31/8/80

EMBASSY OF THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF VIET NAM
PRESS AND INFORMATION SECTION

12 Victoria Road - London W.8-Tel.01 9371912

No. 13
31st August, 1980.

MEMORANDUM
OF THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
OF THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF VIET NAM

The Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam deems it necessary to make clear the truth about the tension now prevailing in South-East Asia, and the correct path to a settlement of this situation.

PART I

WHERE DOES THE THREAT TO THE SECURITY OF THAILAND AND TO PEACE AND STABILITY IN SOUTH-EAST ASIA COME FROM ?

Thai ruling circles and a number of other people consider that the situation in Kampuchea and the presence of Vietnamese troops there constitute a threat to Thailand and are the reason for the lack of peace and stability in this region.

What is the truth ?

1- Over the past 40 years, South-East Asia has been one of the most unstable regions in the world, a region in which there has been unremitting war and no peace. It was an important theatre of operations during World War Two ; after 1945, many South-East Asian countries were victims of colonial wars waged by the French, British and Dutch colonialists ; then came the U.S. imperialists' war of aggression in Indochina Over the past 30 years and more, the Chinese ruling circles, acting through Maoist organizations and the agency of Chinese nationals, and by other means, have fomented civil wars and disturbances in Burma, Malaysia, the Philippines and Thailand, engineered a coup d'etat in Indonesia, and

made claims on the territory of several South-East Asian countries. China has clearly revealed its designs to monopolize control over the Eastern Sea. (The maps published by China since 1950 show China's southern sea borders extending to within 12 miles of the coasts of Viet Nam, Malaysia, Indonesia and the Philippines, and thus ignoring their exclusive economic zones and continental shelves). China used force to seize the Vietnamese Hoang Sa archipelago (Paracels) in January 1974, and is claiming sovereignty over the Vietnamese Truong Sa archipelago (Spratleys). After the U.S. imperialists' defeat in Indochina, the reactionary ruling circles in Beijing worked through the genocidal Pol Pot regime to turn Kampuchea into a springboard for expansion ; waged a war of aggression against Viet Nam from two directions ; seriously threatened Laos ; and stirred up opposition between the ASEAN and the Indochinese countries, while continuing assistance to Maoist rebellions against the administrations of South-East Asian countries.

Thus, the real causes undermining independence, peace and stability in this region from the early 40's till 1975 were militarism, colonialism, U.S. imperialism and the Chinese reactionaries. And at present, the policy of big-nation expansion and hegemony pursued by the Beijing ruling circles acting in collusion with the U.S. imperialists constitutes a general, direct and long-term threat to the indeperdence, peace and stability of the countries in this part of the world. On the other hand, along with the struggle of South-East Asian peoples, the tenacious and victorious fight of the three Indochinese peoples against colonialism, U.S. imperialism and the Beijing expansionists has removed obstacles to the development of the countries in this region, and made a great contribution to the defence of peace and stability in South-East Asia and in the world. History has shown that the Soviet Union has always been a friend of the South-East Asian peoples, and that it has strongly supported the struggle for peace, independence and prosperity waged by the three Indochinese countries and by the peoples of other countries in this region.

2- Despite their defeats in Kampuchea , Viet Nam and Laos in 1979, the reactionary ruling circles in Beijing have not given up their hostile policy against the three Indochinese countries in an attempt to achieve their expansionist and hegemonistic ambitions in South-East Asia. They

