietnamese revisionists and expansionists hiding in the ranks of the Khmer Revolution. The Party was in for a period of incomparable decimation and upheaval!"

From Extreme Nationalists to Mercenaries

Hatred for Vietnam and its people has been kindled by the Phnom Penh regime among the young Khmer combatants, and they have become fanatic and ruthless as a result. A measure of this hatred can be got from the following note in the notebook of a Khmer N.C.O. taken prisoner. Chhim Phin, 24, of the 2nd Infantry Division, wrote:

"The Annamites were incapable of raising a finger in defence against us. On April 30, we went to their homes to levy the arrears on their taxes: over 4,000 of them were liquidated and 90% of their houses reduced to ashes." This is not just one man's bravado, but something much more serious. These are notes taken on the 17th of July, 1977 in the course of a conference of cadres on Mount Angkor Boray, which Chhim Phim himself noted.

The concurring testimonies and information from various sources highlights the lack of realism and the excessive nationalism of the Kampuchean leaders. These men are destroying the best Khmer traditions in the name of Communism. They dream of recovering the ancient territory of the Angkor Empire which existed before the founding of the Mongol Empire, and extended from the present southern coast of Vietnam to the Irrawadi river and from the Malaysian peninsula to Luang Prabang. Unable to make territorial claims on its three neighbours, Thailand, Laos, and Vietnam at the same time, Phnom Penh has chosen to limit its demands to the Mekong delta only, where the metropolis Ho Chi Minh City lies. It has not dared spell out its dark scheme in full. Pending a more propitious moment, Phnom Penh has resigned itself to playing on the feelings of the Khmer people by waging a real psychological war about the so-called border issue, taking it as the immediate pretext for an armed aggression against their Vietnamese neighbour.

Surya, the Red Khmer cadre, continues: "The frontier war started against Socialist Vietnam is intended to kill two birds with one stone. First, it minimizes the internal contradictions of Kampuchea by spearheading the people's anger against the "external enemy." Then, it is aimed at weakening the influence of Vietnam, but this is not simply the objective, it is a means to get material support from outside. There is no comparison between Kampuchean military potential and that of its Vietnamese neighbour, an objective situation in which Kampuchea is inviting its own defeat. Given inveterate hatred for Vietnam on the part of Phnom Penh, once could easily understand verbal aggression on their part, however

violent. But not armed aggression. Unless there is a considerable force behind them to support and keep them supplied. It is not difficult to see that they must be carrying out a proxy anti-Vietnamese war for a third party.

"The fire must be extinguished without any delay, before it develops into a conflagration. A war between our two countries is profitable only for those who want to fish in troubled waters; it will only weaken Vietnam, and lead to a catastrophe in Kampuchea. The Khmer people condemn these cruelly kindled hostilities, and strictly speaking, this criminal path taken by the Kampuchean side. They are refusing to be used as cannon fodder and are not prepared to resign themselves to watching their children being turned into an army of mercenaries."

*
* *

The contents of this testimony were not originally collected as the systematic accusation it has turned out to be. But the Phnom Penh regime has revealed its true colours, leaving the investigators gaping. The regime has proclaimed itself to be "without rich or poor"; and perhaps on this point, it has succeeded, for apart from the ruling caste and over one million dead, it has indeed created only unfortunate and miserable people whose future under the regime must be one based on resignation. It proclaims itself internationalist, but it is undermining international solidarity to the extent that it turns guns on its comrades-in-arms. It proclaims itself to be peace-

loving, but it brings war to its neighbours, it claims to be non-aligned, and it is serving reactionary forces, in a collusion that will lead it far along the path of counter-revolution.

The people only dare accuse their rulers when in extreme distress. The Khmer refugees' testimonies against the Phnom Penh regime give us much food for thought. They must resound as so many appeals to the conscience of humanity.

Kampuchea Diary

MEMORIES OF MILITANT FRIENDSHIP

HONG PHUONG

In 1970, a time of vigorous advance for the Kampuchean revolution, the author had the opportunity to visit the Vietnam-Kampuchea border region in Tay Ninh province, and together with other Vietnamese war correspondents, he was invited to visit the liberated zone of the friendly neighbouring country. He wrote a diary of the visit.

At the end of November 1977, he again visited the border region for a couple of weeks. But this time it was against a background of continuous explosions of gunfire, from the Kampuchean side. Tension was high along the southwestern border of the country.

He continues his Kampuchea diary after a lapse of seven years...

November 30, 1977

The *Voice of Vietnam* announces in its morning broadcast, that in Hanoi, the weather is getting cooler; winter has started. But here in Long Khanh (Ben Cau, Tay Ninh) the sun beats down brightly at noon. It is stifling hot as we survey the site of the massacre recently perpetrated by the Kampuchean reactionaries. Houses with collapsing, charred

roofs. Long rows of new graves in the earth stained with blood. Scorched, leafless trees tilt in all directions, increasing the desolation of the scene.

Most of the local people have evacuated this embattled zone. I found Mrs Tran Thi San in Long Thuan hamlet, a survivor of the last massacre, standing beside her buffalo.

"My husband was killed during a US bombing raid supporting the enemy's attack across the border to launch a mopping-up operation in Kampuchea in 1970. That left my only son, Sau. He got married after peace and he and his wife and I lived together.

"Sau's wife was seven months pregnant when one night at midnight, those wicked Kampuchians attacked the hamlet, burst into our house and murdered both of them in bed: they cut Sau's head off as he lay there, threw his body onto the ground and raped his wife. She cried for help and shrieked curses at the murderers before they finally killed her and cut her body into three. I was lucky enough to escape to the back garden, where I hid in some bushes. Now all my children have been killed, and my house has been burned down. The only thing I have left in the world is this buffalo..."

Mrs Ban told me of other horrors experienced by other households in the hamlet. Mr Ut Boi, his wife and their four children were all murdered. The youngest son was thrown down a deep well. The three older children were hung up by their legs, beaten in the face with thorny branches, then stabbed to death. Mr Ut and his wife were mown down by submachine-gun fire as they tried to run away. Mr To's wife, who was from the North, was visiting the Ut family at the time and was killed too. She was pregnant.

An elderly couple, Mr and Mrs Nam Sach, were bayoneted to death in their sleep.

Mrs San was sobbing now. "It's really very peculiar! When we were fighting the US aggressors,

Khmer troops often got stranded here during mopping-up operations by the enemy. Long Thuan hamlet really loved and looked after them. And they were all so very gentle and kind. They were given lots of gifts, but they accepted very little. 'Keep them', they said, 'for those Vietnamese brothers and sisters who have suffered a great deal'. Vietnamese and Kampucheans were just like one big family... But now, they're so cruel and frenzied! I just can't figure it out."

... I understand the pangs Mrs San feels. I feel the same pangs, the same bewilderment.

December 3, 1977

We have been at the command post of Group S. In a room lit by two neon lights, C. spoke about new assessments and new plans, with a large map spread out in front of him.

Last night, the Kampuchean reactionaries crossed the jungle and penetrated five kilometres into the border province of Tay Ninh. Many regiments split up into smaller columns and began plundering and killing the people in different places. They seized paddy and rice and then sneaked away. Our troops in this region have gone in hot pursuit in order to capture them.

A Kampuchean scout has been captured and he said this morning that the leaders have ordered massive dismissals of commanders under them. S., his new division commander, immediately ordered the troops to attack Ben Soi (near Tay Ninh town). "Go deeper into Vietnamese territory! Kill as many Vietnamese as possible!" he had ordered. They were obviously thinking that the dry season was a good time for a "big push." Our troops' self-restraint had

only been an added incentive to them. We are thus compelled to exercise our legitimate right to self-defence.

The meeting finished at 2 a.m. and I immediately joined a unit of scouts who were setting off. In the afternoon of that day, we arrived at a front-line observation post, which was on the top of a tree and was reached by a 69-rung rope ladder.

I looked out over the fields of district B. They were full of ripe paddy, apricot-yellow shading into dark ochre. On the roads were buffalo carts with their huge wheels and Hondas with sidecars going to and from the ricefields. The harvest has begun, not quite in peace, but full of animation and enthusiasm.

I looked across the border through binoculars. Only fallow land overgrown with grass, except for the odd plot of shrivelled rice standing ripe but unharvested; empty houses, no sign of normal activity but for the small groups of Kampuchean soldiers busy digging in the trenches from which they open fire at the Vietnamese villages just across the frontier.

These troops might have been close friends seven years ago. But I can't consider them so any longer. They are deliberately turning their backs on the long-standing friendship between our two peoples.

I feel very wisfful as I think back to my visit to what was a fraternal country that year ...

August 18, 1970

I left Hanoi one day in early July. After nearly fifty days travelling down the Truong Son hills, I arrived in the burning "three frontiers" region. I walked for nine hours yesterday, swam across 12

stream in spate, crossed 19 suspension bridges and tree-trunk bridges, and waded across six swamps, knee-deep in mud.

Tomorrow is August 19¹, a day that carries such memories of Hanoi; and tomorrow, I'll be in friendly Kampuchea, the land of Angkor Wat, of sugar palms forests, Tonle Sap Lake, Tower Pagoda...

The Kampuchean Revolution has accelerated rapidly at a decisive moment. It broke out late but the liberated zones have expanded very rapidly. Good opportunities arising have generated an extraordinary amount of strength. In the drive for victory by the three Indochinese countries, the Kampuchean people have firmly risen up, opening up brilliant prospects for themselves and the echoes of these events have been ringing through the channels of the world press attracting attention.

Over the past five months, hundreds of correspondents from Western countries — Britain, France, Italy, West Germany the United States — have rushed to Kampuchea. From Phnom Penh, they have gone to the war zones. A young Dutchman had no Kampuchea entry visa, and so went to Thailand and found his way through the jungle to Battambang and then to Siamreap. He wanted to see what was shaking this country with his own eyes. A number of others entered the liberated zone by getting themselves "taken prisoner." After being released and returning to their countries, many have in varying degrees revealed the truth of the militant solidarity between the Vietnamese and the Kampuchean people they witnessed during their captivity.

It's a lot easier for me: I'll be in our friends' country tomorrow. As Vietnam and Kampuchea fighting together against the US aggressors, I'll

1. Celebration of the August 1945 Revolution.

be allowed to follow the Kampuchean and Vietnamese revolutionary troops' co-ordinated operations against the US and the Lon Nol puppets, hidden and protected by the Kampuchean local population.

By this time tomorrow, I shall be in Kampuchea, the day I've been looking forward to these past six weeks.

August 19, 1970

The first Kampuchean revolutionary soldier I met near the border was Khieu Poi. He was also travelling down the Truong Son range. We met at nightfall, in the rice storehouse of a liaison station. As a special guest, he was invited to receive his rice ration first. His is a privileged ration, of 100 gm extra a day, as decided by the command of the communication line for foreign guests.

Khieu Poi comes from Kompong Thom, which lies on Highway No 6. At the end of 1954, Poi and a number of his friends were sent by the Kampuchean revolutionary leaders for study in Vietnam. So Poi temporarily left his family and his motherland and followed the Vietnamese volunteers to Hanoi.

Khieu Poi is on his way home now, his mind full of burning aspirations. There are a lot of cadres like him among the Kampucheans crossing the Truong Son range, returning to their country to fight at the request of the revolutionary organization; some are military leaders, others are engineers specialized in hydraulics, in electricity...

Khieu Poi brings up the rear of his group because his knee-joints have swelled up after many days' wading through swamps and streams under torrential rains. The journey down the Truong Son range leaves him unforgettable memories. Craters left by

single B.52 bombing raids spread over 5-6 km at a time, charred stumps of what were immense trees, ashes all around. But convoys of trucks keep rolling on to the front. The swift waterfalls in the rivers cannot stop lines of boats loaded with ammunitions. Khieu Poi shows me the notebook he has been keeping during the journey.

"The people of Kampuchea do know that each A.K. rifle, each bullet, each pill brought to our compatriots and comrades has only reached them thanks to the blood shed by the fighters and people of friendly Vietnam and Laos. The Truong Son route has become a common strategic route for all the three Indochinese countries in the struggle for the liberation of the people of each country."

In the afternoon, when we cross a branch of the T.N. river into Kampuchea, a storm suddenly breaks over Truong Son. The wind blows in fits and starts, shaking an entire forest of tall, white-trunked "sang le." Khieu Poi takes short, slow steps forward on his country's soil. He is silent. I can feel his great emotion.

Night falls early on the Truong Son mountains. I sit on my hammock writing notes by the light of an electric torch. Rain is pattering on the roof of my "tent," made from the foliage of the "sang le" trees. Khieu Poi's hammock beside me swings and he sings softly...

Next morning, we parted when the guide came to take Khieu Poi to the base area.

August 22, 1970

Almost all of yesterday I was in the grip of a smouldering fever, but I continued to march. The

fever was much higher when I arrived at the liaison station: over 40°C. The guides helped me to the dispensary of K.6.

K.6 is a hidden transport station in the "three frontiers" region. Its dispensary not only gives medical care to our soldiers but also treats Lao and Kampuchean friends. It's easy to see the love lavished on the dispensary and the rest of K.6, by the local Lao and Kampuchean populations, who also protect the installations.

When roads were blocked for many months because of intensive enemy activities, our troops in K.6 and in the rear lines ran short of food and medicine. The Kampuchean people braved many enemy defence lines to bring K.6 baskets of rice, salt and parcels of medicine. Many were caught by the enemy and killed or were drowned in the mountain streams they crossed in spite.

One rainy night, Nhem Mun, an old man from the outskirts of Stungtreng, and seven other Kampucheans and Vietnamese punted two boatloads of rice, salt, and medicine upstream to K.6. At waterfall B. they were attacked by enemy commandos, who at once opened intensive fire at them: old Nhem Mun was hit by a bullet, but managed to berth the boats in time by a big rock. His hip wound bled profusely, but he did not complain or moan. Only when the fighting died down did his companions find out about his being wounded and dress the gash. His strength was dwindling but he continued to guide the crews safely over the many rapids and waterfalls to K.6. At the station, he fainted in the arms of our soldiers. The same night, the hospital of K.6 operated to extract the bullet in a shelter, by the light of oil lamps. 37 days later, his wound was healed and he returned home.

The quinine I am being given is part of the medicines brought up by old Nhem Mun, and contributed by the Kampuchean people.

The hospital of K.6 is a kind of "international hospital"; in fact throughout the transport station you can feel the international solidarity and friendship of the fraternal peoples of Laos and Kam-puchea.

September 1, 1970

I left the liaison station this morning, and about half an hour later, I arrived at the bank of the Sekong, a tributary of the Mekong. It was near the town of Siempang that I met up with my guide, Mr Keo Chia, a guerilla fighter of the region.

Keo Chia is working in a srok, or village, near Siempang. He shakes my hand and gives me a hearty slap on the shoulder.

"Good morning, Vietnamese comrade!"

He is a slight man, and his yellowish complexion indicates repeated fits of malaria. The A.K. sub-machine-gun he carries in a sling is new, and the steel of the gun shines in the sun. He tells me he was given it by Vietnamese troops after the capture of Siempang post. Keo Chia's job is to guide scouts entering the town at night.

Each time he goes on such a mission, he comes back all scratched by the thorns in the forests and hedges; he wears an old "sarong," winds a frayed checked turban around his neck, has a long dagger at his side, and his gun slung over his shoulder. His life as a guerilla is one of hardship. Sometimes there is a shortage of salt and he and his friends have to bake and pulvenize "sour leaves" for flavouring in their food.

Keo Chia leads us along the river. There are fishing boats heavy with their catches in the bushes here and there. It's a kind of big fish with a plump

body and mottled scales they have in the boats. It is common here, Keo Chia says, and can weigh up to 15 kilograms.

This portion of the river is very far from the Tonle Sap, and yet it is teeming with fish!

Beyond the river is grassland and woods. The background noise is that of the wooden bells around the necks of fleshy buffaloes, grazing in herds.

As we approach the town, I hear deafening mine explosions. We meet a few Kampuchean guerillas and two Vietnamese soldiers destroying mines: they have long bamboo poles in their hands, and whenever they detect a mine, they lie down and make it explode with their sticks.

Siempang is situated on the bank of river. Keo Chia shows me the short, beautiful main street, then indicates the large pagoda area. In the distance, I see three spacious buildings with curved roofs: for a small place like Siempang, the size of the pagoda area is rather surprising, covering as it does an area of a few hectares. Keo Chia tells me that there are up to 3,000 pagodas and about 60,000 Buddhist bonzes in Kampuchea.

Keo Chia and I take off our hats when we get in the pagoda yard, and respectfully greet the bonzes. They are dressed in their saffron silk robes, and are digging shelters behind the pagoda, under the rows of jackfruit trees, coconut palms, and milk apple trees.

Keo Chia and I take off our hats when we get who is about 60 years old and who sends someone to get some lemons to make me a drink.

He smiles and asks me: "You come from Hanoi?"

"Yes, Reverend."

"You, correspondents, you always dress like Vietnamese troops?"

"Well, I am a war correspondent and I follow the troops."

"That's marvellous. You are true sons and nephews of President Ho. Did you get bombed and shelled on the way here?"

"Yes, a lot of bombing, that I narrowly escaped from, and I've not been wounded."

"The US troops are very cruel everywhere they go. So are Lon Nol's troops, their agents. In the last few days, they have bombed even this region. We priests have to dig trenches against them too, like the revolutionary troops and our Vietnamese brothers..."

As a mark of Vietnam-Kampuchea "samakhi," the superior bonze invites me to remain to hear prayers for fraternity between the two peoples. He says, "President Ho Chi Minh is no longer in this world, but I hope that his soul will come and attend this prayer."

After the mass, Keo Chia asks, "Did you know that besides the Kampuchean bonzes, there are also a number of bonzes of Lao and Vietnamese origin in the pagoda? They have been living together in perfect harmony for many years."

When we set out again, Keo Chia says to me, "Before the liberation of Siempang by the Khmer guerillas and the Vietnamese troops, that superior bonze advised the people and Lon Nol's troops to go to the pagoda and pray, rather than follow the traitors to the nation, and to get together against them and get bid of them. It was thanks to his work that 500 of Lon Nol troops in the garrison have surrendered after only five minutes under the guerillas' fire."

Later he says to me, "The celebration of victory at Siempang attracted thousands including recently-victorious Vietnamese troops. The whole local population was there at the time."

September 13, 1970

I am sailing at night on the Mekong river. It is immensely wide. Now and then, a small island looms up and passes.

The moon has risen, like a golden dish, its light shimmering on the expanse of forest on either bank of the river. The sound of an occasional outboard motor reaches our ears. So peaceful!

However, the moon sails into cloud, and double-fuselage planes, painted as black as coal, what the people nicknamed "pigsty planes," begin patrolling along the river in file and machine-gunning indiscriminately. A line of house-boats are hit; they take fire and are all ablaze...