have great illusions about taking advantage of the current rainy season to intensify their activities against the three Indochinese countries. In collusion with the United States, and through the agency of Thailand, they are striving to push remnant Pol Pot troops and other Khmer reactionaries back to Kampuchea from Thailand with a view to their carrying out disruptive activities against the Kampuchean revolution, in an attempt to maintain the hostilities along the Kampuchea - Thailand border. Meanwhile, a feverish international campaign they are conducting is aimed at retaining a seat in the United Nations for the Pol Pot clique, preventing other countries from recognizing the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea, undermining the trend to a dialogue between the ASEAN countries and Viet Nam, and wrecking peace and stability in South-East Asia. At the same time, the Beijing reactionaries have stepped up their anti-Viet Nam activities in all fields : delaying the 3rd round of the Viet Nam - China talks, sending more troops to the Sino - Vietnamese border ; intensifying armed provocations and violations of Viet Nam's territorial sovereignty, on land, in the air and on the sea ; imposing an economic blockade ; conducting a psychological war ; continuing attempts to foment disturbances in Viet Nam from within ; making more threats to "launch another attack on Viet Nam". They have become more intimidating and threatening towards Laos, and have stepped up their attempts to bring about their "peaceful evolution" and foment disturbances in Laos, to drive a wedge between Laos, Viet Nam and Kampuchea, and to undermine the solidarity of the three Indochinese countries. The so-called "voluntary repatriation" and a series of armed provocations started by Thailand along the Thailand-Kampuchea border, the Thai incursion into Lao territory along the Mekong river, Thailand's closing of its border with Laos, and the current slanderous campaign against Viet Nam, are all calculated, coordinated parts of Beijing's overall criminal scheme.

Public opinion has no choice but to be vigilant in view of the feverish activities of the U.S. authorities as they increase their collusion with the Beijing expansionists in new manoeuvres against the three Indochinese countries. The Carter administration has joined China in a loud chorus of slander against Viet Nam, and has helped the Thai ruling circles step up violations of Kampuchea's territorial sovereignty : it organized an air-lift urgently to send infantry weapons, tanks and heavy artillery to Thailand, sent warships to Thailand, has put pressure on ASEAN to become a military alliance, and has gone ahead with the establishment of more B.52 strategic bomber bases in Australia ...

3- Over the past 40 years, all aggressors of the three Indochinese countries have tried to mask their designs and justify their acts of aggression as "opposition to the danger of communist expansion".

In 1979, China and the United States conducted a succession of slanderous campaigns accusing Viet Nam of "aggressing Kampuchea","exporting refugees","using toxic chemicals in Kampuchea","creating famine to exterminate the Kampuchean nation","invading Thailand"... However, the facts about the events of the past year and more have given the lie to these slanderous allegations. Now they have concocted a story about a so-called "Vietnamese threat to Thailand", designed to trigger off an anti-Viet Nam campaign.

Is Viet Nam a threat to Thailand ?

Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea never sent troops to Thailand at any time in history. But Laos and Kampuchea have often been victims of Thai aggression, in the same way as Viet Nam has been a victim of Chinese aggression, as well as being invaded three times by Thai troops.

During the past 40 years alone, Thailand has twice sent troops to invade the Indochinese countries : in 1940 it sent troops to seize four Kampuchean provinces and a part of the territory of Laos on the western bank of the Mekong river ; and in the 60's, it sent troops to Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea to participate in the U.S. imperialists' war of aggression against the three Indochinese countries. In addition, it has twice during the past 40 years let enemies of the three Indochinese countries use Thai territory as a base against them : during the 60's, the United States established military bases for its aggression against the three Indochinese countries on Thai territory ; now China is using Thai territory as a base for the Kampuchean and Lao reactionaries' activity against the three Indochinese countries. In the late 50's and early 60's, Thailand opposed the policy of neutrality of Kampuchea and Laos. Some members of the Thai ruling circles still nurture the big-nation ambition of incorporating Laos and Kampuchea within Thailand's sphere of influence. It is clear that there is no question of Viet Nam threatening aggression against Thailand ; there is only a question of China, the main aggressor Viet Nam has had to contend with throughout history, and Thailand, the main aggressor Kampuchea and Laos have had to contend with throughout history, colluding against the three Indochinese countries.

Throughout their long history, as well as during the past 100 years and more, the peoples of the three Indochinese countries have been the frequent victims of external aggressive forces. The colonialists, the militarists, the U.S. imperialists and the Chinese expansionists have all had ambitions to dominate all three Indochinese countries. They have considered the three countries to be one single battlefield, and yet at the same time they have sought to sow division among them, to arouse national enmity, and to pit the three countries against each other. The peoples of the three countries have at any given time always had the same common enemy. In order to gain and defend their independence and freedom, it is therefore of vital importance that the three nations be closely united to fight their common enemy. It was in this spirit that Viet Nam sent troops on three occasions to fight the common enemy shoulder to shoulder with the fraternal peoples of Laos and Kampuchea. On both of the first two occasions, the Vietnamese troops were withdrawn after the war had ended. At present, there are Vietnamese armed forces in Laos and Kampuchea under the Viet Nam - Laos and Viet Nam - Kampuchea treaties of peace, friendship and cooperation, helping defend together the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and the life of peaceful labour of each people. While fighting shoulder to shoulder with the fraternal peoples of Laos and Kampuchea, Vietnamese troops have never gone beyond the territories of the three countries, and war has never spread outside the Indochinese peninsula. The presence of Vietnamese troops in Kampuchea and Laos threatens nobody ; it only serves to extend mutual assistance in defending the independence and freedom of each country against the forces of aggression and those who would sabotage the peace and stability of the countries in this region.

The Thai authorities have on many occasions rejected Viet Nam's proposal that Viet Nam and Thailand sign a treaty of non-aggression on the grounds that there is no threat from Viet Nam ; in the meantime, they have joined China and the United States in raising a hullaballoo about a so-called danger of aggression from Viet Nam. As a matter of fact, what China, the United States and Thailand want is for the Vietnamese side alone to make commitments, so as to tie its hands while Thailand has a free hand to interfere in Kampuchea and Laos, and to act against Viet Nam without encountering any riposte.

4- Although the Beijing reactionaries pretend to be concerned about the security of Thailand, they are infact, drawing the latter into a dangerous trap. China's expansionist and hegemonistic aims lead her to make constant efforts to get other contries involved in confrontation and war, while she herself remains outside and benefits from the situation. She is trying by every possible means to transform the hostility between herself and the Indochinese countries into hostility between Thailand and the ASEAN countries on the one hand, and the Indochinese countries on the other. China wants to foster and equip the remnant Pol Pot troops through the agency of Thailand, to use Thai territory as a springboard for prolonged "guerrilla warfare" against the Kampuchean people, in order to create tension along the Kampuchea - Thailand border. In the past, China was prepared to fight the United States to the last Vietnamese, and more recently tried through the Pol Pot clique to fight Viet Nam to the last Kampuchean ; similarly, Beijing's wild design now is actually to fight Kampuchea and Viet Nam to the last Thai. The reactionary ruling circles in Beijing are trying hard to pit the ASEAN countries against Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea, in order to weaken the three Indochinese countries and destabilize the ASEAN countries. These efforts to further China's hegemonistic schemes are similar to her efforts to get NATO involved in a confrontation with the Warsaw bloc and the United States in a war with the Soviet Union so that all parties are weakened, and so that China, remaining an onlooker, may achieve world hegemony.

In short, the strategic calculations of the reactionary ruling circles in Beijing run completely counter to the interests of the South East Asian peoples, which are peace, stability and cooperation among the countries of this region ; they also run counter to the interests of world peace and international cooperation.

PART II

HOW TO PRESERVE PEACE AND STABILITY IN SOUTH EAST ASIA AND SETTLE THE TENSION ALONG THE KAMPUCHEA - THAILAND BORDER

1- From the above analysis, it can be seen that if durable and lasting peace and stability are to be established in South-East Asia, a

fundamental requirement is to stop China's policy of using military force, threats of aggression and subversive activities against the three Indochinese countries, and indulging in subversive activities against the other South-East Asian countries through the agency of Maoist rebels, with the aim of expansion and hegemony in South-East Asia ; one must respect the national rights of the peoples in this region, particularly the right of the Kampuchean people to get rid of the genocidal Pol Pot regime- an agent of Beijing's expansionism - and to build their country, Kampuchea, in accordance with their aspiration.