I arrive in the river port of Kratie at dawn. The town is still intact, not yet attacked by US-puppet planes. The enemy probably plans to try and win the people's hearts here. At 7.00 a.m., the market is full and bustling. Vehicles of all kinds are crowded on the large yard in front of the market-gate.

Hong Xuong is a cadre of Kratie information service and he tells me that the town is always brilliantly lit at night, by neon lighting, and that the electricians bravely stuck to the generators to keep the current flowing in the face of Lon Nol troops to destroy the power station when Vietnamese troops and Kampuchean guerillas liberated the town.

"That was a wonderful piece of co-ordination in fact," he says. "The Vietnamese comrades could not get in contact with the electricians, but the workers heard the soldiers firing on the outskirts, and cut the current to facilitate their combat. When the troops entered the town in pursuit of the enemy, the current came on again, and the patriotic youths

of the town guided the troops, showing them short-cuts, helping lay ambushes and capture numbers of prisoners."

What fine men these Kampuchean workers are! I ride pillion on Hong Xuong's Honda to see Mrs Xa Ran's family, in the northern part of the town. She is very glad to have a Vietnamese soldier come to her house, but she repeatedly expresses the same worry:

"After their attacks on Sam Boc, three Vietnamese soldiers came to live with us while they prepared for the capture of the town; when they left us, they promised to return and they have not come back. They were going to Stungtreng; I am afraid they might have had some accident."

She is praying for the three Vietnamese soldiers' safety and success. She says:

"I feel very sorry for them, being so far away from home; they have come here to liberate our people and to help us. They are such good men, braving dangers and hardships."

Khmer mothers are just as affectionate and attached to Vietnamese troops as Vietnamese mothers...

.....

December 18, 1977

What beauty there is in the pages of the Kampuchea diary I wrote seven years ago.

And now, the border of friendship and the close brotherhood between the two peoples have come under the clouds of smoke from the attackers' fire.

Last night, artillery thundered in the direction of C. Kampuchean troops there fanned out to launch a surprise attack against one of our posts, but they were driven back.

It's a windy morning. The rows of coconut palms and sugar palms are all a flutter. The firing has died down. The silence seals the defeat of the attackers.

I drive with a field commander along a portion of the border. The car stops and I gather a few of the leaflets blowing about that the Kampuchean troops left behind in Tay Ninh.

"This land is really Kampuchean territory. Remember that. Kampuchean territory extends as far as Saigon."

We drive past some hastily set-up signboards which say, "Hello, Vietnamese friends! The 3rd Division will be back in the coming dry season!"

Kampuchea's 3rd Division has perpetrated many crimes against our compatriots in this border region. So, it will continue to usurp our land, to harass and massacre our people. Our troops will have to be constantly prepared, vigilant, on the alert day and night.

Our car meets convoys of Vietnamese nationals who have survived and escaped from concentration camps in Kampuchea and are now returning to Vietnam. We also meet a number of Khmer families. Kampuchean troops in their flight had tried to divert these families in their flight but had lost control of them. The captives scattered over the fields, and found their way to the border. There they met Vietnamese troops and at last dared to speak out about horrors preying on their minds.

I talked with Mr Ma Um's family as Ma Um, his wife, Mrs Mao So Bon, and their two children sit with the Vietnamese soldiers, sharing together a ball of rice, handful rations and a canteen of soft drink...

Mr Ma Um says to me: "I hope that our Vietnamese brothers will understand. We, Kampuchean, are aware that 'a friend in need is a friend indeed'. Over the past few decades, we have been

through many trials, some caused by the French, others by the Americans, others by Lon Nol and the Thieu-Ky cliques. And we have always had Vietnamese friends by our side, sharing with us weal and woe, shedding blood with us. No matter what those bandits tell us, our feelings toward the Vietnamese are unchanged..."

These sincere words of Mr Ma Um gave us all confidence in the Kampuchean people and genuine revolutionaries. Confidence that the smoke of the attackers' fire clouding the frontier will disperse and the sun will again shine down on peace.

CHRONOLOGY

(1960 — 1978)

1960

September 30: The Khmer People's Revolutionary Party changes its name to Communist Party of Kampuchea (1).

September: Third National Congress of the Vietnam Workers' Party. The Political Report by the Central Executive Committee to the Congress stresses: "With regard to neighbouring countries, we wish to establish and to develop good relations on the basis of mutual respect for independence and sovereignty and of non-interference in each other's internal affairs. We welcome the present policy of peace and neutrality of the Kingdom of Cambodia, with which we will further consolidate friendly relations."

1962

August 22: Cambodian Head of State Norodom Sihanouk proposes the convening of a 14-

1. In September 1976, the leaders of the Communist Party of Kampuchea celebrated the 25th founding anniversary of their Party (i.e. in 1951). However, in December 1977, they celebrated the 17th anniversary of its founding, wishing apparently to imply that the Party was founded only in 1960 (see also p. 37 of the article "Refugees from the Phnom Penh Regime Bear Witness").

country conference to guarantee the independence and neutrality of the Kingdom of Cambodia (This proposal is repeated on July 17, 1964). The Democratic Republic of Vietnam declares its readiness to take part in such a conference and pledges to respect the independence, peace and neutrality of the Kingdom of Cambodia. The Cambodian proposal is however turned down by the United States, Great Britain and a number of other reactionary governments.

1964

June 20 and August 18: The Cambodian Head of State twice proposes to Nguyen Huu Tho, President of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation, that talks be held to settle the border question between the two countries.

October and December: In reply to the Cambodian Head of State's proposal, the NFL sends a delegation to Peking to meet the Cambodian side. In spite of our goodwill, the talks are not successful, since the Cambodian side puts forward unreasonable demands, in particular claiming the southern Hai Tac (Pirate) and Tho Chu Islands, which have been always part of Vietnam's territory (They are located South of the Brevie line).

1965

March: The first conference of Indochinese Peoples is held in Phnom Penh. The resolution of the conference takes note of the fact that

the Vietnam Fatherland Front and NFL delegations once again pledge to respect the independence, neutrality and territorial integrity of Cambodia.

May : Cambodia breaks off diplomatic relations with the United States.

1966

August : On a proposal by the Cambodian Head of State, a NFL delegation led by Tran Buu Kiem, Presidium member of the NFL Central Committee, visits Phnom Penh to resume talks on the border issue between the two countries. The negotiations are suspended, as the Cambodian side once again puts forward absurd demands.

1967

May 9 : The government of the Kingdom of Cambodia calls on other countries to recognize the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cambodia within its frontiers as defined by maps used in 1954.

May 31 : The NFL declares its recognition of, and pledges to respect, the territorial integrity of Cambodia within its existing frontiers.

June 8 : The DRV Government declares its recognition of, and pledges to respect, the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cambodia within existing frontiers.

June 20 : The DRV Representation in Phnom Penh is raised to the rank of Embassy. Ambassador Nguyen Thuong takes up post on August 9, 1967.

June 22 : Establishment in Phnom Penh of the NFL Representation headed by Nguyen Van Hieu, a Front CC member.

1969

January 13 : The Hanoi-Phnom Penh air route is re-established.

May 9 : The Representation of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam in Phnom Penh is raised to the rank of Embassy.

June 30 : At the invitation of the government of the Kingdom of Cambodia, Huynh Tan Phat, President of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam, makes a friendship visit to Cambodia. The aim of the visit is to strengthen the militant solidarity and the relations between the two countries.

1970

March 11 : In the absence of Sihanouk from Cambodia, the Embassies of the DRV and the South Vietnam PRG in Phnom Penh are sacked at the instigation of the CIA and of the Lon Nol—Sirik Matak clique.

March 14 : In Phnom Penh, Queen Kossamak, the Queen Mother, demands the cessation of all hostile acts against Vietnamese residents in Cambodia, and invites Cheng Heng, acting Head of State, and Lon Nol, Prime Minister of the Kingdom, to assume their responsibilities.

March 16 : From Peking, Head of State Norodom Sihanouk sends a telegram to Queen Kossamak requesting her to take measures in the name of the crown to overcome the emergent difficulties in relations between Cambodia and Vietnam.

March 18 : Coup d'Etat by General Lon Nol. Sihanouk is relieved of his post as Head of State. The US and world press denounces the role played by CIA in the coup.

March 23 : Message and official declaration by Norodom Sihanouk condemning the coup d'Etat and proclaiming the dissolution of the Lon Nol government and of the two chambers of the National Assembly. He also announces the forthcoming formation of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia (RGNUC) and of the National United Front of Kampuchea (NUFK). The armed struggle is rapidly taken up over the whole country.

March 25 : The DRV Government declares its condemnation of the March 18, 1970 coup d'Etat and stresses that "Proceeding from the principle that the liberation of Cambodia is the work of the Khmer people, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam declares its full support to the five-point proclamation of March 23, 1970 of Samdech Norodom Sihanouk... In the spirit of mutual respect, solidarity and mutual assistance, the Vietnamese people will wholeheartedly support the legitimate effort of the Khmer people."

March 26 : Three deputies, Khieu Samphan, Hou Youn and Hu Nim, declare their support for Norodom Sihanouk's appeal.

- Mid-April* : The Americans give orders to Nguyen Van Thieu to invade the Cambodian region of Svay Rieng.
- April 23* : The Procheachon organization (People's Group, legal cover for the Communist Party of Kampuchea) publishes a statement affirming its resolve to forge national unity and its support for Norodom Sihanouk's March 23, 1970 declaration.
- April 24 and 25* : Summit Conference of Indochinese Peoples. The Joint Declaration of the Conference stresses that "the parties... recognize and pledge to respect the territorial integrity of Cambodia within its present frontiers..." Pham van Dong, the DRV Prime Minister, declares in his speech : "The Vietnamese people and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam are firmly resolved to fulfil their obligations to strengthen the great militant solidarity between our three countries and we shall try to be always worthy of your feelings towards us. For generations to come, the relations between our three peoples will be relations of mutual affection and esteem, of militant solidarity in the struggle against a common enemy, of lasting co-operation and mutual assistance with a view to building each country in accordance with its own people's path and talent."
- April 30* : On the orders of US President Richard Nixon, many US and Saigon army units cross the border between South Vietnam and Cambodia.
- May 3* : Congress of the NUFK : Norodom Sihanouk is elected President of the NUFK. The Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia

is constituted with Penn Nouth as Prime Minister. It is composed of two parts:

← one part set up abroad, in charge of external relations.

← one part set up inside the country and headed by Khieu Samphan, Vice Premier, Minister for National Defence and Commander-in-chief of the Khmer National Liberation People's Armed Forces.

May 25: Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia, President of the NUFK, and Penn Nouth, Prime Minister of RGNUC, arrive in Vietnam on an official visit. A Vietnam-Cambodia joint statement is made public in Hanoi. "The Khmer people," the statement says, "is deeply grateful to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam for the total support it has extended to the policy of independence, peace and neutrality of Cambodia, for its recognition and respect for Cambodia's territorial integrity within its present frontiers, and for its devoted support right at the start for the just and necessarily victorious struggle of the Khmer people against the US imperialists and their Lon Nol — Sirik Matak lackeys."

October: Lon Nol and his clique found the so-called "Khmer Republic."

1971

January 26 - February 9: Cambodian Head of State Norodom Sihanouk and his wife, Princess Monique Sihanouk, make a friendship visit to Vietnam. They take part in the traditional Tet festival in Hanoi. They come to Hanoi on the same occasion in 1972 and 1973.

November 10: A delegation of the NUFK and RGNUC headed by Ieng Sary, special envoy of the home section of the NUFK and RGNUC, arrives in Hanoi on a friendship visit. In a Vietnam-Cambodia joint communiqué published in Hanoi, the two parties reaffirm "their determination to apply the five principles of peaceful coexistence: mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-aggression, mutual respect for each other's political regime and non-interference in each others' internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, peaceful coexistence."

1973

January — Signing of the Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Vietnam. Regarding Cambodia and Laos, Article 20 (Chapter VII) of the Agreement stipulates: "The parties participating in the Paris Conference on Vietnam shall strictly respect the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Cambodia and the 1962 Geneva Agreements on Laos, which recognized the Cambodian and the Lao peoples' fundamental national rights, i.e., the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of these countries. The parties shall respect the neutrality of Cambodia and Laos."

February - March: Norodom Sihanouk and his wife, Princess Monique Sihanouk, make an official visit to the liberated areas of Cambodia lasting more than a month.

April 6: Back from the liberated areas of Cambodia, Norodom Sihanouk and his wife arrive in Hanoi on a friendship visit.

August 15: Ending of US bombardments against Cambodia.

November 9: According to AKI, the Khmer news agency, an official communiqué of the RGNUC announces that all its ministers will be transferred to Cambodia.

1974

March 4: Letter from Pol Pot, Secretary of the Central Committee of the PCK, to Le Duc Tho, Political Bureau member of the Central Committee of the Vietnam Workers' Party, in which he says among other things: "in all sincerity and from the bottom of my heart, I can assure you that in all circumstances, I will remain faithful to the line of great solidarity and of fraternal and revolutionary friendship between Kampuchea and Vietnam, whatever difficulties and adversities we may encounter."

March 30: Khieu Samphan, head of an NUFK and RGNUC delegation visiting Hanoi, declares at a meeting organized by the Hanoi people to welcome them: "The militant solidarity and fraternal friendship between our two peoples have been steadily strengthened, for they derive from a correct basis: mutual assistance on an equal footing and respect for each other's sovereignty in keeping with the spirit of the Joint Declaration of the 1970 Summit Conference of the Indochinese Peoples."

August 12: In a communication on "The present situation of the Revolution in Cambodia" sent to the Central Committee of the Vietnam Workers' Party, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kampuchea points out:

"As the war goes into its final stage, complex and arduous difficulties increase ceaselessly. But our attitude is to firmly trust that thanks to the continuous assistance and unconditional support granted us by the Vietnamese Party and people, we enjoy all conditions to achieve total victory.

1975

January 25 : In a letter addressed to Le Duc Tho, Political Bureau member of the Central Committee of the Vietnam Workers' Party, Pol Pot, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kampuchea, writes: "The multifarious aid given by yourself, by the Vietnam Workers' Party and the brotherly Vietnamese people have greatly contributed to our repeated victories. We consider them as an expression of our very great and very noble feelings of militant solidarity and revolutionary brotherhood."

January 30 . The greeting message sent by the CC of the CPK to the CC of the VWP on the occasion of the 45th founding anniversary of the latter stresses: "Through the struggle waged for more than a century against common enemies, i.e., the French colonialists, the Japanese fascists and especially the US imperialists, the CPK and the Kampuchean people on the one hand, and the VWP and the Vietnamese people on the other, have sealed with their blood a militant solidarity and a brotherly friendship that no force can destroy..."

April 17 : Liberation of Phnom Penh. The new authorities in Kampuchea immediately force

the urban population to leave the cities for the countryside and work in agricultural production. Not only is their policy vis-à-vis the Kampuchean people extremely inhuman but at the same time they start a savage repression against Vietnamese residents. Kampuchea is to remain cut off from the outside world; no foreign journalists are allowed to visit Phnom Penn after its liberation.

May 4 } Kampuchean armed forces launch an attack against Phu Quoc Island, part of Vietnam's territory.

May 8 : Kampuchean armed forces encroach on Vietnamese territory in many places along the border between Ha Tien and Tay Ninh.

May 10 : Kampuchean armed forces occupy Tho Chu Island and kidnap 515 inhabitants of the island.

June 2 : In a talk with Nguyen Van Linh, representing the VWP, Pol Pot, Secretary of the CPK, says that the Kampuchean troops' "ignorance of local geography was the cause of these painful bloody clashes" with the Vietnamese.

August 2 : A VWP delegation led by Le Duan, First Secretary of the Party's Central Committee, visits Kampuchea. The aim of this visit is to strengthen the solidarity and friendship between the two parties and countries.

August 10 : In a meeting with Pol Pot, Nguyen Van Linh, representing the VWP, announces that 600 soldiers of the Kampuchean armed forces taken prisoner in the course of attacks against Vietnam's territory will be released. But the Kampuchean side continues to hold the 515 Vietnamese captured on Tho Chu Island.

September 15: The DRV Ambassador to Phnom Penh returns to his post in Phnom Penh after a period of absence during the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak coup d'Etat (1970-1975).

December: Kampuchean armed forces continue to encroach on Vietnamese territory in several places in Gia Lai-Kontum and Dac Lac provinces.

1976

January 5: Promulgation of the new Constitution of Democratic Kampuchea.

April 11-13: First session of the newly-elected People's Assembly of Kampuchea. Election to leading State bodies:

— Presidium of the State: Chairman, Kieu Samphan.

— Permanent Committee of the People's Assembly: Chairman, Noun Chea.

— Government of Democratic Kampuchea: Prime Minister, Pol Pot.

May 4-8: In order to prepare for a summit meeting between the VWP and the CPK scheduled for June 1976, the Vietnamese and Cambodian sides hold a preparatory meeting in Phnom Penh. On this occasion, they agree on using the 1/100,000-scale map established and published by the Indochinese Geographical Service and used before 1954, as a basis for deciding the land frontier between the two countries. They reach no agreement on the sea frontier. The preparatory meeting is suspended at the request of the Cambodian side. The Vietnamese side proposes the

resumption of talks thereafter many times but receives no answer from the Kampuchean side.

The two parties however agree on the three following measures:

1. The two sides will strive to educate the cadres, combatants, and people of their respective countries in the border areas with a view to strengthening solidarity and friendship and avoiding conflicts;

2. All conflicts must be settled in a spirit of solidarity, friendship, and mutual respect; and

3. The liaison committees of the two sides must investigate any conflicts and meet to settle them.

December: Excerpts from the Resolutions of the Fourth National Congress of the Vietnam Workers' Party: "We will preserve and develop the special relationship between the Vietnamese people and the fraternal peoples of Laos and Kampuchea, strengthen the militant solidarity, mutual trust, long-term cooperation and mutual assistance in all fields in accordance with the principle of complete equality, respect for each other's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, and respect for each other's legitimate interests..."

1977

January 4-11: Kampuchean armed forces repeatedly violate the Vietnamese territory in Long An, Kien Giang, Tay Ninh, Dac Lac and Dong Thap provinces. Particularly serious are the events on the morning of January 11 when two Kampuchean regiments intrude as deep as 4 km into Vietnamese territory in An

Giang province, perpetrating numerous crimes against the civilian population.

January 15-18: Kampuchean armed forces continue to mount attacks in An Giang province.

March 15-18: Kampuchean armed forces time and again violate our territory in Kien Giang and An Giang provinces which border the Kampuchean provinces of Kampot and Takeo along a 100-km front. They indulge in banditry and massacres against the civilian population everywhere, according to their slogan "loot everything, kill everything, destroy everything."