The presence of Vietnamese troops in Kampuchea is the result of China's using the stooge Pol Pot - Ieng Sary clique against Kampuchea and Viet Nam, and the Chinese threats to the national rights of Kampuchea and Viet Nam. As soon as China has put an end to its threats to the peace and security of Kampuchea and Viet Nam, and when the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea requests it, the Vietnamese troops will be withdrawn.

The key to a settlement of the so-called "Kampuchean problem" lies in China's putting an end to its policy of hostility towards the three Indochinese countries. But China is treacherously trying to create a diversion, by pitting Thailand and other ASEAN countries against the Indochinese countries, in order to wreck peace and stability in South-East Asia.

The ASEAN and the Indochinese countries have differences, but they share a common interest, namely, peace, stability and cooperation to build themselves prosperous countries, each in its own way. Both the Indochinese countries and the five ASEAN countries have to take care of their security. What is required is that they respect each other's legitimate interests. The ASEAN and the Indochinese countries should put aside their differences to promote relations of lasting cooperation and friendship on the basis of mutual understanding, respect for each other's legitimate interests, and peaceful coexistence without foreign interference. Such is the spirit and essential contents of the peace proposals put forward in the Joint Communique of the First Conference of Foreign Ministers of the three Indochinese countries, held in Phnom Penh on January 5, 1980, proposals which were further elaborated in the Statement of the Second Conference of Foreign Ministers of the three Indochinese Countries, held in Vientiane on July 17 and 18, 1980. Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea attach particular importance to their relations with Thailand.

Good relations between Thailand and the Indochinese countries constitute an important factor contributing to peace and stability in South-East Asia, and the three Indochinese countries have asserted their respect for Thailand's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity within its present borders. It is necessary to point out here that commitments cannot be expected of one side only. The Thai side should also show its goodwill, not only in words but by practical deeds. The Thai people themselves demand that the Bangkok authorities act in the legitimate national interests of Thailand herself, and not on behalf of Beijing's expansionist and hegemonistic purposes.

2- While efforts are being made for the establishment of a South-East Asian region of peace and stability and the removal of the obstacles created by Beijing's expansionist and hegemonistic policy, and immediate and urgent problem is to find an early solution to the potentially explosive situation on the Thailand - Kampuchea border.

To this end, the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea has put forward a 4-point proposal.

The Thai ruling circles have rejected the proposal of the Kampuchean side, and the ASEAN countries issued a joint 12-point statement in Manila on August 1, 1980.

By comparing the stands taken by the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea and by Thailand, one can clearly see where the goodwill is, and which is the correct and fair path to peace and stability on the Kampuchea - Thailand border, and is a contribution to peace and stability in South-East Asia.

a) <u>On a demilitarized zone along the Kampuchea-Thailand border</u>.

The People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea has proposed that "Kampuchea and Thailand undertake to maintain peace and stability in border areas and to refrain from using these areas as springboards from which to violate each other's sovereignty", and

"To establish a demilitarized zone in border areas between the two countries ; and to set up a two-party joint commission to implement the agreements ensuring peace and stability on the border and reach agreement on a form of international control".

The Thai side has rejected the Kampuchean proposal on the grounds that Thailand is not a party to the conflict in Kampuchea and that there are only military clashes between opposing sides on Kampuchean territory. However, it is well-known that over the past year and more, the situation in Kampuchea has become more and more stable, and that military clashes have taken place not inside Kampuchean territory, but in Kampuchea - Thailand border areas where remnant Pol Pot troops and other reactionary Khmer groups have infiltrated from Thailand into Kampuchea for disruptive activities with the protection and assistance of Thailand. Military clashes on the Kampuchea - Thailand border along with massive concentrations of armed forces on both sides of the border have led to a very tense and explosive situation which is causing concern to world opinion. All the measures proposed by the Thai side (establishing safe dwelling areas, U.N. control ...) are related to the situation on both sides of the Thailand - Kampuchea border. This in itself reveals that there are destabilizing factors on both sides of the border between the two countries. Over the past year and more, particularly since June 1980, some people in the Thai ruling circles have raised a constant hue and cry about a "threat to the security of Thailand from Kampuchea"; yet, now they claim that there is no problem on the Kampuchea - Thailand border. From this, it can only be concluded that their propaganda over the past year and more concerning a threat to Thailand is sheer fabrication, designed to give them a pretext to interfere in the internal affairs of Kampuchea, and to cover up the fact that they are trying hard to help the Pol Pot clique and other reactionary Khmer groups use "sanctuaries" in Thailand to oppose the Kampuchean people.

The Thai ruling circles have also maintained that the establishment of a demilitarized zone on the Thai side of the border amounts to a loss of Thai sovereignty over the said zone and a sacrifice by Thailand of a part of its territory ... If they fear a loss of Thai sovereignty, why then do they demand the establishment of a demilitarized zone of peace inside Kampuchea ?

Thailand has proposed the establishment only on Kampuchean territory of a demilitarized zone of peace, where the Kampuchean Government's power would be abolished and replaced by U.N. power ; whereas on the Thai side of the border there would only be U.N. observers stationed.

Thus Thailand clearly wants to abolish the sovereignty of Kampuchea over a part of Kampuchean territory, to set up s tate within a state, and by the presence of U.N. observers to legalise the "sanctuaries" of the Khmer reactionaries in Thailand - Kampuchea border areas. It wants to remove the presence of the Kampuchean armed forces in Kampuchean border areas, while the Thai armed forces, including artillery and the air force, would have a right to be stationed close to the border, thus posing a constant threat to Kampuchea's sovereignty and territory, and would also be free to support the reactionary Khmer groups which infiltrate into Kampuchea to oppose the Kampuchean revolution, without fear of counter-attack.

As is well-known, the remnant Pol Pot troops and other reactionary "Khmer groups in Kampuchea are now only armed bandit groups hiding in Kampuchea - Thailand border areas. In Thailand and a number of other South-East Asian countries, there are also anti-government armed rebel Maoist groups ; will it now be considered necessary to establish demilitarized zones of peace in Thailand and other South-East Asian countries to provide those Maoist rebels with safe sanctuaries under U.N. aegis as well ? Don't the various countries have a right to take necessary security measures to punish armed rebels opposing the people ?

Thailand's proposal is clearly designed not to avoid clashes and ease tension, but, instead, to violate the sovereignty of Kampuchea and interfere in its internal affairs, in keeping with Beijing's schemes. On the other hand, according to the proposal of the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea, the demilitarized zone would only mean an absence of armed forces and of military activities in or across the area laid down by the two sides ; the civilian administrative services of each side are to continue exercising their power, and civilians are to live and carry on their normal work in the demilitarized zone ; the international control in the demilitarized zone is to be mutually agreed upon on the basis of respect for each country's sovereignty. In short, the purpose of the demilitarized zone as proposed by the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea is to avoid armed clashes, to preserve peace and stability in border areas, to safeguard the sovereignty and security of each country, and to protect the normal life of the people of the two countries in border areas.

b) *On the problem of Kampuchean refugees in Thailand and humanitarian aid.*

Points 2 and 3 in the 4-point proposal of the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea have put forward measures for a correct settlement of these humanitarian problems. However, the Thai side has adamantly stuck to its wrong stand.

The Thai ruling circles hold that it is necessary to establish safe dwelling areas or a demilitarized zone of peace on Kampuchean territory to ensure safety for the refugees. If they are really concerned about the safety of the refugees, why do they not move them to centres far from combat areas, or to third countries, in accordance with their wishes ? Why have they brought Kampuchean refugees to the very areas along the Thailand - Kampuchea border where military clashes are taking place, and then demanded that their safety be guaranteed ? Why have they turned refugee camps into sanctuaries for the reactionary Khmer armed forces ? Why have they used the repatriation of refugees to cover up the military infiltrations of the reactionary Khmer forces into Kampuchea ? If they really have humanitarian concerns, why have they deliberately turned the refugee and relief issues into political conflicts and provocations leading to military clashes ?