April 30: While the Vietnamese population prepare to celebrate International Labour Day (May 1), two brigades and two independent battalions of the Kampuchean armed forces with artillery support attack 13 border villages in An Giang province. Most barbarous crimes are committed: women raped then disembowelled, children cut in two, pagodas and schools burnt down. A family of 9 people is massacred.

May 12: The SRV Government issues a declaration on the territorial sea, the contiguous zone, the exclusive economic zone and the continental shelf of Vietnam. Article 7 of the declaration stipulates: "The Government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam will settle through negotiations with the countries concerned all matters relating to the maritime zones and the continental shelf of each country, on the basis of mutual respect for independence and sovereignty in accordance with international law and practices."

May 19: According to statistics of the Military Command of An Giang province, from April 25 to May 19, Kampuchean armed forces in this province killed 222 people, mostly old

people, women and children, burnt down 552 houses (not counting those destroyed in Chau Doc township on May 17), burned 134 tons of paddy and ransacked all the villages they thus emptied.

June 7: Letter from the Central Committee of the CPV and the SRV Government to the Central Committee of the CPK and the Government of Democratic Kampuchea proposing an end to hostilities and the opening of talks on the border problem between the two countries. The proposal is turned down by the Kampuchean side.

June - August: Artillery poundings and encroachments by Kampuchean armed forces continue in the border provinces of An Giang, Kien Giang, Long An, Tay Ninh, etc.

September 7: Kampuchean artillery pounds the Ganh Dau cape, North West of Phu Quoc Island.

September 18 - 20: All the 6 border communes in Dong Thap province (borders on the Kampuchean province of Prey Veng) are attacked by Kampuchean armed forces.

September 24 - November 30: Three Kampuchean divisions operate permanently in the border area of Tay Ninh province along a 240-km front. They occupy several portions of Vietnamese territory, especially an area 10km deep into Vietnamese territory on the bank of the Eastern Vam Co canal. Initial statistics show that over 1,000 Vietnamese civilians are killed or wounded and a large number taken prisoners, over 1,000 head of cattle and other property taken away.

December 31: The Government of Democratic Kampuchea publishes a declaration slandering the RSV and accusing her of having long had aggressive designs against Kampuchea and

wanting to compel Kampuchea to join a so-called Indochinese Federation controlled by Vietnam.

On the same day, the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Democratic Kampuchea declares temporary suspension of diplomatic relations with the SRV and suspension of the Phnom Penh - Hanoi air route.

— Statement by the SRV Government refuting the false accusations of the Kampuchean Government, denouncing the encroachments made by Kampuchean armed forces on Vietnamese territory and proposing that the two sides meet as early as possible at whatever level, so as together to solve the border issue between the two countries. The statement emphasizes that the SRV Government's stand on this issue is to settle the problem with Democratic Kampuchea on the basis of mutual respect for territorial sovereignty parallel with the consolidation and strengthening of solidarity and relations of brotherly co-operation between the two countries, so as to establish a border of lasting friendship between Vietnam and Kampuchea in a fair and logical manner.

1978

January 2: The World Peace Council unreservedly supports the December 31 statement by the SRV Government and calls on all governments in the world to use their influence to bring about talks between Vietnam and Kampuchea as soon as possible.

January 3: The Minister for External Affairs of the Republic of India says that he hopes the conflict between Vietnam and Kampuchea will

be settled peacefully without resorting to armed forces

January 4: Statement by the Foreign Ministry of Cuba, supporting the SRV Government's and the Party's position on the border issue between Vietnam and Campuchea.

— In an interview granted to VNA (the Vietnam News Agency) Prime Minister Pham Van Dong of the SRV states: "The more the people of Vietnam cherish their independence and freedom, the more they respect the independence and freedom of Kampuchea. We clearly understand that having shed so much blood to regain independence, the Kampuchean people cherish their independence, will certainly safeguard the solidarity between the two fraternal nations, and will not allow any imperialist or reactionary whatsoever to sow discord and undermine this solidarity."

January 5: The Federation of Latin-American Journalists declares: "We side with the Vietnamese Government and people and welcome the willingness of the SRV to limit the hostilities and to put an end to them through negotiations."

January 14: According to VNA, from January 1, 1978 on, Kampuchean armed forces continually pounded the territory of Vietnam in An Giang, Kien Giang, Long An, Dong Thap, Tay Ninh... provinces. Moreover they carried out recon and encroachment operations. Especially serious were the attacks mounted on January 11, 1975, at 5 a.m. by two Kampuchean regiments against areas along the Vinh Te canal (An Giang province) and the Binh Di river (Kien Giang province), 4 km inside Vietnamese territory.

January 15 : The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Democratic Kampuchea issues a statement on territorial waters, the contiguous zone, the exclusive economic zone and the continental shelf of Kampuchea. Article 6 stipulates that the Government of Democratic Kampuchea will settle questions with the countries concerned taking into account the actual situation.

January 17 : In a speech on the occasion of the founding anniversary of the Kampuchean armed forces, Pol Pot, Secretary of the CC of the CPK, again slanders Vietnam and accuses her of "nourishing chauvinistic designs against Kampuchea and contemplating the establishment of an Indochinese Federation in which only one Party, one State and one people will exist."

January 19 : Kampuchean long-range heavy artillery goes into action for the first time and fires hundreds of shells on Chau Doc township and the outskirts of Tay Ninh. A large number of civilians are killed and many houses are destroyed.

January 27 : A press conference is organized in Ho Chi Minh City by the Press Department of the Vietnamese Foreign Ministry about the situation on the border between Vietnam and Kampuchea. Vietnamese and foreign journalists are shown documents on crimes perpetrated by the Kampuchean side and what their provocation of hostilities leads to. After the conference, the journalists make an on-the-spot inspection tour of crimes committed by the Kampuchean armed forces in An Giang and Tay Ninh provinces.

January 28 : Three French newspapers, *L'Humanité*, *Le Monde* and *Le Quotidien de Paris*, publish

reports by their special correspondents on evidences of crimes perpetrated by Kampuchean troops at An Cu commune (An Giang province).

February 1: Statement by the International Federation of Democratic Women in support of the SRV Government's correct stand regarding the settlement of the border issue between Vietnam and Kampuchea.

February 5: Statement by the SRV Government and three-point proposal for the settlement of all problems concerning the relations between Vietnam and Kampuchea:

1 — An immediate end shall be put to all hostile military activities in the border region; the armed forces of each side shall be stationed within their respective territory five kilometres from the border.

2 — The two sides shall meet at once in Hanoi, or Phnom Penh, or at a place on the border, to discuss and conclude a treaty on mutual respect and a border treaty between the two countries.

3 — The two sides shall reach an agreement on an appropriate form of international guarantee and supervision.

February 6: Foreign Minister Nguyen Duy Trinh of the SRV forwards the Feb. 5, 1978 statement of the Vietnamese Government to the Secretary General of the UNO and to governments members of the Co-ordinating Committee of Non-Aligned Countries.

Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union, N.P. Firiubin, in acknowledging receipt of the Feb. 5, 1978 statement by the SRV Government, expresses his support for the logical reasonable proposals put forth by the Vietnamese side with a view to settling

the problem of relations between Vietnam and Kampuchea through negotiations.

February 8: Prime Minister Ali Nasser Mohamet of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen says that his government and people fully approve of and support the Feb. 5, 1978 of the SRV Government.

February 9 and 11: Kampuchean armed forces use 122 and 130mm cannon to pound the urban centres of Tay Ninh, Moc Hoa (Long An), Chau Doc (An Giang), Hong Ngu (Dong Thap), in the provincial capital of Tay Ninh alone 10 people are killed and 50 wounded.

Night of February 13-14: 4 battalions of Kampuchean armed forces attack Nhan Hoi, Khanh Binh, Khanh An, Phu Huu and Vinh Xuong communes in An Giang province, massacring a large number of civilians.

February 16: Kampuchean armed forces encroach upon Vietnamese territory north of Ca Tum (Tay Ninh).

March 3-5: A statement published by the International Conference of Parliamentarians from 14 countries held in Helsinki says: "We deeply regret that the leaders of Kampuchea have refused to enter into negotiations with the Vietnamese side to put an end to hostilities as soon as possible. This refusal is detrimental to the friendship between those two nations and to peace in this part of Asia, and benefits only the divisive manoeuvres of the imperialists and reactionaries in the world. We fully subscribe to the stand of the SRV Government as defined in its December 31, 1977 and February 5, 1978 statements..."

APPENDIX

STATEMENT
OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE SOCIALIST
REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM
ON THE VIETNAM — KAMPUCHEA
BORDER ISSUE

(December 31, 1977)

Vietnam and Kampuchea are two neighbouring fraternal countries. A great friendship, fostered and developed in a long struggle lasting almost a century against colonialism, and especially in the struggle against the US imperialist aggressors and their henchmen, has bound the peoples of the two countries and the two Communist Parties of Vietnam and Kampuchea together. This special relationship was a decisive factor for the complete victories of the Vietnamese and the Kampuchean revolution. As the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kampuchea stressed in its message on January 30, 1975 to the Central Committee of the then Vietnam Workers' Party, "...The Communist Party of Kampuchea and the Kampuchean people, and the Vietnam Workers' Party and the Vietnamese people have forged an unbreakable militant solidarity and fraternal friendship with their blood."

The Communist Party of Vietnam, the Government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, and

the Vietnamese people have developed these fine relations of fraternal friendship and comradeship between the peoples of the two countries and between the two Parties. We have made all-out efforts to consolidate and strengthen mutual trust, sincere, long-term co-operation, and mutual assistance on the principles of complete equality, respect for each other's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, and of non-interference in each other's internal affairs. The Communist Party of Vietnam, the Government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and the Vietnamese people have at all times respected the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and freedom of other countries, considering this as a principle, a correct policy for the defence of our own national independence.

It is the policy of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam that the border and territory issue between Vietnam and Kampuchea should be settled with Democratic Kampuchea on the basis of respect for each other's territorial sovereignty, and consolidating and promoting the solidarity and relation of fraternal co-operation between the two countries, thereby establishing a permanent border of friendship between Vietnam and Kampuchea on the principles of fairness and reason.

The Party and the Government of Vietnam have consistently pursued this policy. But it is regrettable that Kampuchea has created increasing tension on the border, causing the relations between the two countries to deteriorate seriously.

(As early as the beginning of May 1975, Kampuchea employed its armed forces in attacks on the Phu Quoc and Tho Chu islands, during which more than 500 civilians were carried off, and in incursions into Viet Nam's territory in different places from

Ha Tien to Tay Ninh. In December 1975, Kampuchean armed forces again encroached on Vietnamese territory, in the provinces of Gia Lai-Kon Tum and Dac Lac.

Most serious has been the period since April 1977, when Kampuchea fielded a very great force of many divisions. This force, with the massive fire support of many cannon and mortars positioned in Kampuchea, has made many concerted attacks on almost all the border areas from Ha Tien to Tay Ninh. Kampuchean armed forces have repeatedly shelled many populous areas and new economic zones, including areas far inside the border, such as Chau Doc town and the townships of Ha Tien and Tinh Bien. Those attacks were combined with looting, and destroying pagodas, schools, and hospitals. In many places Kampuchean troops have perpetrated utterly inhuman crimes, raping, tearing fetuses from mothers' wombs, beheading adults and tearing out their livers, killing children, then throwing their corpses into fires. Many entire families have been butchered. Kampuchean troops have caused very great losses in lives and property to the local population. In some places thousands of houses and property of other kinds have been destroyed, and tens of thousands of civilians have had to move farther from the border for security. The peaceful labour of the Vietnamese people along the border has been seriously sabotaged.

Kampuchea has whipped up an intensive campaign of racial hatred against the Vietnamese people among the people and army of Kampuchea. On the propaganda front, the Kampuchean press and radio keep releasing reports designed to slander Vietnam and mislead public opinion, alleging that Vietnam has carried out acts of aggression, intervention and subversion against Kampuchea.

In face of these continuous violations of Vietnamese territory by Kampuchea, the people and armed forces of Vietnam in the border areas have been forced to fight in self-defence to safeguard their territorial sovereignty and protect their lives, property, and peaceful existence.

At the same time, the Communist Party of Vietnam and the Government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam have persistently stood for negotiations with the Communist Party of Kampuchea and the Government of Democratic Kampuchea, with the aim of settling the border question between the two countries quickly. Early in April 1976, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kampuchea agreed that high-ranking leaders of the two Parties would meet in June 1976. To prepare for this meeting, the two sides held a preparatory meeting in Phnom Penh early in May 1976 and this meeting was already under way when it had to be postponed at Kampuchea's request. Vietnam proposed a resumption of the meeting several times, but Kampuchea did not respond. At the preparatory meeting in May 1976, the two sides agreed on three concrete measures aimed at increasing solidarity and solving border conflicts. These measures were: that the two sides strive to educate the cadres, combatants and peoples of their respective countries in the border areas to strengthen solidarity and friendship and avoid all conflicts; all conflicts be settled in a spirit of solidarity, friendship, and mutual respect; and the liaison commissions of the two sides investigate the conflicts and meet to find suitable solutions to them.

Vietnam has done all she could to strictly implement the three measures agreed upon. It is regrettable that Kampuchea has not only failed to do

the same but has even continued its violations of Vietnam's territorial sovereignty in a systematic and ever more serious manner.

On June 7, 1977, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam and the Government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam sent another letter to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kampuchea and the Government of Democratic Kampuchea proposing that meetings be held as early as possible between high-ranking leaders of the two Parties and the two Governments so as to solve the border issue between the two countries.

In their letter of reply dated June 18, 1977, the Central Committee of the Party and the Government of Kampuchea considered that such meetings were necessary but proposed that they be held only after a period of time, when the situation returns to normal, and there are no further border conflicts..." However, it was precisely at that time that Kampuchea increased its military attacks, its encroachments on Vietnamese territory and its massacres of Vietnamese civilians, sabotaging the peaceful labour of the Vietnamese people in border provinces, particularly in Kien Giang, An Giang, Dcng Thap, Long An and Tay Ninh.

The truth about developments along the border and Kampuchea's criminal acts over the past two years decisively refutes the slanders against Vietnam made in the statement of December 31, 1977 by the Government of Democratic Kampuchea. This is a very crude distortion of the actual developments along the border between the two countries, a distortion which is most harmful to the close sentiments that exist between the two peoples. These slanders run entirely counter to what was clearly expounded in the message of February

3, 1976 sent by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kampuchea to the Central Committee of the then Vietnam Worker's Party, that "the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kampuchea expresses its deepest gratitude to the Vietnam Workers' Party and the Vietnamese people for the support and assistance they have given the Communist Party of Kampuchea during the revolutionary war for national liberation and people's liberation as well as in the new historical stage in Kampuchea after liberation."

Loyal to its consistent line, the Government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam solemnly declares: Vietnam is resolved to defend her independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity; and at the same time always respects Kampuchea's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, and does all she can to safeguard the militant solidarity and great friendship between Vietnam and Kampuchea. This is a principled stand, a just, unalterable stand of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

Once again, the Government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam proposes that the two sides meet as early as possible, at whatever level, so as to solve the border issue between the two countries together in a spirit of brotherly friendship. The peoples of the two countries have for decades struggled shoulder to shoulder against the imperialist aggressors to recover the independence and freedom of each country, and have won glorious victory. Both the immediate and long-term interests of the Vietnamese as well as of the Kampuchean peoples require that they continue to maintain solidarity and friendship on the basis of respect for each other's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, and co-operation and mutual assistance in the cause of defending their

countries and the revolutionary gains which each nation has obtained at the cost of tremendous sacrifices and hardship.

The people and the Government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam believe that in the immediate and long-term interests of the peoples of the two countries, the border issue between the two countries is bound to be solved with success. This is an earnest desire of the two peoples and also the hope of the peace-loving peoples in this region and elsewhere in the world. The great friendship and militant solidarity between the peoples of the two countries are everlasting and nothing can destroy them.

PRIME MINISTER PHAM VAN DONG
INTERVIEWED BY VIETNAM NEWS AGENCY

(January 4, 1978)

QUESTION: The people of Vietnam have always entertained friendly feelings towards the people of Kampuchea, but in its statements of December 31, 1977 and January 3, 1978, the Government of Democratic Kampuchea claimed that troops of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam had committed acts of aggression against Kampuchea, killing Kampuchean people and looting their property. Could you please, comrade Prime Minister, tell us the truth about it?

ANSWER: In these statements Kampuchea grossly slandered the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and rejected our proposal for early talks to settle the border question between the two countries.

For a long time now, the Kampuchean authorities have been whipping up a campaign aimed at sowing hatred between the two peoples and carrying out acts of encroachment on the territory of Vietnam. We are grieved by this situation.

Immediately after the April 17, 1975 victory, the Kampuchean authorities subjected Vietnamese nationals to ill-treatment, killing thousands of them, plundering the property of tens of thousands of others and driving them back to Vietnam. On May 4, 1975, the Kampuchean armed forces attacked

Phu Quoc Island. On May 8, 1975, they encroached on Vietnamese territory in various places from Ha Tien to Tay Ninh. On May 10, 1975, they occupied Tho Chu Island. Over the two years and more which have elapsed since then, Kampuchea has repeatedly and systematically committed violations of the territorial sovereignty of Vietnam on an increasing scale along the whole border, where for a long time the two peoples have been living together in friendship. They have attacked populous areas, townships, provincial capitals, new economic zones, schools, hospitals, pagodas, churches... Since early May 1975, they have committed thousands of violations of Vietnamese territory, killing or wounding thousands of civilians, abducting hundreds of others, burning down thousands of houses and plundering the local population of a great deal of property. These are extremely barbarous crimes, an extremely cruel reality.

Since April 1977, the Kampuchean side has severed all contacts between the two sides' Liaison Commissions in charge of settling border incidents, and has many times rejected our proposal to negotiate a settlement of the border issue between the two countries. Since then it has also stepped up encroachments on our territorial sovereignty on an increasing scale.

Having the militant solidarity and fraternal friendship between the two peoples at heart, we have shown extreme patience. Our people and armed forces in border areas have shown self-restraint. But Kampuchea, mistaking our patience and self-restraint for signs of weakness, pursued its course of action.

In face of this serious situation, our armed forces in these areas have been compelled to take self-defence action, firmly resolved to defend our

sovereignty and territory, and protect the lives and property and peaceful labour of our people.

QUESTION: Could you please indicate, comrade Prime Minister, the prospects for a settlement of the Vietnam-Kampuchea border issue?

ANSWER: Vietnam and Kampuchea are two fraternal neighbouring countries which have fought in unity against their common enemy, and together won very glorious victory for the cause of national liberation. To the Vietnamese people, the independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity of Kampuchea constitute a factor of very great significance for the preservation of Vietnam's independence. For this very reason, the Vietnamese people, the Communist Party of Vietnam and the Government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam have made and are making every effort to preserve their militant solidarity and fraternal friendship with the Kampuchean people, and to oppose the divisive manoeuvres of the imperialists and reactionaries in the world.