It is common knowledge that the Kampuchean refugees in Thailand include civilians who left their country because of famine, because of the fear of war, or because of the coercion from remnant PolPot troops compelling them to flee with them. Mixed with the civilian refugees are fairly large numbers of remnant Pol Pot troops and other armed Khmer reactionaries, who are also regarded as refugees by Thailand. Under the 1949 Geneva Convention on Neutral Status and the 1951 Convention on Refugee Status, the remnant Pol Pot troops and the other armed Khmer forces opposing the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea who have fled to Thailand, are not to be regarded as refugees. They must be disarmed and concentrated in separate camps far from combat zones. However, the Thai side has allowed the armed Khmer reactionaries to remain in refugee camps on the Thailand - Kampuchea border and to control these camps ; and now it demands that these camps be moved inside Kampuchean territory to so-called "demilitarized zones of peace "! So the Thai

ruling circles are not interested in ensuring the safety of the refugees. The point is, the Pol Pot clique being no longer in control of the population or land in Kampuchea, the humanitarian label has to be used to create refugee camps which can be placed under the control of the armed Khmer reactionaries, and thus establish a foothold for them inside Kampuchea. If we really are considering refugees, what other country has established inviolable "sanctuaries" on its territory to encourage refugees to settle there ?

On the pretext of giving aid on a fair basis to both sides (!), the Thai ruling circles insist on distribution of relief goods on the Thailand - Kampuchea border and transportation of the same by land across the Thailand - Kampuchea border. What is the real situation ? Over the past year and more, three-fourths of the relief goods from Western countries channelled through international humanitarian organization have been sent to the Thailand - Kampuchea border areas, and only one-fourth has been delivered inside Kampuchean territory. Many objective observers have affirmed that hardly any of the relief goods have actually reached the Kampuchean refugees ; almost all of them have fallen into the hands of the Pol Pot clique and the other Khmer reactionaries. In November 1979, U.S. Congresswoman Holtzman visited a refugee camp on the Thailand - Kampuchea border and said that she had found "Pol Pot soldiers looking healthy and well-fed while children were starving" (VOA, November 5, 1979). Various people in the Thai ruling circles have brazenly even tried to pressurise the international organizations, to distribute the relief goods on the Thailand - Kampuchea border, threatening that Thailand would otherwise cut off the air and sea transport of the same from Bangkok to Phnom Penh. In 1979 there was famine in Kampuchea, but the situation was not so serious as was loudly claimed by the propaganda machines of Thailand, China and the United States. The famine in Kampuchea was deliberately exaggerated, and figures topping the million mark were bandied about (while there were in fact only 150,000 refugees). The purpose was to misuse the humanitarian aid label to supply the Khmer reactionaries ; to entice Kampucheans to flee to Thailand as refugees so as to have a source of new recruits for their political and military forces ; to create instability along the Kampuchean border ; to facilitate their infiltration into Kampuchea for

disruptive activities against the Kampuchean revolutionary power ; and to misuse the humanitarian aid and enrich a number of people in Thailand.

The Thai ruling circles claimed that they had allowed the voluntary repatriation of refugees on humanitarian grounds. If it really was so, why did they adamantly refuse to negotiate, and unilaterally take measures to be imposed on Kampuchea, when the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea stated its readiness to negotiate such repatriation ? Obviously they want to use the refugees to further their political and military designs. In the dry season of 1979, when the remnant Pol Pot troops faced the prospect of disintegration, they opened the border to them and used food to entice Kampucheans to flee to Thailand as refugees. When the rainy season set in, and the Pol Pot clique and the other reactionary Khmer groups imagined that they might be able to indulge in disruptive activities under cover of favourable weather conditions, Thailand pushed the refugees back across the border tantamount to using civilians, women and children as a shield behind which to send back Khmer reactionaries, after their recovery and with better equipment, to fight the Kampuchean people. This is the truth about the massive and brutal driving of tens of thousands of refugees back across the border during the 1979 rainy season. This is also the essence of the so-called "voluntary repatriation plan" that the Thai ruling circles are trying hard to carry out in the current rainy season.

The proposals of the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea constitute practical measures for a good solution to the refugee and relief problem, through negotiations and cooperation between the two sides and with international organizations. They have humanitarian aims, will contribute to peace and stability in border areas of the two countries, and are based on respect for the independence and sovereignty of Kampuchea and Thailand. Any measure put forward under a humanitarian label which has not been negotiated and which tramples upon Kampuchea's sovereignty cannot be carried out.

c) <u>On the form of negotiations</u>.

The People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea has shown great flexibility and much goodwill with regard to the negotiating method :

the negotiations may be concducted directly, or indirectly through a country representing Kampuchea and another representing Thailand, or through an intermediary to be mutually agreed upon.

The Thai side has refused to negotiate with the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea on the grounds that it does not recognize the People's Republic of Kampuchea. However , we should here recall that over the past 20 years, the United States and Viet Nam have conducted negotiations and signed agreements three times, but have still not recognized each other (the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Indochina, the 1962 Geneva Agreement on Laos, and 1973 Paris Agreement on Viet Nam). Furthermore, in 1955, although Viet Nam and Thailand had not recognized each other, their Red Cross Societies conducted negotiations in Rangoon and reached an agreement on the repatriation of Vietnamese residents in Thailand. In international relations, there are many examples of countries entering into negotiations to settle disputes even though they have not recognized each other.

The Thai side also holds that the propcsals of the three Indochinese countries are designed to make it recognize the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea. But the latter has made it clear that it does not link the recognition question with the negotiations. As a matter of fact, various U.N. organizations have negotiated with the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea to organize the humanitarian relief work even though the Council has not yet recovered its rightful seat at the United Nations.

The only possible conclusion which can be drawn is that the reason put forward by the Thai side is sheer fabrication and sophistry. As a matter of fact, some people in the Bangkok ruling circles, under Beijing's pressure, do not want negotiations in any form whatsoever : they only want to impose unilateral measures which are tantamount to crude violation of Kampuchea's sover ignty.

In short, the measures proposed by the Thai side are aimed not at easing tension and preserving peace and stability in South-East Asia, but only at achieving collusion with the bellicose elements in

Beijing in order to interfere in the internal affairs of Kampuchea, encroach upon its sovereignty and oppose the three Indochinese countries. Together with China, Thailand has created tension along the Thailand - Kampuchea border, and has used the Kampuchean refugee problem and the humanitarian relief issue in Kampuchea in an attempt to bring about a situation in which there are two forces and two zones in Kampuchea. It has also demanded a political solution to the so-called Kampuchean problem in keeping with the interests of Chinese expansionism and hegemonism and the Thai reactionaries' "Great-Thai-ism". This is a short-sighted and dangerous policy at variance with the true interests of the Thai people, detrimental to Thailand itself and to peace and stability in South-East Asia.

The 4-point proposal put forward at the Conference of Foreign Ministers of Laos, Kampuchea and Viet Nam in Vientiane is a reasonable, logical and fair one which respects the legitimate interests of Kampuchea and Thailand. This is the correct path to peace and stability along the Kampuchea - Thailand border, and it safeguards the sovereignty and security of both countries. The serious stand and the goodwill of the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea, and of the three Indochinese countries, are winning wider and wider approval from world public opinion, which regards them as a positive factor for easing tension and contributing both to peace, stability and cooperation in South-East Asia and to world peace.

The just cause of the peoples of Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea enjoys broad approval and support from the Soviet Union and the other Socialist countries and from peace- and justice-loving people in the world. The trend towards peace, cooperation and friendship among South-East Asian nations is developing because it is the earnest aspiration of hundreds of millions of South-East Asians. All attempts by the Chinese expansionists, acting in collusion with the U.S. imperialists, to oppose Viet Nam, Kampuchea and Laos and to pit the ASEAN countries against the Indochinese countries are doomed to dismal failure.

Hanoi, August 26, 1980.