The Kampuchean authorities' policy of fomenting hatred between the two peoples and violating the territory of Vietnam runs counter to the national interests of the Kampuchean people themselves, undermines the fraternal friendship between the two peoples, and runs counter to the interests of peace in this part of the world. This dangerous policy is viewed favourably and encouraged by the imperialists and reactionaries in the world who nurture great ambitions in Southeast Asia. It causes concern to friends of Vietnam and Kampuchea.

Negotiations on the border issue between the two countries are now a pressing requirement. With our determination to preserve the great friendship between the two nations, and with our goodwill and desire to build a border of lasting friendship

together in the interests of safeguarding independence and of peaceful construction of each country, we are prepared to sit down without delay at the negotiating table with Kampuchea at any level with a view to settling the border question between the two countries. Should the Kampuchean side keep fomenting hatred between the two peoples, violating the territorial sovereignty of Vietnam, perpetrating crimes against the Vietnamese people and refusing to negotiate, it will have to bear full responsibility for this.

The more the people of Vietnam cherish their independence and freedom, the more they respect the independence and freedom of Kampuchea. We clearly understand that having shed so much blood to regain independence, the Kampuchean people cherish this independence, will certainly safeguard the solidarity between the two fraternal nations, and will not allow any imperialist or reactionary whatsoever to sow discord and undermine this solidarity.

We call upon all countries who are brothers and friends of the peoples of Vietnam and Kampuchea to make positive contributions to the consolidation of the solidarity between Vietnam and Kampuchea, and to refrain from any action that might be harmful to the traditional friendship between the peoples of the two countries.

STATEMENT OF THE GOVERNMENT
OF THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM
ON THE RELATIONS BETWEEN VIETNAM AND
KAMPUCHEA

(February 5, 1978)

In its statement of December 31, 1977, the Government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam proposed that Vietnam and Kampuchea meet as soon as possible at any level to settle the border issue between the two countries in a spirit of fraternal friendship. This proposal has won the approval and support of the governments and peoples of peace- and justice-loving countries as well as of large sections of world public opinion. The Vietnamese people and the Government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam sincerely thank their brothers and friends the world over for this approval and support.

It is most regrettable that the Government of Democratic Kampuchea has so far persistently rejected the proposal for negotiations of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. Moreover, the Kampuchean side keeps using its armed forces for attacks on many places in Vietnamese territory all along the border, particularly in Kien Giang, and Tay Ninh provinces, perpetrating new barbarous crimes against the Vietnamese people. Its propaganda efforts are aimed at arousing hatred against Vietnam ; and it continues to make cynical slanders alleging that the Socialist Republic of Vietnam has committed acts of

gression against Kampuchea, interfered in Kampuchea's internal affairs, carried out subversive activities against Kampuchea, and tried to force Kampuchea into a Vietnam-dominated "Indochinese Federation"... The Government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam energetically rejects these slanderous allegations by the Government of Democratic Kampuchea. It is clear that Kampuchea is deliberately trying to increase tension on the Vietnam — Kampuchea border, to cause relations between Vietnam and Kampuchea to deteriorate and to render the settlement of problems concerning the relations between the two countries more and more difficult and complicated.

The Government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and the Vietnamese people once again reaffirm that it is their unswerving principled position to resolutely defend the independence, freedom, sovereignty, and territorial integrity of Vietnam; and at the same time always respects the independence, freedom, sovereignty, and territorial integrity of Kampuchea as well as of other countries; and to uphold solidarity with the Kampuchean people, and make ceaseless efforts to rapidly settle problems concerning the relations between the two countries through negotiations.

Vietnam and Kampuchea are neighbouring countries; the two peoples have long been bound together in the struggle against their common enemy — the imperialist aggressors — to gain independence and freedom. Now they share the earnest aspiration to strengthen solidarity, long-term co-operation, and mutual assistance in making their respective countries prosper, in keeping with the specific conditions of each country. The Government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam is of the view that through negotiations in the spirit of the anti-imperialist

solidarity of the movement of the non-aligned countries, and in the spirit of the UN Charter, the problems concerning the relations between Vietnam and Kampuchea will be correctly solved in the interests of each people and for the benefit of peace and security in Southeast Asia and elsewhere in the world.

Desirous to reach an early settlement of problems concerning the relations between Vietnam and Kampuchea, the Government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam makes the following proposals:

(1.) An immediate end shall be put to all hostile military activities in the border area, and the armed forces of each party shall be stationed within their respective territory five kilometres from the border.

(2.) The two sides shall meet at once in Hanoi or Phnom Penh or at a place on the border to discuss and conclude a treaty, in which they will undertake to respect each other's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity; to refrain from aggression, from the use of force or threatening to use force in their relations with each other, from interference in each other's internal affairs, and from subversive activities against each other; to treat each other as equals; and to live in peace, friendship, and as good neighbours.

The two sides shall sign a border treaty between the two countries on the basis of respect for each other's territorial sovereignty within the existing border.

(3.) The two sides shall reach agreement on an appropriate form of international guarantee and supervision.

To create favourable conditions for the negotiations between the two countries, it is necessary to put an end to any propaganda aimed at fomenting hatred between the two nations, to all acts aimed at

dividing the Vietnamese and Kampuchean peoples which are detrimental to the existing solidarity and friendship between the two peoples.

The Government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam calls on the Government of Democratic Kampuchea to make a positive response to the above-mentioned fair and reasonable proposal, in the immediate and long-term interests of the peoples of Kampuchea and Vietnam and for the benefit of their friendship.

The Government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam calls on the governments and peoples of countries friendly to the Vietnamese and the Kampuchean peoples, on international organizations and on peace- and justice-loving people throughout the world to support the proposal of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and to make positive contributions to bring about early negotiations between Vietnam and Kampuchea, for the benefit of peace and security in Southeast Asia and in the world.

FACTS ABOUT THE "INDOCHINESE FEDERATION" QUESTION

*(Document released by the SRV
Foreign Ministry)*

Since December 31, 1977 the Kampuchean authorities have been slanderously accusing the Socialist Republic of Vietnam of having long "had the strategic design of turning Democratic Kampuchea into a member of the Indochinese Federation and a slave of Vietnam" (December 31, 1977 Statement by the Government of Democratic Kampuchea), of "standing for the establishment of an Indochinese Federation with only one party, one country, one people" (January 17, 1978 Speech by Pol Pot, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kampuchea, Prime Minister of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea), and of "desiring to seize the whole of Kampuchea through the formation of an Indochinese Federation" (Pol Pot, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, Prime Minister of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea in an interview with Yugoslav journalists on March 17, 1978).

The Socialist Republic of Vietnam deems it necessary to state the following facts:

I — The Indochinese Communist Party and the "Indochinese Federation," 1930 — 1951

In 1930, the Indochinese Communist Party came into being with the historic mission of leading all

the Indochinese nations in the struggle for the "complete independence of Indochina, and for land to the peasants" (Constitution of the Indochinese Communist Party).

The Party's revolution on policy regarding nationalities adopted in March 1935, stipulated: *After driving the French imperialists out of Indochina, every nation will have the right to self-determination; it may join the Indochinese Federation or set up a separate state; it is free to join or leave the Federation; it may follow whichever system it likes. The fraternal alliance must be based on the principles of revolutionary sincerity, freedom and equality.*

The June 1941 Resolution of the 8th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party stressed: *"After driving out the French and the Japanese, we must correctly carry out the policy of national self-determination with regard to the Indochinese peoples. It is up to the peoples living in Indochina to either organize themselves into a Federation of Democratic Republics or remain separate national states."*

As is well known, Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea, three neighbouring countries on the Indochinese peninsula, were occupied by the French colonialists one after another at the end of the 19th century. On the one hand, the French colonialists crushed them as states, even re-named them, and merged them into what was called French Indochina, an overseas territory of France; a colonial system was imposed on all three countries, with a unified apparatus in various fields, military, political, economic, financial... under the centralized direction of a French Governor General. On the other hand, carrying out

their speculative "divide-and-rule" policy, the French colonialists divided Vietnam into Tonkin, Annam and Cochinchina, with three different forms of government: with Laos and Kampuchea they made up five regions of French Indochina. They also sowed discord among the Vietnamese people, and between Vietnamese, Laos and Kampucheans, using one people to fight another, and undermining the solidarity among the peoples of the Indochinese countries so as to dominate them more easily.

In these circumstances, the *founding of the Indochinese Communist Party was a historical necessity*. It met the pressing demands of the liberation struggle of all peoples who lived together in "French Indochina," whose destinies were bound together, and who had to concentrate all their forces on defeating the common enemy and foiling the latter's vile plan to use Indochinese to fight Indochinese. The Party's slogan which was raised in this context, that of "making Indochina completely independent and advancing toward an Indochinese reederation," was based on the exercise of the national right to self-determination, conformed to the situation in the 1930's and 1940's, and aimed at uniting the peoples of Vietnam, Laos, and Kampuchea against the French colonialists and the Japanese fascists.

During the 21 years of its existence, the Indochinese Communist Party carried out its glorious historic mission: the three Indochinese peoples united closely behind the above-mentioned slogan, and rose up as one to seize power in the autumn of 1945 and overthrow the Japanese fascists; and they went on to fight a long war of resistance against the French colonialist aggressors.

II—In February 1951, at the Proposal of the Vietnamese Communists, the Indochinese Communist Party Disbanded. Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea Each Set Up Their Own Parties, Governments, Armies and National United Fronts, Completely Independent from One Another; Meanwhile, They United in Struggle on the Basis of Free Choice, Equality, Mutual Assistance and Respect for Each Other's Sovereignty the Question of an Indochinese Federation Was Never Raised Again

The Indochinese Communist Party took stock of developments in the international situation and in Indochina, and as early as 1941, at its eighth Central Committee meeting, had already realized the need "to awaken traditional national feeling among the people", stood for solving the national liberation question within the context of each country, and for establishing in each country a separate National United Front against the French and Japanese. In implementation of this resolution, the League for the Independence of Vietnam (Vietminh) was founded in Vietnam, the Lao Issala Front in Laos, and the Khmer Issarak Front in Kampuchea.

The Political Programme presented at the second Congress of the Indochinese Communist Party in February 1951 by Comrade Truong Chinh, then Secretary General of the Party, pointed out that: "Since 1930, in colonised Indochina, the peoples of Vietnam, Kampuchea and Laos, under the leadership of the working class and its political party, have together been fighting the French colonialists. Today, the revolutionary movements in Vietnam, Kampuchea and Laos have developed and *the three*

nations have grown into three separate states. The revolutionary task of the three nations is still to fight imperialism, albeit differently in some ways."

Thus, on the initiative of the Vietnamese communists and with the concurrence of the Lao and Kampuchean communists, the Congress adopted the following resolution: "*Because of the new conditions in Indochina and in the world, Vietnam will establish a Vietnam Workers' Party with a political programme and constitution suited to Vietnam's conditions. Laos and Cambodia will also found their respective revolutionary organizations suited to the conditions of their respective countries.*"

As a result, the Vietnam Workers' Party, the Cambodian People's Revolutionary Party (now the Communist Party of Kampuchea) and the Lao People's Revolutionary Party there came into being.

Besides the resolution to establish a separate party in each country, the second Congress of the Indochinese Communist Party stressed the importance of the solidarity and co-ordination among the peoples of Vietnam, Kampuchea and Laos in the struggle against their common enemy.

The correct line of the Congress was followed up on March 11, 1951 by the convening of a Conference of representatives of the Viet—Khmer—Lao Peoples' Alliance, including representatives of the three countries' respective National United Fronts, namely the Lien Viet of Vietnam, the Itsala Front of Laos and the Itsarac Front of Kampuchea; the Conference adopted a resolution "to form the Viet—Khmer—Lao Peoples' Alliance based on the principles of free choice, equality and mutual assistance" in order to "carry on the long struggle, by all the people and in all fields, to wipe out the French colonialists, to defeat the US interventionists, and

to totally liberate the three countries" "to oppose all divisive schemes of the enemy," and "to wholeheartedly help each other in all fields..."

This closely co-ordinated struggle was the most important factor leading to the signing of the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Indochina, and to the elimination of colonial rule over the Indochinese countries. It forced the French colonialists and US interventionists to recognize and undertake to respect the independence, sovereignty, unity, and territorial integrity of the three countries.

With the other participants in the Geneva Conference on Indochina, *the Democratic Republic of Vietnam affirmed in the final statement of the conference that: "In relations between Cambodia Laos and Vietnam, all participants in the Geneva Conference pledge to respect their sovereignty, independence, unity and territorial integrity and to refrain from any interference in their internal affairs."*

After the 1951 Congress of the Indochinese Communist Party, and following the 1954 Geneva Conference in particular, the "*Indochinese Federation*" question passed into history, as did French Indochina. Like Laos and Kampuchea, Vietnam has never referred to the Indochinese Federation question again.

When the 1962 Geneva Agreement on Laos was signed, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, together with other participants in the Conference, declared that:

"a "They will not commit or participate in any way, in any act which might directly or indirectly undermine the sovereignty, independence, neutrality, unity or territorial integrity of the Kingdom of Laos:

(b) They will not resort to the use of, or threats of use force or any other measure which might sabotage the peace of the Kingdom of Laos;

(c) They will refrain from all direct or indirect interference in the internal affairs of the Kingdom of Laos...

Replying to the proposal by Head of State Norodom Sihanouk for a meeting which would seek ways to guarantee Kampuchea's independence and neutrality, Premier Pham Van Dong declared unilaterally in his August 28, 1962 note that: "The Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam has consistently respected the independence, neutrality, and territorial integrity of the Kingdom of Cambodia: it wishes to promote a durable and lasting friendship with the Kingdom of Cambodia *on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence and the ten Banauing principles.*"

In March 1965, the two zones of Vietnam, together with the other participants in the Conference of the Indochinese Peoples convened by Head of State N. Sihanouk in Phnom Penh, declared strict respect for "Cambodia's sovereignty, independence, neutrality and territorial integrity, and to avoid any action that does not conform to these principles." (Resolution on Cambodia adopted by the Conference)

In response to the May 9, 1967 communiqué by the Government of the Kingdom of Cambodia appealing to all countries to respect Cambodia territorial integrity within its existing borders, the Central Committee of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation pledged on May 31st 1967:

(1) "to reaffirm its consistent stand, i.e., to recognize and undertake to respect Cambodia's territorial integrity within its existing borders.

(2) to recognize and undertake to respect the existing borders between South Vietnam and Cambodia..."

Then, on June 8, 1976, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam issued a statement which read in part: "Proceeding from its consistent policy towards the Kingdom of Cambodia, i.e., respect for its independence, sovereignty, neutrality and territorial integrity, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam declares that

①. "It recognize and undertakes to respect Cambodia's territorial integrity within its existing borders.

②. It fully agrees with the May 31, 1967 Statement of the Central Committee of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation recognizing the existing borders between South Vietnam and Cambodia. The Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam recognizes and undertakes to respect these borders."

In the Vietnam — Cambodia Joint Statement of January 8, 1968 issued on the occasion of the visit to Vietnam of Minister for Foreign Affairs N. Phurissara of the Kingdom of Cambodia, "the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam once more reaffirms its respect and full support for the Kingdom of Cambodia's policy of peace and neutrality, once again reaffirms its recognition of and pledge to respect Cambodia's territorial integrity within its existing borders."

In the April 25, 1970 Joint Declaration of the Summit Conference of the Indochinese Peoples, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam together with the other participants, officially undertook the following: "In relations between the three countries, the parties are determined to apply the five principles of peaceful coexistence: respect for each others sovereignty and territorial integrity; non-aggression; respect for each other's political system and

non-interference in each other's internal affairs; equality and mutual benefit; and peaceful coexistence. The parties reaffirm that all problems in the relations between the three countries will be solved through negotiations in a spirit of mutual respect, understanding, and assistance."

Also at this Conference. "on behalf of the people and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam," Prime Minister Pham Van Dong undertook once more *to recognize and promised to respect Cambodia's territorial integrity within its existing borders.*"

In the June 7, 1970 Vietnam — Cambodia Joint Communiqué issued during Head of State Norodom Sihanouk's visit to Vietnam. "once again, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam declares that *it will strictly respect Cambodia's independence, peace, neutrality, sovereignty and political system within its existing borders.*"

In the February 8, 1971 Vietnam — Cambodia Joint Statement on the occasion, of Head of State N. Sihanouk's visit to Vietnam, "*the Democratic Republic of Vietnam reaffirms its recognition of, and pledge to respect, the territorial integrity of Cambodia within its existing borders,*" and, together with the Cambodian side, make the following undertaking: "In relations between the two countries, the two sides are determined to *apply the five principles of peaceful coexistence: respect for each other's sovereignty and territorial integrity; non-aggression; respect for each other's political system and non-interference in each other's internal affairs; equality and mutual benefit; peaceful coexistence...* The peoples of Vietnam and Cambodia together with the fraternal people of Laos are determined to strengthen their solidarity,... to totally defeat the US imperialist aggressors..., *in order to turn Indochina into a peaceful region of independent states, so that South Vietnam, Cambodia*

and Laos may follow the path of independence, peace and neutrality, and the people of each Indochinese country may decide their internal affairs by themselves without foreign interference."

At a meeting held in Vietnam in May 1971 to welcome the Lao people's delegation headed by President Souphanouvong, Prime Minister Pham Van Dong declared: "The people and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam always desire an independent, peaceful, and genuinely neutral Kingdom of Laos on their western border. They also desire to unceasingly consolidate and develop the good neighbourly relationship and lasting co-operation with the Kingdom of Laos on the basis of the five principles of peaceful co-existence and in keeping with the Joint Declaration of the Summit Conference of the Indochinese Peoples." In their May 30 1971 Joint Statement, Vietnam and Laos undertook "to resolutely press ahead with and intensify their struggle, together with the Cambodian people, in order to make Indochina a peaceful region of independent states."

During the visit to Vietnam in November 1971 of the delegation of the National United Front and the Royal Government of National Union of Kampuchea headed by Special Envoy Ieng Sary (now Deputy Prime Minister), Nguyen Duy Trinh, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs, affirmed: "It is the policy of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam to strictly respect the independence, peace, neutrality, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Kampuchea within its existing borders and to respect the national rights and the political system of Kampuchea." (Excerpt from his speech at the reception in honour of the Delegation on November 10, 1971.) In their November 16, 1971 Joint Statement, the Vietnamese and the

Kampuchean sides once more reaffirmed their determination to endeavour, together with the fraternal Lao people, "to make the Indochinese peninsula a truly peaceful region of independent states, to ensure that South Vietnam, Kampuchea and Laos follow the path of independence, peace and neutrality." In relations between the two countries, the two sides reiterate their determination to implement the five principles of peaceful coexistence: respect for each other's sovereignty and territorial integrity; non-aggression; respect for each other's political system and non-interference in each other's internal affairs; equality and mutual benefit; peaceful coexistence.

On the occasion of Head of State N. Sihanouk's visit to Vietnam in May 1972, the Vietnamese and the Kampuchean sides once more affirmed: "No brute force, no insolent threat, no perfidious scheme of the US imperialists can prevent the three Indochinese countries from pursuing their lofty aims of totally liberating Indochina and making Indochina a free and peaceful peninsula of independent and sovereign states, so that South Vietnam, Kampuchea and Laos may follow the path of independence, peace and genuine neutrality." (Excerpt from the Vietnam — Kampuchea Joint Statement of March 5, 1972.)

In the October 28, 1972 Vietnam — Kampuchea Joint Communiqué on the occasion of Head of State N. Sihanouk's visit to Vietnam, the Vietnamese and the Kampuchean sides "reaffirm that the affairs of each Indochinese country must be solved by its own people. This is a sacred and inalienable right of each nation. The two sides strictly respect and resolutely support each side's position regarding the settlement of its internal affairs in accordance with each country's characteristics and interests and with the general situation in Indochina."

When the Paris Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Vietnam was signed in 1973, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam, together with the other parties participating in this Conference, pledged in Article 20 of the Agreement:

(a) *The parties participating in the Paris Conference on Vietnam shall strictly respect the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Cambodia and the 1962 Geneva Agreements on Laos, which recognized the Cambodian and the Lao people's fundamental national rights, i.e. the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of these countries. The parties shall respect the neutrality of Cambodia and Laos...*

(c) *The internal affairs of Cambodia and Laos shall be settled by the people of each of these countries without foreign interference.*

(d) *The problems existing between the Indochinese countries shall be settled by the Indochinese parties on the basis of respect for each other's independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity, and non-interference in each other's internal affairs."*

Together with the other parties participating in the March 1973 International Conference on Vietnam, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam reaffirmed their commitment in Article 8 of the Act of this Conference: "With a view to contributing to and guaranteeing peace in Indochina, the Parties to this Act acknowledge the commitment of the parties to the Agreement to respect the independence, sovereignty, unity, territorial integrity, and neutrality of Cambodia and Laos as stipulated in the Agreement."

During the visit to the liberated zones of Laos in November 1973 by the Delegation of the Vietnam Workers' Party and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, Comrade Le Duan, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party, declared: "The Vietnamese people always desire to have an independent, peaceful, and genuinely neutral Laos... on their western border... The Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam is prepared to establish friendly relations and lasting co-operation with the National Coalition Government of Laos, in order to consolidate and develop the good neighbourly relations with the Kingdom of Laos *on the basis of respect for each other's sovereignty and territorial integrity, respect for each other's political system and non-interference in each other's internal affairs, refusal to allow any other country to use the territory of one country for interference in and aggression against the other, equality and mutual benefit.*" In their November 4, 1973 Joint Statement, the Vietnamese side and the Lao Patriotic Front reiterated that the purpose of their fight was "*to make Indochina a peaceful peninsula of genuinely independent and free states.*"

In March 1974, a delegation of the National United Front and the Royal Government of National Union of Kampuchea, headed by Vice-Premier Khieu Samphan, (now President of the State Presidium) paid a visit to Vietnam. In their April 1, 1974 Joint Statement, the Vietnamese and the Kampuchean sides affirmed: "The people of Vietnam and Kampuchea, together with the fraternal people of Laos, are determined to hold high the banner of solidarity and friendship of the Summit Conference of the Indochinese Peoples and to persistently endeavour *to make Indochina a peaceful peninsula of genuinely independent, sovereign and free states...*"

Vietnam has always strictly respected the fundamental national rights of Kampuchea and Laos and

the independence of the fraternal Parties of the two countries. At the same time, it has tried its best, together with the Lao and the Kampuchean sides to actively contribute to the solidarity between the three countries. The militant solidarity and wholehearted mutual support and assistance were an objective necessity for the struggle of each Indochinese people against the common enemy, the US imperialist aggressors and their lackeys. In the course of the struggle, the three Indochinese peoples have endeavoured to foster that solidarity, in the interests of the people of each country and for the sake of the common revolutionary cause of this region.

— *During the 1960's coupled with "Special War" and "Local War" in South Vietnam, and the air and naval "war of destruction" against North Vietnam, the US imperialists on two occasions launched "special war" to oppose the independence, peace, and neutrality of the Kingdom of Laos. And together with the Saigon puppets, they tried to pressure the Kingdom of Kampuchea to abandon its policy of independence, peace, and neutrality. Against this background, the Third Congress of the Vietnam Workers' Party held in August 1960 adopted a resolution to "welcome and support Kampuchea's policy of peace and neutrality and to further develop the relations of friendship with the Kingdom of Kampuchea," and to "support the Lao People's struggle to carry out their policy of peace, genuine neutrality and national concord, and express the desire to establish relations of friendship with the Kingdom of Laos."*

In implementation of this resolution and at the request of the peaceful and neutral Government of the Kingdom of Laos, the Vietnamese people stood shoulder to shoulder with the fraternal Lao people and wholeheartedly supported them in their fight against the US aggressors. The 1962 Geneva

Agreement on Laos was signed as a result, "recognizing the sovereignty, independence, neutrality, unity and territorial integrity of the Kingdom of Laos..."

The Democratic Republic of Vietnam strongly supported the proposals made in the early 1960's by N. Sihanouk, Head of State of Kampuchea, to convene a conference of 14 countries to guarantee the independence and neutrality of the Kingdom of Kampuchea.

In March 1965, an Indochinese Peoples' Conference was held in Phnom Penh at the initiative of Head of State N. Sihanouk. In its resolution, the Conference reiterated "the need to *consolidate the sincere and firm solidarity of the Indochinese peoples on the basis of equality of interests, mutual understanding and mutual concession...*" Vietnam made every effort to contribute to the success of the Conference.

In Mid-1967, in order to help Kampuchea resist the pressure of the United States and the Saigon puppet administration, the two parts of Vietnam quickly responded to the appeal made by the Royal Government of Kampuchea, in its May 9, 1967 Communiqué calling on other countries to respect the territorial integrity of Kampuchea within its existing borders.

In 1970, the US imperialists staged the March 18 coup which overthrew the Royal Government of Kampuchea, destroying its independence, peace and neutrality. The US imperialists' aim was to turn Kampuchea into a US military base and neo-colony, and at the same time to encircle and weaken the resistance of the Vietnamese and the Lao peoples.

To cope with this great danger, a Summit Conference of the Indochinese Peoples was convened on March 24 and 25, 1970 in Canton, China, at the

initiative of Head of State N. Sihanouk and with the agreement of the Vietnamese and Lao parties. The Conference made public a now famous joint declaration appealing to the three peoples to "strengthen their solidarity... and determination to defeat the US imperialists and their agents, to preserve their sacred national rights and the basic principles of the 1954 and 1962 Geneva Agreements, so as to make Indochina a truly independent and peaceful region."

The Kampuchean Communists themselves, who were then leading the war of resistance in their country, also heartily welcomed the great success of the Conference. On May 1, 1970, Messrs Khieu Samphan, Hou Youn, and Hu Nim, in the capacity of representatives of the Kampuchean People's United Resistance Movement declared: "The content of the Joint Declaration of the Summit Conference of the Indochinese Peoples is most clear-sighted, correct and valuable. The three Indochinese peoples must endeavour to carry it out whatever the cost." "We declare our total and resolute support for the Joint Declaration of the Summit Conference of the Indochinese Peoples."

In May 1970, the US imperialists sent tens of thousands of US and Saigon puppet troops to invade Kampuchea, thus extending the war to the whole of Indochina. In implementation of the Joint Declaration of the Summit Conference of the Indochinese Peoples, and at the request of Kampuchea, the Vietnamese people and their armed forces fought in co-ordination with the Kampuchean people and their armed forces and dealt punishing blows at the US imperialists and their agents, compelling the US and the Saigon puppet troops to withdraw from Kampuchea.

The strengthened solidarity and the co-ordinated struggle of the three Indochinese peoples created a

tremendous force that dramatically changed the balance of forces on all battlefields in Indochina in favour of the revolutionary and patriotic forces of Vietnam, Laos, and Kampuchea. The invincible strength of the three peoples, who united closely with each other, wholeheartedly supported and helped each other in their persistent struggle, and who received extensive support from progressive people all over the world, finally defeated the US aggressors and caused the total collapse of their puppet administrations, winning a victory of great significance: the total liberation of all three countries in the same year of 1975.

In praise of the militant solidarity of the peoples of Vietnam, Laos, and Kampuchea, Comrade Kayson Phomvihane, Secretary General of the Central Committee of the People's Revolutionary Party of Laos, Premier of the People's Democratic Republic of Laos, pointed out that the Vietnam Workers' Party "has made an extremely great contribution to the building of the militant unity and alliance between Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea; which has objectively and in practice become one of the most decisive factors for the success of the revolution in each country in the past, and will continue to be one in the future" (Speech at the Fourth National Congress of the Vietnam Workers' Party).

Regarding the relations between Vietnam and Laos, he said: "In the history of the world revolution, there are many brilliant examples of proletarian internationalism, but never before has there been such a lasting and comprehensive special militant unity and alliance anywhere; over 30 years have elapsed, but it remains as pure as ever. Such a solid unity and alliance *has greatly enhanced the spirit of independence and sovereignty and all subjective factors of each nation and the two nations have combined their strength, fought together, and won victory together, fulfilling their lofty historic*

mission and duty towards their respective peoples and towards the world's revolutionary movement. Relations between Vietnam and Laos have become a pure, faithful, exemplary and rare example of a special relationship, and are being constantly consolidated and developed." (Speech greeting the Fourth National Congress of the Vietnam Workers' Party.)

Regarding Viet Nam — Kampuchea solidarity, and Vietnam's correct policy towards Kampuchea, Ieng Sary, head of the Delegation of the National United Front and the Royal Government of National Union of Kampuchea (now Vice-Premier of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea), said during his visit to Vietnam in November 1971, "The solidarity between the peoples of Kampuchea and Vietnam has been very beneficial to our two peoples... The two peoples have always firmly upheld the principle of equality and mutual respect in keeping with the April 25, 1970 Joint Declaration of the Summit Conference of the Indochinese Peoples." (Speech at the reception in his honour in November 1971)

In March 1974, during his visit to Vietnam, Vice-Premier Khieu Samphan (now Chairman of the State Presidium) said: "The militant solidarity and fraternal friendship between our two peoples have been strengthened day after day, for they spring from a correct basis: mutual assistance on an equal footing and respect for each other's sovereignty in keeping with the spirit of the Joint Declaration of the 1970 Summit Conference of the Indochinese Peoples" (Speech at the meeting of March 30, 1974). Pol Pot, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kampuchea, said when he spoke about Kampuchea's victory: "All these victories cannot be separated from the assistance of our brothers and comrades-in-arms, the Party and people of Vietnam... The relations between our two

Parties, based on mutual respect and absolute non-interference in each other's internal affairs, constitute a factor that cannot be dissociated from our victory (Letter of October 3, 1974 to the Central Committee of the Vietnam Workers' Party). In the talks between the Delegation of the Communist Party of Kampuchea and the Delegation of the Vietnam Workers' Party held in Hanoi in June 1975, Pol Pot, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kampuchea, said: "Though our victory is thanks to our own efforts, we should not have achieved it without the assistance of the Vietnam Workers' Party, the Vietnamese army, and the people of the world, especially the Vietnamese people."

In this new stage, the people of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea have gained total independence and sovereignty; and are making every effort to build their respective countries; and the policy of the Vietnamese Party and State towards the other two fraternal Parties and countries, Laos and Kampuchea is consistent and unchanged. It has been clearly expounded in the Resolution of the Fourth Congress of the Vietnam Workers' Party: "In endeavouring to preserve and develop the special relationship between the Vietnamese people and the people of Laos and Kampuchea, we must strengthen the militant solidarity, mutual trust, long-term co-operation and mutual assistance in all fields between our country and the two fraternal countries, in accordance with the principles of complete equality, respect for each other's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, and respect for each other's legitimate interests, so that the three countries, which have been associated with one another in the struggle for national liberation, will for ever be associated with one another in the building and defence of their respective countries, in the interests of each country's independence and prosperity."

In its relations with the People's Revolutionary Party of Laos and the Communist Party of Kampuchea, the Communist Party of Vietnam always remains faithful to the revolutionary principles of the two Declarations of the Conferences of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties held in Moscow in 1957 and 1960, and consistently advocates: "*All Communist and Workers' Parties are independent, equal, and, at the same time, duty-bound to support and assist one another.*" (Report presented at the Third Plenum of the Central Committee of the Vietnam Workers' Party in December 1960)

In keeping with this spirit, the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and the People's Democratic Republic of Laos signed the Treaty of Friendship and Co-operation and the Treaty on the Delineation of National Borders between the two countries on July 18, 1977. These treaties are of "great historic significance"; they "mark a new all-sided development of the special relationship between Vietnam and Laos, for the defence of national independence and the building of socialism in each country, and respond to the earnest aspirations and vital interests of each people." The signing of the Treaty on the Delineation of National Borders "has reaffirmed the two parties' determination to make the Vietnam—Laos border a border of lasting fraternal friendship between the two countries. This treaty is a splendid illustration of how to settle problems relating to national interests in a spirit of harmoniously combining genuine patriotism with pure proletarian internationalism; it is a brilliant example of the policy of friendship and good neighbourhood pursued by the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and the People's Democratic Republic of Laos." (Joint Declaration between Vietnam and Laos, July 19, 1977)

With regard to Democratic Kampuchea, the Socialist Republic of Vietnam has persistent;

advocated a correct settlement of the border clashes through consultations and negotiation between the two sides. On June 7, 1977, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam and the Government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam sent a letter to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kampuchea and the Government of Democratic Kampuchea, expressing their "sincere desire to rapidly settle the border question, to end the bloody clashes detrimental to the militant solidarity and fraternal friendship between Vietnam and Kampuchea," "to build a border of lasting friendship between the two countries" and proposing "to hold as early as possible a high-level meeting between the leaders of the two Parties and the two Governments..." It is very regrettable that the Kampuchean side has rejected this proposal, that it has openly started a border war between the two countries and, at the same time, has increased its slanderous charges against the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

Following up its December 31, 1977 Statement, on February 5, 1978, the Government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam put forward a three-point proposal to the Kampuchean side, which included: an immediate end to all military hostilities in the border region, signing by the two parties of documents undertaking to respect each other's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity within the existing borders, to refrain from the use of force, particularly from interference in each other's internal affairs and from subversive activities against each other; and agreement between the two sides on an appropriate form of international guarantee and supervision.

The Kampuchean side has so far ignored this fair and reasonable proposal of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

III — The Kampuchean Authorities' Allegation about a So-called "Vietnam — dominated Indochinese Federation with Only One Party, One State, and One People" Is Completely Groundless

The history of 100 years of foreign domination experienced by the Indochinese peoples has proved that the imperialists, whether they were the French colonialists, or the Japanese fascists or the US imperialists, all used Indochina as a theatre of war, applied their traditional "divide-and-rule" policy, used one country as a springboard for aggression against another, and used one people to fight another, with the aim of conquering all three countries. The solidarity of the peoples of the three countries against their common enemy was an objective requirement of the revolutionary cause of each people, a factor of decisive importance in winning victory in the national liberation struggle as well as in the long-term cause of national defence and construction carried out by each people. To be lasting, this solidarity must be based on equality and mutual respect, it must serve the national interests of each country, and conform to the interests of the world people. The Indochinese Communists in the past, as well as the leaders of the three Parties and three countries later on, did all they could to build and foster the militant solidarity and fraternal friendship between the three nations, while scrupulously respecting the fundamental national rights of each people and the independence of each Party.

The consistent policy followed by the Vietnamese Party and Government with regard to the two fraternal countries and Parties is to foster "militant solidarity and to promote long-term and friendly co-operation with them on the basis of respect for the fundamental national rights of each country. With regard to Kampuchea, now as in the past, in

hard times as well as in days of victory, Vietnam's policy is consistent and its feelings are unchanged: solidarity with and wholehearted support to Kampuchea, respect for its independence, sovereignty, unity, territorial integrity, political system, independent and sovereign line, and non-interference in its internal affairs.

With its correct line and actions as well as by its concerted fight against the common enemy, Vietnam has done its utmost to contribute to the lofty solidarity between the three nations and to fulfil its international duties towards the common cause of revolution.

All true revolutionaries, and patriots are duty-bound to defend and promote this lofty solidarity. Only the imperialists and world reactionaries are striving to undermine it.

Why then have the Kampuchean authorities distorted history and called white black in slandering the Socialist Republic of Vietnam? "The Indochinese Federation" is history, and for the past twenty years and more has never been referred to. (11) The "Indochinese Federation" question really stands in the way of the friendly relations between the two countries, why then do they not agree to sign with the Socialist Republic of Vietnam "a treaty in which they undertake to respect each other's independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity, to refrain from aggression, from the use of force or the threat to use force in their relations with each other, from interference in each other's internal affairs, and from subversive activities against each other, to treat each other on an equal footing, and to live in peace and friendship in a good neighbourly relationship," and "a treaty on the border question on the basis of respect for each other's territorial integrity within the existing borders," as proposed by the Vietnamese side on February 5, 1978? The fact that they resurrect this historical matter just

as they have done with the historical question of territory between the two countries, is but a stratagem to arouse national hatred and enmity. The policy of fanning national hatred and enmity between Kampuchea and Vietnam and sabotaging the friendship between the two peoples is part of their policy of creating border conflicts with neighbouring countries, applying a closed-door foreign policy, enhancing narrow nationalism and rejecting international and regional co-operation (such as co-operation on the Mekong River). The Kampuchean authorities' foreign policy is aimed at serving their intensified repression of the people in their country and their purging of revolutionaries and patriots opposed to their erroneous line; it is also aimed at consolidating their power and diverting public opinion at home, which has become indignant at their criminal domestic policies.

In undermining the traditional solidarity between the three nations, the Kampuchean authorities are not only betraying their people's close comrades-in-arms but also cutting across their people's sacred feelings and national interests. Although the imperialists have been forced to withdraw from Indochina, they have not given up their vicious intention to sabotage the independence and peace of the three Indochinese countries. By undermining the militant solidarity between the three peoples, the Kampuchean authorities are committing a crime which is encouraged by the imperialists and world reactionaries, and for which they must be held fully responsible to their own people and to history.

The Government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam affirms the following:

1. "The Indochinese Federation" is a question which has passed forever into history. As of 1954, after Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea regained their national sovereignty and territorial integrity and

were recognized by many countries in the world. It has no longer been mentioned by the Laotians, the Kampuchians or the Vietnamese. Holding high the banner of national independence and socialism, the Government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam once again affirms that there is no such question as the Indochinese Federation.

(2.) The Government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam unswervingly honours its commitments in the Geneva Agreements on Indochina (1954) and the Geneva Agreement on Laos (1962), the Paris Agreement and the Act of the International Conference on Vietnam (1973) as well as other international documents it has signed concerning its relations with Laos and Kampuchea: strict respect for the independence, sovereignty, unity, territorial integrity, political system and the independent and sovereign line of the two fraternal countries — Laos and Kampuchea —, respect for the independence of the People's Revolutionary Party of Laos and the Communist Party of Kampuchea, and non-interference in the internal affairs of Laos and Kampuchea. It is prepared to sign a treaty on mutual respect with Kampuchea and a treaty concerning the border between the two countries, as proposed in its February 5, 1978 Statement.

(3.) The Government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam will continue to make every effort to preserve and strengthen the militant solidarity and fraternal friendship between the Vietnamese and the Kampuchean peoples, and between the peoples of the three countries on the Indochinese peninsula.

The Vietnamese people are confident that in the end justice will prevail, and the solidarity and friendship between the Vietnamese and the Kampuchean peoples will prevail.

Hanoi, April 7, 1978

FACTS ABOUT THE VIETNAM — KAMPUCHEA BORDER QUESTION

*(Document released by the SRV
Foreign Ministry)*

In its December 31, 1977 Statement, the Government of Democratic Kampuchea presented the Vietnam — Kampuchea border question as follows:

1. "... Right after the liberation of Kampuchea, the Vietnamese army attacked and occupied Kampuchea's Vai Island and simultaneously carried out provocations and encroached on Kampuchean territory, to depths of from 0.1 metre to tens of kilometres."

2. "... In June 1975... a delegation of the Communist Party of Kampuchea were in Hanoi to settle the border question with Vietnam... in keeping with the decision made in 1966 by the Government of Kampuchea and the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation. But, on that occasion, the Vietnamese side ignored the good-willed proposals of the the Kampuchean side."

3. "...In May 1976, still wishing to settle the Kampuchea — Vietnam border question in a friendly way, the Government of Democratic Kampuchea invited the Vietnamese side to hold negotiations in Phnom Penh. The Vietnamese side came to Democratic Kampuchea with a hostile attitude, with no intention of solving the frontier question... On the contrary, the Vietnamese side tried to revise the existing Kampuchea — Vietnam border, the sea border in particular..."

But in his January 6, 1978 Statement, the Spokesman of the Ministry of Information and Propaganda of Democratic Kampuchea said that "the clashes along the frontiers are only one of Vietnam's many pretexts to invade, threaten and put pressure on Kampuchea... to force it into an Indochinese Federation."

Then, on January 30, 1978, Phnom Penh Radio reaffirmed that "The Kampuchean frontiers have been clearly delineated and established in international agreements; the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam and the Government of North Vietnam also gave their recognition to them in written documents in 1966. Therefore, there is no question of the border not being clearly delineated..."

So, within a short period, Democratic Kampuchea has on the one hand asserted the existence of border disputes between Kampuchea and Vietnam and clamoured about its "goodwill," but on the other also said that the border between the two countries had already been clearly defined and internationally recognized, including by Vietnam; at the same time it has slanderously accused Vietnam of using border clashes as a pretext to invade Democratic Kampuchea.

What are the facts about the Vietnam — Kampuchea border question? This document will shed light on this problem.

I — The Truth about the Vietnam — Kampuchea Border Question

Regarding the Vietnam — Kampuchea border question, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation and the Provisional Revolutionary

Government of the Republic of South Vietnam as well as the present Government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam have always stood for a negotiated settlement, in keeping with the principle of respect for each other's sovereignty and territorial integrity and in a spirit of equality, mutual respect, friendship and good neighbourhood.

On March 9 and April 14, 1960, the Saigon puppet administration laid claim to seven islands along the Kampuchean coast, namely Hon Dua (Koh Takeav), Hon Nang Trong (Koh Thmey), Hon Nang ngoai (Koh Ses), Hon Tai (Koh Antay), Hon Tre Nam (Koh Po), Hon Kien Vang (Koh Ankrang), and Hon Keo Ngua (Koh Ses).

On June 20, 1964, the then Kampuchean Head of State, N. Sihanouk sent a letter to the President of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation, Nguyen Huu Tho, expressing a desire to meet and exchange views with the President in connection with the border question, in which he stated: "*... we give up all territorial claims in exchange for an unambiguous recognition of the existing borders and of our sovereignty over the coastal islands illegally claimed by the Saigon Administration...*" On August 18, 1964 Head of State N. Sihanouk sent another letter to President Nguyen Huu Tho, reaffirming: "*... For its part, Kampuchea only demands recognition of its existing land border as drawn on the maps commonly used up to 1954 and recognition of its sovereignty over the coastal islands illegally claimed by the Saigon regime without any justification whatever...*"

The South Vietnam National Front for Liberation agreed to the meeting requested by Head of State N. Sihanouk, and in *October and December 1964*, the two sides started negotiations in Peking. During these negotiations, the Delegation of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation expressed its good-

will and desire to conclude an agreement between the two parties. However, the Kampuchean side claimed sovereignty over Vietnam Hai Tac Nam and Tho Chu Islands (both of which lie south of the Brévié line). *The Kampuchean side also put forward a map with nine corrections of the pre-1954 map and with the Vietnam — Kampuchea border redrawn in such a way as to encroach on Vietnamese territory.* In addition, it linked the border question with other issues, such as privileges for Khmers residing in South Vietnam... That is why the 1964 negotiations failed to achieve any results.

In March 1965, in the Resolution of the Conference of the Indochinese Peoples held in Phnom Penh, the delegations of the Vietnam Fatherland Front and the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation once again reiterated "... respect for the sovereignty, independence, neutrality and territorial integrity of Cambodia and undertook to continue to do so and to avoid any action inconsistent with these principles..."

In August 1966, at the request of Head of State N. Sihanouk, a delegation of the South Vietnam National front for Liberation headed by Mr Tran Buu Kiem, member of its Central Committee Presidium, went to Phnom Penh to continue negotiations on the border question. In the course of the negotiations, the Kampuchean side once more demanded an amendment of the land border as drawn on the 1/100,000 map published by the Geographical Service of French Indochina widely used before 1954.

As regards the sea border, the Kampuchean side rejected the Brévié line and said, "If administrative control of these islands is considered to be territorial sovereignty over them, South Vietnam will then have an advantage, because among the islands south of the Brévié line is Phu Quoc Island, which comes

nder the sovereignty of Kampuchea.. The Kampuchean side also linked the border question with many other issues, such as privileges for Khmers residing in South Vietnam Kampuchean navigation rights on the Mekong river and the use of Saigon's sea-port.. It considered its proposals as an indivisible whole and demanded that the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation accept it as such. These were absurd demands and because of them negotiations had to be adjourned. At the last meeting, on September 17, 1966, the Kampuchean side requested that "the negotiations be suspended for the time being..."

Such are the facts about the August 1966 negotiations. Nevertheless, the Government of Democratic Kampuchea said in its December 31, 1977 Statement that in 1966 the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation had officially recognized the sea borders of Kampuchea. The Government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam categorically rejects this falsification by the Government of Democratic Kampuchea, the Kampuchean side did not accept the proposals of the South Vietnam National for Liberation and put forward absurd demands, and as a result no agreement was reached during the negotiations.

On May 9, 1967, the Royal Government of Cambodia appealed to all countries to respect the territorial integrity of Kampuchea within its existing borders. In responding to this appeal, the Central Committee of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation took into consideration the request by Head of State N. Sihanouk in his letters of June 20 and August 18, 1964 that "the existing Cambodian land border as drawn on the maps commonly used up to 1954 be recognized....," and on May, 31, 1967, declared that it:

"1. reaffirms its consistent stand to recognize and undertakes to respect Cambodia territorial integrity within its existing borders ;

"2. recognizes and undertakes to respect the existing frontiers between South Vietnam and Cambodia..."

On June 8, 1967, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam also declared that it :

"1. recognizes and undertakes to respect Cambodia territorial integrity within its existing borders ;

"2. fully approves the May 31, 1967 Statement by the Central Committee of the South Vietnam National for Liberation recognizing the existing frontiers between South Vietnam and Cambodia."

The Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam recognizes and undertakes to respect these frontiers... "The two statements of the Vietnamese side were warmly welcomed by the Royal Government of Cambodia.

In April 1970, together with the other participants in the Summit Conference of the Indochinese Peoples, Prime Minister Pham Van Dong of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and Nguyen Huu Tho, Chairman of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation and President of the Advisory Council of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam, once more declared :

"As regards the relations between the three countries the parties are determined to abide by the five principles of peaceful coexistence : mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity ; non-aggression ; mutual respect for the political regime of each country and non-interference in the internal affairs of others ; equality and mutual benefit ; peaceful coexistence. The parties respect the fundamental

principles of the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Indochina, recognize and pledge respect for the territorial integrity of Cambodia within its existing borders, and respect the 1962 Geneva Agreements on Laos. The parties affirm that all problems arising in the relations between the three countries can be solved through negotiations conducted in a spirit of mutual respect, mutual understanding and mutual assistance." (Joint Declaration of the Summit Conference of the Indochinese Peoples, April 25, 1970).

From May 1975 up to the Present

The December 31, 1977 Statement of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea says, among other things: "Right after the liberation of Kampuchea, the Vietnamese army attacked and occupied Kampuchea's Vai island, and simultaneously carried out provocations and encroached on Kampuchean territory to depths of from 0.1 metre to tens of kilometres..."

The Government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam categorically denies these slanderous allegations of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea.

The fact is that *as early as May 1, 1975*, the Kampuchean authorities ordered their armed forces to encroach on Vietnamese territory in a number of places in border areas from Ha Tien to Tay Ninh, causing great human and material losses to the local populations.

On May 4, 1975, Kampuchean troops landed on Phu Quoc Island and on May 10, 1975, they launched attacks from the mainland and from Hon Troc (Vai Island) on Vietnam Tho Chu island and occupied it. Tho Chu Island lies far south of the Brévié line. The Kampuchean authorities launched repeated attacks

on this island with their armed forces, destroyed villages, killed many people and abducted 515 inhabitants of the island. In spite of the protest made by the Vietnamese side, the Kampuchean troops maintained their occupation of Tho Chu Island. For this reason on May 25, 1975, Vietnamese local armed forces were compelled to use their legitimate right of self-defence to drive the intruders out of Tho Chu Island and, on June 6, 1975, pursued them as far as Hon Troc (Vai Island).

The Kampuchean troops' encroachments upon Vietnamese territory were admitted on June, 2, 1975 by Pol Pot, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kampuchea, when he received Comrade Nguyen Van Linh, representative of the Vietnam Workers' Party, but he argued that the Kampuchean troops' "ignorance of local geography" had been the cause of these painful bloody clashes.

For its part, the Vietnamese side ordered its armed forces to withdraw from Hon Troc (Vai Island) after driving out the perpetrators of this land seizure. In a meeting on August 10, 1975 between Comrade Nguyen Van Linh, Representative of the Vietnam Workers' Party, and Nuon Chea, Deputy Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kampuchea, the Vietnamese side made it clear that Vietnamese armed forces were no longer stationed on Hon Troc (Vai Island). It also declared that it would return to the Kampuchean side nearly 600 Kampuchean troops captured during encroachments on Vietnamese territory. At this meeting, Deputy Secretary Nuon Chea said: "Regarding the Vai Island question, on behalf of our Party, we would like to express our deep thanks to you," and admitted that "unawareness of the border problems," had resulted in these incidents. As for the 515 inhabitants of Tho Chu island abducted by the Kampuchean

army, nearly three years ago now, the Kampuchean side has not returned them to Vietnam, nor has it given any information about what has become of them.

In another paragraph of the December 31, 1977 Statement of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea, one can read: "In June 1975..., a delegation of the Communist Party of Kampuchea went to Hanoi to settle the border question with Vietnam... But, on that occasion, the Vietnamese side ignored the good-willed proposals of the Kampuchean side; in fact, they paid no attention to the Kampuchean proposals."

This is a complete and brazen fabrication. The fact is that a delegation of the Communist Party of Kampuchea headed by Pol Pot, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kampuchea, paid a friendship visit to Vietnam in June 1975. On June 12, 1975, the Head of the delegation of the Communist Party of Kampuchea made it clear that the purpose of the visit was to strengthen the solidarity between the two Parties and the two peoples, and to express deep gratitude to the Vietnam Workers' Party, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and the Vietnamese people, for their continuous, multiform and very precious support to the Kampuchean people. During the talks, the Kampuchean side suggested the conclusion of treaty of friendship between the two countries encompassing economic exchanges trade, the movement of the two populations across the border for their livelihood, the question of national frontiers, and other matters, but did not request immediate negotiations during that visit on the settlement of the border question.

The Vietnamese delegation welcomed the idea of signing such a treaty of friendship, emphasized that both sides had to respect each other's independence

and territory so that solidarity could be strengthened and fraternity be maintained between the two peoples, and agreed that the two sides would engage in negotiations on a border treaty also.

After this visit, the Vietnamese side had occasion to bring up the Kampuchean suggestion about the conclusion of a treaty of friendship and a border treaty, but the Kampuchean side kept silent and never referred to this question again.

In April 1976, the Central Committee of the Vietnamese Party and that of the Kampuchean Party agreed to hold a meeting between high-ranking representatives in June 1976 to discuss the settlement of the border problem, and prepare for the signing, at State level, of a border treaty.

To prepare for this high-ranking meeting, a preliminary meeting was held in Phnom Penh *from May 4 to May 18, 1976, at the request of the Vietnamese side*. At this meeting, the Vietnamese side put forth logical and sensible proposals regarding the principles for solving the border question, on land and on the sea, between the two countries.

As regards the land border, the two sides agreed to use the 1/100,000 map printed by the French and widely used before 1954.

As regards the sea border, the Vietnamese side agreed to take the Brévié line as the demarcation line with regard to sovereignty over the islands. As for the actual border on the sea, there has been no legal text delineating such a border agreed to by both parties yet. In US-puppet times, the Saigon and the Lon Nol puppet administrations carried out sea patrols along a demarcation line different from the Brévié line (see sketch map in appendix). Therefore, in the view of the Vietnamese side, the Brévié line could not be taken as the actual border on the sea. The Kampuchean side, however, insisted on taking the Brévié line as the border on the sea. The

meeting was still in progress when the Kampuchean side asked for a "temporary adjournment," allegedly to have time to "get instructions" from the members of the Standing Committee of the Kampuchean Party who were not available in Phnom Penh at that time. The Vietnamese side proposed the resumption of the meeting on many occasions, but got no response from the Kampuchean side.

The following clarification concerning the Brévié line should be made: On January 31, 1939, after considering the proposals made by the Governors of "Cambodia" and "Cochinchina," the Indochinese Governor General, J. Brévié, issued a circular demarcating the respective administration and police zones into whose jurisdiction the islands in the sea areas of "Cambodia" and "Cochinchina" fell. The circular stated:

"... I deem the existing state of affairs untenable the inhabitants of these islands are compelled to make their various applications to the Administration of Cochinchina, at the price of either a long sea-crossing or a long journey through Cambodian territory.

"Consequently, I have decided that all the islands situated north of a line drawn at right angles to the coast at the frontier between Cambodia and Cochinchina, and making an angle of 140 G with the Meridian North, as on the map attached hereunto, will from now on be administered by Cambodia.

"All the islands situated south of this line, including the whole island of Phu Quoc, will continue to be administered by Cochinchina. It is understood that the demarcation line drawn in this manner will skirt the North of Phu Quoc island, passing 3 km from the extreme points of the northern coast of this island."

The above-mentioned circular also pointed out: "*Of course, only the matters of administration and*

the police are considered here, the question of whose territory these islands are remains outstanding."

The territorial waters of French Indochina, "Cochinchina" and Cambodia included, were delineated according to the March 1st, 1888 Law of the French Republic, i.e., three nautical miles wide (5.556 km). This proves that the French authorities had no intention of taking the Brévié line as the border on the sea between "Cochinchina" and "Cambodia."

Therefore the Brévié line only demarcated the administrative and police zones of the islands; it is not interpretable in any way as the sea border between the two countries.

On May 19, 1976, Ieng Sary, member of the Standing Committee of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kampuchea, Vice-Premier in charge of external affairs, received the Vietnamese delegation to the preliminary meeting, saying, "On behalf of the Party, Government and people of Kampuchea, we thank the Vietnamese delegation for having come and worked in Kampuchea." Then he added: "Though the meeting has not reached a solution on any major problem, its discussions have been highly significant, and the meeting helps both sides understand each other better and clearly realize the necessity of solidarity between the two Parties and two countries."

On May 23, 1976, Nuon Chea, Deputy Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kampuchea, addressed a letter to Comrade Pham Hung, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Vietnam Workers' Party, which reads in part: "Our two delegations' recent work was very successful in further consolidating and strengthening our militant solidarity... Our two delegations understood each other, sympathized with each other

is were extremely sincere with each other, as the comrades-in-arms and revolutionary brothers they are."

The facts about the May 1973 preliminary meeting and the above-mentioned statements by the leaders of the Communist Party and Government of Democratic Kampuchea belie the distortions in the December 21, 1977 Statement of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea that "the Vietnamese side came to Democratic Kampuchea with a hostile attitude, not in intention of solving the border question," and "the Vietnamese side tried to revise the Kampuchea-Vietnam border, the sea border in particular." These facts also completely refute the allegation made by Pol Pot, Secretary of the Party Central Committee and Prime Minister of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea, when interviewed by English journalists on March 17, 1973, that Vietnam "proposed another border with a view to seizing a large sea area from Kampuchea."

In its December 21, 1977 Statement, the Kampuchean side deliberately used vague wording in an attempt to deceive public opinion: "In June 1977, the Vietnamese, on the one hand, continued their invasion of Kampuchea along the border, and on the other, they pretended that they were still in favour of negotiations with the Kampuchean side on the border question, in order to slacken Kampuchea's vigilance and to launch surprise attacks against it."

In fact, after the preliminary meeting in Phnom Penh in May 1973, the Vietnamese side went ahead with implementing the three measures agreed upon:

1. The two sides strive to educate the cadres, combatants, and people of their respective countries in the border areas with a view to strengthening solidarity and friendship and avoiding conflicts;

2. All conflicts must be settled in a spirit of solidarity, friendship, and mutual respect; and

3. The liaison committees of the two sides must investigate any conflicts and meet to settle them.

Far from doing the same, the Kampuchean side launched continuous military attacks against Vietnam and encroached on Vietnam's territory. April 1977 marked an increase in the Kampuchean authorities' mobilization of a very large force, of many divisions with the strong support of artillery clusters based in Kampuchea, to carry out concerted attacks on almost all border areas, from Ha Tien in Kien Giang province to Tay Ninh, to loot, to burn houses and to kill people in a most savage manner, causing very great losses to the local inhabitants, and committing extremely barbarous crimes of the type described in detail in the *White Paper* published in January 1978 by the Department of Press and Information of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. At the same time, the period January-May 1977 saw the Kampuchean side successively cut off all relations between the liaison committees of Kampuchean and Vietnamese border provinces.

In view of this very serious situation, on June 7, 1977, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam and the Government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam sent a letter to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kampuchea and the Government of Democratic Kampuchea, in which they expressed "the sincere desire to rapidly settle the border question, to put an end to the bloody incidents detrimental to the militant solidarity and fraternal friendship between Vietnam and Kampuchea." They also proposed that "a high-level meeting between our two Parties and Governments be convened as soon as possible, in Phnom Penh or in Hanoi, at the convenience of the Kampuchean side."

In their reply dated June 18, 1977, the Central Committee of the Communist Party and the Government of Democratic Kampuchea held that a meeting was necessary, but they proposed to "wait until the situation returns to normal and some time without further border clashes elapses..." before any meeting was held. It should be pointed out that it was nevertheless the Kampuchean side, and no one else which increased its military attacks, encroached on Vietnamese territory, savagely massacred Vietnamese civilians and sabotaged the peaceful labour of the Vietnamese people in all the provinces along the border. In such conditions, with the Kampuchean side continuing its wild military operations, how could the border situation "return to normal... without further border clashes" so that the two sides might meet?

Besides its military attacks and encroachments upon Vietnamese territory the whole length of the border, the Kampuchean side circulated a map of Democratic Kampuchea, scale 1/2,000,000 (printed in the August 1977 issue of the pictorial magazine *Democratic Kampuchea Advances* on which the national sea border of Kampuchea was drawn according to the Brévié line. It should be pointed out that even the former Royal Government of Kampuchea never drew the national sea border according to the Brévié line. In 1973 and 1974, the Royal Government of National Union of Kampuchea printed and published a map of the same scale (1/2,000,000) but never drew the national border either on land or on the sea as it was drawn in the August 1977 map. This action of the Kampuchean side testified to its land greed and territorial ambitions.

Each time the Kampuchean side violated the territorial sovereignty of Vietnam, the Vietnamese side always informed it of the fact promptly and requested it to stop all violations without delay. But the

Kampuchean side always denied the facts in an attempt to shirk its responsibility. For instance, Kampuchean troops had perpetrated many crimes in a number of places along *Vinh Te canal* in An Giang province; but Pol Pot, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kampuchea, while admitting violations of Vietnamese territory, said they were caused by ignorance of the border, resulting in very painful and bloody clashes (May 1975); another time, following incident in March 1977, the Kampuchean Ministry of Foreign Affairs stated that "Kampuchean has never encroached even one inch on the territory of Vietnam." About incidents taking place from April 27 to May 2, 1977 the Kampuchean side said that the clashes had occurred in Kampuchean territory and the Kampuchean troops "only did their duty in defending their territory."

So, the Kampuchean side has not only contradicted itself in words but its words do not match its deeds; and these contradictions all the more clearly reveal its wicked design of systematic grabbing of Vietnamese land in the border region.

Since December 31, 1977, the Government of Democratic Kampuchea has, on the one hand, persisted in rejecting the proposal for negotiations made by the Government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. On the other, it has kept launching attacks with its armed forces on many areas in Vietnam's territory all along the border, committing new barbarous crimes against the Vietnamese people. It has endeavoured to fan up national hatred against Vietnam, continued to brazenly slander the Socialist Republic of Vietnam saying it has invaded Kampuchea, interfered in its internal affairs, carried out subversion against it, and tried to pressure it into a Vietnam-dominated "Indochinese Federation." The Government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam

ategorically denies all these slanderous allegations of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea.

The above-mentioned facts have borne out that the Kampuchean side has deliberately aggravated the tense situation on the Vietnam — Kampuchea border, caused the relations between Vietnam and Kampuchea to deteriorate, and created more difficulties and complications in connection with finding a solution to the problems concerning the relations between the two countries.

II — The Correct Way to Settle the Vietnam — Kampuchea Border Question

The above-mentioned facts prove that the Kampuchean authorities have made a volte-face, that they do not want a correct settlement of the Vietnam — Kampuchea border question, and that they deliberately initiated the border clashes to kindle national hatred against Vietnam and to divert attention from the domestic purging and repression against their people.

Regarding problems relating to the frontiers between neighbouring countries, the position of the Communist Party of Vietnam and the Government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam is very clear :

1. Sovereignty and territorial integrity is a sacred question of each nation ;

2. Between neighbouring countries, there are often disputes whose origins are historical regarding questions of frontier and territory, questions which are sometimes very complicated and require careful study and examination ;

3. The countries concerned should study these problems in a spirit of equality, mutual respect, friendship and good neighbourliness, so as to find a negotiated solution to these problems.

With regard to the Vietnam — Kampuchea border question, in its *December 31, 1977 Statement*, the Government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam affirmed: "Vietnam is resolved to defend its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, and at the same time it always respects Kampuchea's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, and does all it can to preserve the militant solidarity and great friendship between Vietnam and Kampuchea. This is a principled stand, a just and unswerving stand of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

"Once again, the Government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam proposes that the two sides meet as early as possible at whatever level, so as to together solve the border issue between the two countries in a spirit of fraternal friendship."

On *February 5, 1978*, the Government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam once again put forward the following reasonable and sensible three-point proposal aimed at solving all problems concerning the relations between Vietnam and Kampuchea through negotiations.

1. An immediate end shall be put to all hostile military activities in the border region; the armed forces of each side shall be stationed within the respective territory five kilometres from the border.

2. The two sides shall meet at once in Hanoi or Phnom Penh, or at a place on the border, to discuss and conclude a treaty in which they will undertake to respect each other's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, to refrain from aggression, from the use of force or threats to use force in their relations with each other, from interference in each other's internal affairs, and from subversive activities against each other, to treat each other on an equal footing, and to live in peace and friendship as good neighbours.

The two sides shall sign a border treaty on the basis of respect for each other's territorial sovereignty within the existing borders.

3. The two sides shall reach an agreement on an appropriate form of international guarantee and supervision.

Regarding the Vietnam — Kampuchea border question, the Communist Party of Vietnam and the Government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam have adopted a consistent stand, i.e. :

a) The existing land frontiers, as drawn on the 1/100,000 map printed by the French and widely used before 1954, will be taken as land borders between the two countries ;

b) The Brévié line drawn in 1939 will be adopted for purposes of determining sovereignty over the islands ;

c) Regarding the sea border question, the two parties will negotiate a fair and reasonable settlement.

Now, regarding the land border, the two parties have agreed to use the 1/100,000 map printed by the French and widely used before 1954 ; the two parties have also agreed on the division of the islands ; but they still hold different views regarding the border on the sea. Regarding this question a basis for the two parties to negotiate a settlement on already exists :

On May 12, 1977, the Government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam issued a statement defining the territorial sea, the contiguous zone, the exclusive economic zone, and the continental shelf of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. Article 7 of this declaration states: "The Government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam will settle through negotiations with the countries concerned all matters relating to the maritime zones and the continental shelf of each country, on the basis of mutual respect for independ-

ence and sovereignty in accordance with international law and practices.”

On January 15, 1978, the Spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Democratic Kampuchea made a statement reaffirming the Kampuchean position on the territorial sea, the contiguous zone, the exclusive economic zone, and the continental shelf of Democratic Kampuchea. Point 6 of that statement reads: “Regarding countries involved in the problem of determining the above-mentioned maritime zones, the Government of Democratic Kampuchea will deal with each according to the actual situation.”

The Government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam maintains that, on the basis of these two statements, the two sides can negotiate and delineate a sea border between the two countries.

The Government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam appeals to the Government of Democratic Kampuchea to respond positively to the proposals put forth in the two statements of December 31, 1977 and February 5, 1978 by the Government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, and come to the conference table to settle the border problem and other problems concerning the relations between the two countries.

The Government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam is convinced that “by means of negotiations in the spirit of solidarity against imperialism of the non-aligned movement, and in keeping with the spirit of the Charter of the United Nations Organization, the problems concerning the relations between Vietnam and Kampuchea will be correctly settled in the interests of the people of each country, and for the benefit of peace and security in Southeast Asia and the world.”

Hanoi, April 7, 1978

DEPARTMENT
FOR POLITICAL
AFFAIRS

No. 867 — API

Subject: Islands
in the Gulf of Siam

Letter of the Governor General,
January 31, 1939

Hanoi, January 31, 1939

From: The Governor-General of Indochina
Grand Officer of the Legion of Honour
To: The Governor of Cochinchina (1st Bureau)

Saigon

I have the honour to bring to your knowledge that I have recently further examined the question of the islands in the Gulf of Siam, the possession of which is disputed by Cambodia and Cochinchina.

The position of this string of islands, scattered along the Cambodian coast and some of them located so close by this coast that the continuing alluvial deposits must join them to the Cambodian coast in the relatively near future, makes it necessary, from logical and geographical point of view, for these islets to be placed under the administration of the latter country.

I deem the existing state of affairs untenable: inhabitants of these islands are compelled to make their various applications to the Administration of Cochinchina, at the price of either a long sea-crossing or a long journey through Cambodian territory.

Consequently, I have decided that all the islands situated north of a line drawn at right angles to the coast, at the frontier between Cambodia and Cochinchina, and making an angle of 140 G with the Meridian North, as on the map attached hereunto, will from now on be administered by Cambodia. The Protectorate will, in particular, take charge of the police of these islands.

All the islands situated south of this line, including the whole island of Phu Quoc will continue to be administered by Cochinchina. It is understood that the demarcation line drawn in this manner will skirt the north of Phu Quoc Island, passing three kilometres from the extreme points of the northern coast of this island.

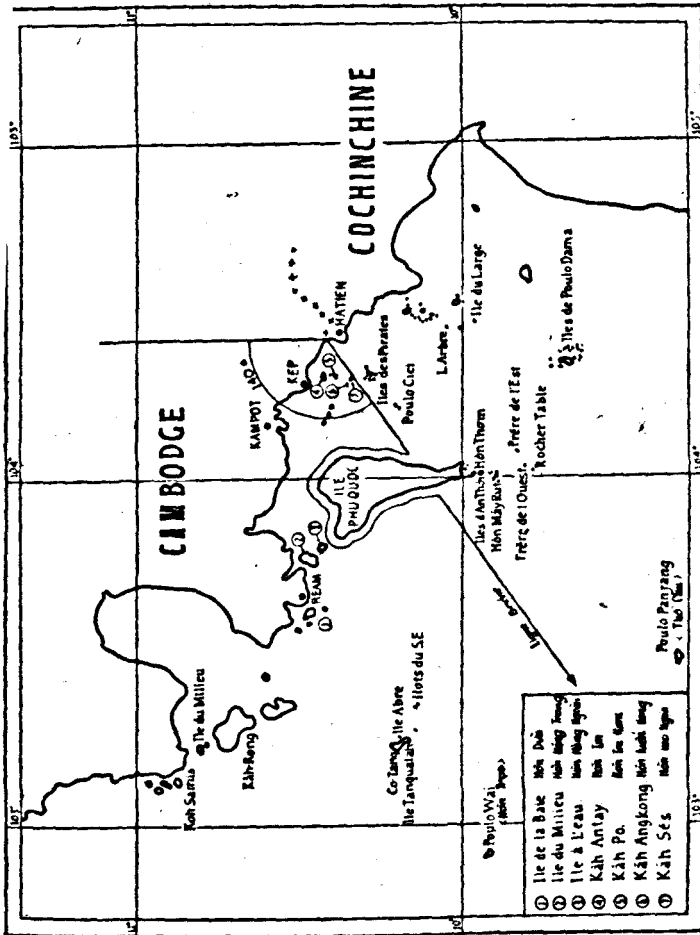
The administration and police powers with regard to these islands will therefore be clearly distributed to Cochinchina and Cambodia in order to avoid any dispute in the future.

Of course, only the matters of administration and the police are considered here, the question of whose territory these islands are remains outstanding.

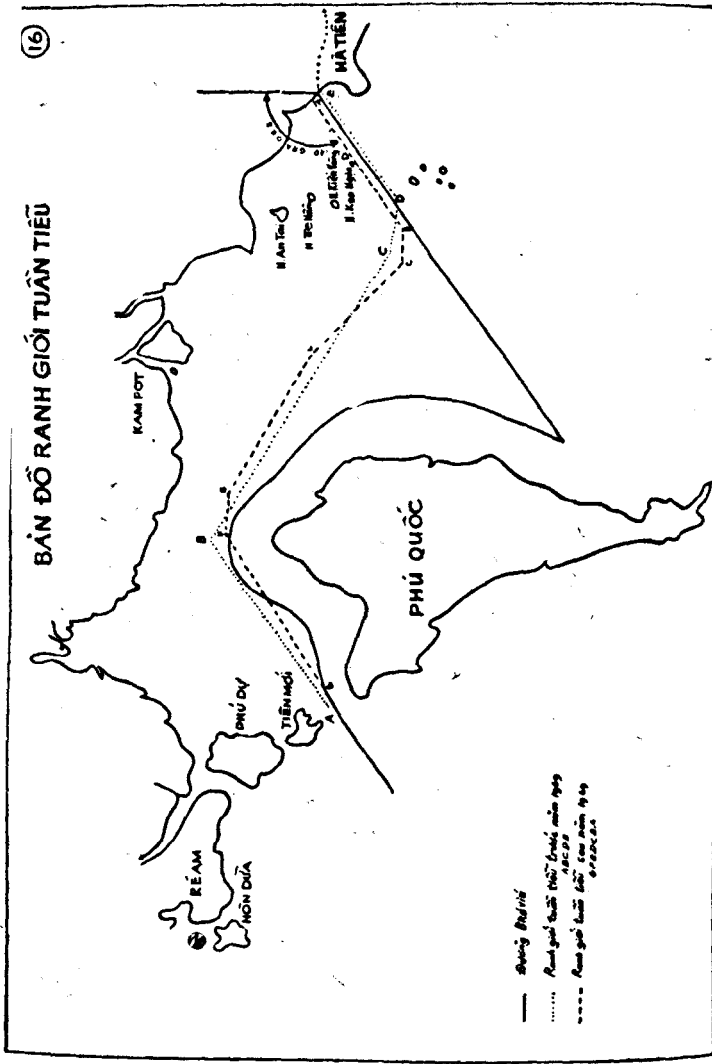
You will be so kind to take action so that my decision will be immediately put into effect.

Please acknowledge receipt of this letter.

Signed : BRÉVIÉ



Sketch-map of the demarcation of administration and police zones with regard to the islands, according to Circular No. 867 API dated January 31, 1939 of Governor General J. BREVIE.

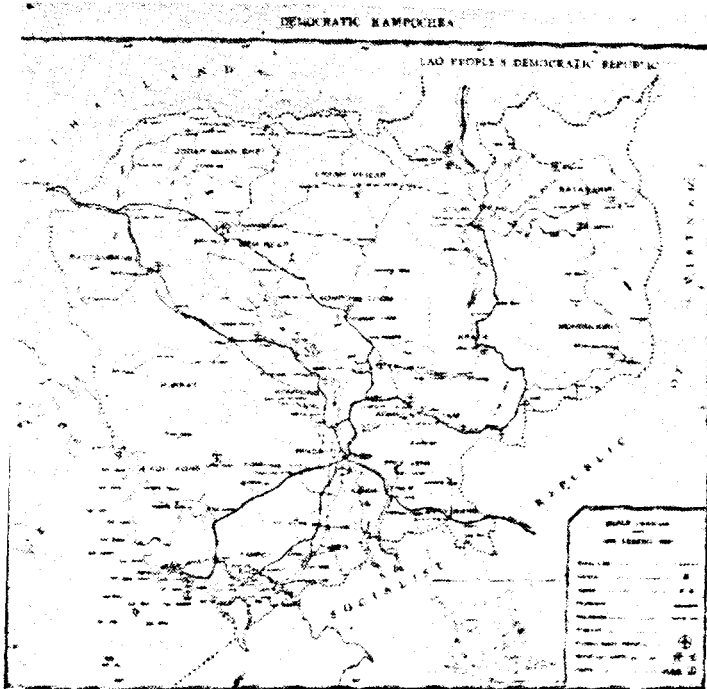


Sketch-map of the demarcation line for sea patrols by the Saigon puppet administration and the Lon Nol puppet administration.

According to documents dated November 14, 1973 taken from the Saigon puppet Navy.

Translation of Vietnamese words used on the map:

- MAP OF DEMARCATION OF PATROLS
- Brévie line
- Demarcation line of patrols before 1969 ABCDE
- Demarcation line of patrols after 1969 GFEDCBA



Map of Democratic Kampuchea, scale 1/2,000,000, published by the Pictorial Review *Democratic Kampuchea Advances*, August 1977 issue, in which the Kampuchean side unilaterally takes the BREVIE line as sea border.

STATEMENT OF THE GOVERNMENT
OF DEMOCRATIC KAMPUCHEA TO ITS FRIENDS
FAR AND NEAR ACROSS THE FIVE CONTINENTS
AND TO WORLD OPINION

Repeated, systematic and large-scale surprise acts of aggression and invasion, which are in effect an undeclared war, have been perpetrated by the Army of the "Socialist Republic of Vietnam" against the territory of Democratic Kampuchea according to a studied plan, and have led the Government of Democratic Kampuchea to make the following statement :

1. Since September 1977, many infantry divisions of the Army of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam sent from Hanoi, with hundreds of armoured vehicles and pieces of heavy artillery, and sometimes with air support, have launched systematic and large-scale land-grabbing attacks against Democratic Kampuchea with a view to looting paddy crops, at Trapcang, Phlong, Stung, Krek and Memot in the eastern area. Then in November 1977, the army of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam launched large-scale attacks against Svay Rieng province and penetrated scores of kilometres into the districts of Rumdoul, Prasaut, Kompong Rau and Chantrea. In December 1977, Vietnamese troops again made large-scale attacks against the districts of Koh Andet and Kirivong, Takeo province, and the district of Kompong Trach, Kampot province, in order to carry off the rice harvest and massacre the population. Meanwhile, the Vietnamese army of aggression was daily harassing, pounding

and machine-gunning places contiguous or close to the Kampuchea — Vietnam frontier in the provinces of Rattanakiri, Mondulkiri, Kratie, Prey Veng and Kandal in the territory of Democratic Kampuchea. During these attacks, troops of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam plundered from 2,000 to 3,000 hectares of paddy from the Kampuchean people in the areas of Trapcang, Phlong, Stung, Krek and Memot, over 4,000 hectares in Svay Rieng province, over 2,000 hectares in Koh Andet and Kirivong areas in Takeo province. In these intrusions into Kampuchean territory, the SRV Army concentrated thousands of Vietnamese with numerous harvesters at each place to collect the Kampuchean people's paddy in the fields or granaries, and carried off several thousand tons. Moreover, the Vietnamese intruders tried to undermine the economy of Kampuchea by destroying its rubber plantations and setting fire to its forests. They machine-gunned the population, set fire to their houses, robbed them of their cattle, poultry and property, and molested and raped women. Their crimes were similar to, and even worse than those committed by the mercenaries of the Thieu-Ky regime and by South Korea in the past.

These acts of aggression against the territory of Democratic Kampuchea are being committed in the most barbarous way and are causing great losses to the Kampuchea people. This most brutal army of aggression has shown its true colours against Democratic Kampuchea and its innocent people. There is a lot of evidence of these criminal acts. The Kampuchean people cannot tolerate them. They have reacted bravely, repelled the Vietnamese aggressive troops, and inflicted defeat upon defeat on them on the battlefields.

2. What are the motives behind the SRV Army's acts of aggression, destruction or plunder against the territory of Democratic Kampuchea and its innocent people ?

Undeniable evidence and the strategic line of Vietnam indicate that they are as follows :

In the first place, the Vietnamese troops have invaded Kampuchea and carried off its rice, cattle and poultry, to solve their own food problems. Their watchwords are : "Fight Kampuchea or starve," and "Go to Kampuchea, take its rice, and you stand a chance of survival". They have also destroyed crops, villages and co-operatives of the Kampuchean people and created all kinds of obstacles there so as to prevent Democratic Kampuchea from living in peace, and the Kampuchean people from improving their living conditions and building their country as an independent, sovereign and self-supporting one ; all this to pave the way for the Socialist Republic of Vietnam to invade, occupy, annex and swallow up Kampuchean land easily both now and in future.

But its ultimate motive is something that the Socialist Republic of Vietnam long ago had the strategic design of turning Democratic Kampuchea into a member of the Indochinese Federation and a slave of Vietnam.

In order to carry out the above-mentioned strategic plan, Vietnam has continuously exerted pressure and coercion on Kampuchea over the past decades, and carried out provocations against it, to prevent it from living in total independence and sovereignty, and force it to join the Vietnam-dominated Indochinese Federation, so that it might annex and swallow up Kampuchean territory within a given period. Should these aims be achieved, it would take 30 years at most, with an annual immigration of 500,000 to 1 million Vietnamese to Kampuchea, for the Vietnamese to be the majority people there.

3. In spite of these acts, Kampuchea's desire to live as true friends with its neighbours has led us to maintain a mature and wise stand and to do a great deal to strengthen solidarity with Vietnam. But Kampuchea has always held firm to its position — independence, sovereignty, and self-reliance — and has preserved the honour and dignity of its nation and people. Vietnam has responded to Kampuchea's correct stand by putting many schemes into practice, and committing many crimes, for example, organizing a handful of Kampuchean traitors into a new party under its command with a view to undermining the Communist Party of Kampuchea. As early as 1965, when Vietnamese troops came and sought refuge on Kampuchean soil, and especially after the March 18, 1970 coup d'état, Vietnam recruited a gang of hooligans with which to build up a Kampuchean force as its tool in Kampuchea, and set up a Kampuchean administration at its service right in Kampuchea; they hoped to use these forces against the revolutionary power of Kampuchea under the leadership of the Communist Party of Kampuchea, and attack Kampuchea, divide and destroy the Kampuchean Revolutionary Army, etc. But from 1965 to 1975, the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Army foiled all the Vietnamese plans one after another, and won their final and total victory on April 17, 1975 under the correct leadership of the Communist Party of Kampuchea. Nevertheless, right after the liberation of Kampuchea the Vietnamese army attacked and occupied Kampuchea's Vai Island and simultaneously carried out provocations and encroached on Kampuchean territory, to depths of from 0.1 metre to tens of kilometres. The Vietnamese intruders machine-gunned and shelled territory along the frontiers of Democratic Kampuchea, occupied Kampuchean territory, and settled down without a by-your-leave in many places in the provinces of

Rattanakiri and Mondulḱiri, in the eastern and south-western parts of Kampuchea. These localities belong to Kampuchea and were never any more than sanctuaries the Vietnamese troops were allowed to use on Kampuchean land from 1965 to 1975 when they could find no refuge in South Vietnam. They have turned out to be as ungrateful as crocodiles.

Since the time of the resistance against the French colonialists, the Vietnamese leaders have been inculcating into their cadres and armymen a determination to force Kampuchea into an Indochinese Federation. If they fail in this undertaking Vietnam will never become a great power in Southeast Asia. Even now they are preaching to their people that Kampuchea is Vietnam's main enemy and that Kampuchea must be conquered at any cost. This is the Vietnamese party's stand and political line.

In 1975 and 1976 the Vietnamese authorities continued their acts of aggression and criminal schemes without let up: they attempted to stage a coup d'état to overthrow the Government of Democratic Kampuchea through a group of reactionaries, who were henchmen of Vietnam. Democratic Kampuchea remained patient in face of these acts and tried every means of solving the matter in a friendly way. But Vietnam interpreted this stand of friendship and solidarity as evidence of fear and left no stone unturned to intimidate and threaten Democratic Kampuchea.

4. In 1975, 1976 and 1977 Vietnam made many diplomatic moves involving slanders of Democratic Kampuchea and tried to fool people into believing that it was Democratic Kampuchea that had provoked and invaded Vietnam. Vietnam hoped that this manoeuvre, which was carried out according to a well-studied plan, would hoodwink world opinion, isolate Democratic Kampuchea, and pave the way for armed aggression against Democratic Kampuchea.

5. Despite these crimes, Democratic Kampuchea held firm to its stand: to seek ties of friendship with Vietnam and to solve the problem in a friendly way. Democratic Kampuchea holds that only such a stand can lead to a solution to the problems concerning the two countries. In June 1975, right after the liberation of Kampuchea, and despite the fact that Vietnam was invading Kampuchea's Vai Island, and despite Kampuchea's being beset with countless difficulties, the Secretary of the Communist Party of Kampuchea, the Deputy Secretary of the Communist Party of Kampuchea, and the Kampuchean Vice-Premier in charge of external affairs led a delegation of the Communist Party of Kampuchea to Hanoi. The purpose the visit was to settle the border question with Vietnam in keeping with the principles of respect for each other's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-interference into each other's domestic affairs, non-aggression of each other's territory, and of equality, and with the decision made in 1966 by the Government of Kampuchea and the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation. But on that occasion the Vietnamese side ignored the good-willed proposals of the Kampuchean side; in fact, it paid no attention to the Kampuchean proposals. In May 1976, still wishing to settle the Kampuchea-Vietnam border question in a friendly way, the Government of Democratic Kampuchea invited the Vietnamese side to hold negotiations in Phnom Penh. The Vietnamese side came to Democratic Kampuchea with a hostile attitude, with no intention of solving the frontier question. It adopted the condescending attitude of those whom the Kampuchean Government had besought to come to the talks, unwilling to come to the negotiating table. The Kampuchean side's goodwill and friendly attitude during these talks meant that we left closed the old files such as those on the Koh Tral Island and other groups of

islands and on the Kampuchea Krom territory which in fact belongs to Kampuchea but which the French colonialists made into their colony of Cochinchina. However, the Vietnamese side tried to revise the Kampuchea-Vietnam border, the sea border in particular and put forward annexation projects for a great part of Kampuchean territorial waters. The Vietnamese delegation flatly rejected the coastal frontier that the Vietnamese side had solemnly recognized in 1966 as the national frontier between Kampuchea and Vietnam, on the grounds that Vietnam had taken that decision then simply because of the pressure of the needs of the war against US imperialism. In June 1977 the Vietnamese, on the one hand, continued their invasion of Kampuchea along the border, and on the other, they pretended that they were still in favour of negotiations with the Kampuchean side on the border question, in order to slacken Kampuchean vigilance and launch surprise attacks against us. But the Kampuchean side told the Vietnamese side that Kampuchea had agreed in principle to settle the border question through negotiations. It continued to propose that the Vietnamese stop their acts of aggression against Kampuchea in order to create, as a preliminary, an atmosphere of détente and mutual confidence which would render the talks fruitful, in the interests of the two countries. But the Vietnamese side was determined to ignore the goodwill of Democratic Kampuchea. Worse still, the Vietnamese troops of aggression continued to attack and shell Kampuchean border areas. And at present they are carrying out a systematic and large-scale invasion of Kampuchea. Thus Vietnam is behaving like a superpower in Southeast Asia, walking in the footsteps of Hitler, and aping his invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1939, in defiance of international law, world opinion and all morality. But the Kampuchean Revolu-

tionary Army with its glorious tradition of heroism is determined to repel Vietnamese aggression at any time, and since 1975 has had many successes.

6. In 1977 the Vietnamese Ambassador accredited to Kampuchea did not come to assume his functions, and a chargé d'affaires was sent to Kampuchea instead. As for Democratic Kampuchea, imbued with a spirit of goodwill towards Vietnam, it has always kept its ambassador in Hanoi in the hope of settling the border question in a spirit of friendship and in keeping with the principle of respect for each other's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity.

7. For the above-mentioned reasons, as the Kampuchean people and Revolutionary Army rose up against the Vietnamese army's cruel and barbarous acts of aggression, the Government of Democratic Kampuchea, with the consent of the Standing Committee of the Assembly of People's Representatives of Kampuchea at its December 25, 1977 special session, presided over by Comrade Nuon Chea, decided to publish this statement. By this statement we want to publicize to the friends of Democratic Kampuchea, far and near, and world opinion, the acts of aggression committed by the SRV Army against Democratic Kampuchea, and its true nature. The Kampuchean people cherish the hope of living in peace with honour and dignity in independent and sovereign Kampuchea in its territorial integrity. The cause the Kampuchean people are safeguarding is a just one, because they are resisting new injustices and refuse at any cost to play second fiddle to anyone or to live in slavery. The Government of Democratic Kampuchea is convinced that Democratic Kampuchea's friends, far and near, and the peace- and justice-loving people all over the world, except the imperialists, reactionaries, expansionists and their supporters, will always side with the Kampuchean people's just cause. The Kampuchean people

will certainly get the upper hand of the unjust acts of aggression perpetrated by the Vietnamese army.

8. In these Vietnamese incursions into the territory of Democratic Kampuchea in 1977, there were many foreign advisors, experts and commanders in various armoured and artillery units. These foreigners took part in the command of the operations along the frontier and penetrated into the Kampuchean territory at many spots near the border where the SRV Army troops were stationed.

The Government of Democratic Kampuchea holds that any foreign government or individual has the right to go to help any country, as advisors or experts in the economic, cultural, technical, scientific and military fields, provided that the country's sovereignty is honoured. But if these foreigners, advisors, experts and officers are taking part in the attacks and incursions on Democratic Kampuchean territory, the Government of Democratic Kampuchea will regard them and their government as the direct aggressors. The Government of Democratic Kampuchea addresses a severe warning to them that they themselves and their government stop their acts of intervention and aggression against Democratic Kampuchea immediately. The Government of Democratic Kampuchea and the Kampuchean people have never caused them any trouble. Accordingly, should they persist in their acts, they will bear full responsibility.

9. Democratic Kampuchea continues to implement its foreign policy as stipulated in its constitution:

"Democratic Kampuchea is inspired by the goodwill and firm determination to hold close relations of friendship with all countries with common boundaries with Kampuchea, and with all countries of the world, far and near, on the basis of respect for each other's sovereignty and territorial integrity.

“Democratic Kampuchea pursues a policy of independence, peace, neutrality and non-alignment. Under no circumstances does it allow any foreign country to set up military bases on its soil; it resolutely opposes all foreign interference into its domestic affairs; it resolutely fights all subversive and aggressive acts from outside, whether they are military, political, cultural, economic, social and diplomatic, or are conducted in so-called humanitarian form.

“Democratic Kampuchea will in no way interfere in other countries’ domestic affairs. It strictly respects the principle that each country is sovereign and has the right to settle its own affairs without any foreign interference.

“Democratic Kampuchea resolves to maintain its place in the great family of non-aligned countries.

“Democratic Kampuchea will make every effort to develop solidarity with the people of the Third World in Asia, Africa, Latin America, and all peace-and justice-loving people all over the world with a view to promoting mutual and active assistance and support in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, for independence, peace, friendship, democracy, justice and real progress of the world.”

That is our sacred, consistent and unshakable stand.

Phnom Penh, December 31, 1977

The Government of

Democratic Kampuchea.

For our readers’ information, we publish in extenso the statement released in French by the Embassy of Democratic Kampuchea in Peking on December 31, 1977 in English translation. On the whole, the French translation of the statement is faithful to the original text in Khmer delivered on

the same day by Head of State Khieu Samphan over Phnom Penh Radio under the headline "Statement of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea to the Revolutionary Army and People of Kampuchea." However, the Khmer and French texts of the 9th part of the statement are completely different. We try here to give a faithful translation of the Khmer text into English :

9. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kampuchea, the Kampuchean Assembly of People's Representatives and the Government of Democratic Kampuchea call on the whole Party, army and Kampuchean people to heighten their revolutionary vigilance, consolidate and bring into full play their patriotism, national honour, national spirit to safeguard, strengthen and develop the fruits of the revolution, safeguard and preserve the national independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Democratic Kampuchea and our national honour. Our people are ready to sacrifice all and resolve to prevent the Yuon¹ enemy from carrying out their acts of aggression, expansion and annexation. The Kampuchean Revolutionary Army, the whole Kampuchean collective people, under the leadership of the Communist Party of Kampuchea, are determined to wipe out the expansionist and annexationist enemy and force them out of Kampuchea in the most shameful way for them.

The Communist Party of Kampuchea is a genuine and clear-sighted party that has carried on long, complicated and arduous revolutionary struggles heroically and successfully. The Kampuchean people are a staunch and indomitable people who have vic-

1. Pejorative for Vietnamese — Ed.

oriously gone through long, complicated and arduous revolutionary struggles. The Kampuchean army is a staunch and indomitable revolutionary army that has been tempered and has successfully gone through the revolutionary struggle and the long, arduous, and complicated people's war. Such a party, such a people and such an army will certainly bring into full play their lofty revolutionary tradition, overcome every difficulty and obstacle, wipe out the expansionist and annexationist Yuon invaders, and are determined to inflict shameful defeats on them. Such a party, such a nation, such an army and such a people cannot be crushed and annihilated by any invader. Such a party, such a people, such an army and such a nation will always stand firm on their sacred soil with revolutionary pride and dignity. Justice is on the side of the Kampuchean people. They will win their victory. The expansionist and annexationist invaders can no longer hide their true colours and conceal their reactionary aggressive expansionist and annexationist nature. The world's people will certainly see their true face and condemn them.

Let our fighters on the frontline heighten the revolutionary vigilance of the Kampuchean people and revolutionary army who, in keeping with the Party's line of people's war, inflicted repeated defeats on them in 1975-76. Let them rely upon our thick network of bases and on modern warfare to wipe out the enemy. By following the Party's line of people's war our revolutionary army has scored numerous successes which are proved by the following figures:

— In 1975 the enemy's casualties were 100 killed or wounded, against 5 killed or wounded on our side. We wiped them out and prevented them from occupying our territory.

— In 1976 the enemy's casualties were 100 killed or wounded, to our 5 killed or wounded. We completely wiped them out and did not let them encroach upon Kampuchean land.

— In 1977, during their large-scale attacks from January to November, the enemy's casualties were 100 killed or wounded, to our 3 to 5 killed or wounded. We safeguarded our country totally. Since December 1977 the enemy's casualties have so far amounted to 100 killed or wounded, to our 3 to 5 killed or wounded. We have completely safeguarded our country. We are continuing to strike and destroy them and drive them out of Kampuchea.

Only when we are imbued with and carry out the line of people's war, in which guerilla warfare plays the basic role, can we achieve high combat efficiency in the fight against the invaders. We must try to apply that line in an even more flexible and practical way. By so doing, we can win any war, either a short-term war or a protracted one, for then we are masters of the situation. The Yuon enemy are carrying on their policy of expansion and aggression in an extremely ambitious attempt to occupy the whole of our territory and turn our people into their slaves, into Annamese¹ within a few decades. But they are in fact meeting with difficulties and will meet with many more, if they keep on pursuing a policy of aggression against us. These difficulties are as follows:

1. If they invade our country they will certainly suffer political setbacks and will suffer ever more serious ones. During the past few years the world's people have come to see ever more clearly their ignominious expansionist nature. That is why they will be more isolated in the international arena.

1. Another pejorative term for Vietnamese — *Ed.*

2. They have been suffering from serious food shortages for the past few years. They have not enough food. They are short of millions of tons of rice. They are begging for food, even from the imperialists; they have lost all sense of dignity.

3. Their people are against them, and there is insecurity everywhere in South Vietnam.

4. The Yuon enemy cannot produce big guns, tanks, ammunition and aircraft. They cannot match even a small part of the United States. If they follow in the US footsteps they will only bring ruin upon themselves. Theirs is an adventurous policy which will lead them into an impasse. As a revolutionary army which has inflicted shameful defeats on the US imperialist aggressors and their hirelings during the past years, we clearly understand the strong points and weak points of the enemy on every front and the enemy's basic weaknesses in the general political situation.

In order to grasp some of our weak points and our basic advantages, to realize the successive stages in our successful development and the enemy's failure, the people in the rear must try to increase production on the basis of the policy of self-support, self-reliance, self-determination and independence. Continuing their tradition of heroism they must fulfil the Party's plans for improving the people's living standards, and do everything for the frontline. We want to preserve our right to independence, self-reliance and self-determination. But we are harassed by the enemy. Should we become slaves and servants to others, our whole nation and people would endure many sufferings and humiliations. We would go through innumerable difficulties and hardships and eventually suffer total destruction, as did Krom

Kampuchea¹ in the past. Therefore we must rise up with a spirit of offensive, we must suffer all hardships to wrest back independence, freedom and national honour. We shall not be slaves to others and shall preserve our sacred land. No force can annihilate or conquer us.

— Long live the wonderful, clear-sighted and genuine Communist Party of Kampuchea!

— Long live the wonderful and invincible Kampuchean Revolution!

— Long live the great Kampuchean people!

— Long live the talented, brave and undaunted Kampuchean Revolutionary Army!

1. Present-day Nam Bo (ex-Cochinchina) — *Ed.*

