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PROVIS IONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE FORTY-SECOND MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Monday, 20 October 1986, at 10 a.m.

President:

Mr. CHOUDHURY

(Bangladesh)

- Tribute to the memory of His Excellency Mr. Samora Moises Machel,
President of the People's Republic of Mozambique
- The situation in Kampuchea [25]
 - (a) Report of the Secretary-General
 - (b) Draft resolution

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The meeting was called to order at 11 a.m.

TRIBUTE TO THE MEMORY OF HIS EXCELLENCY MR. SAMORA MOISES MACHEL, PRESIDENT OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF MOZAMBIQUE

The PRESIDENT: Before beginning the consideration of the item on the agenda for this morning, it is my sad duty to inform the General Assembly of the tragic death of the President of the People's Republic of Mozambique, His Excellency Mr. Samora Moises Machel.

He was a valiant freedom fighter and a statesman of world stature. He led a liberation movement whose victory is seminal to the final eradication of one of the last major bastions of the colonial era, southern Africa. His victory against great odds remains an inspiration to those who are still struggling for their freedom. He raised the great people of Mozambique to heights of glory. We recall his gracious presence and his words of wisdom in this Hall last year during the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations. We were impressed by his inspirational commitment to the Charter of the United Nations.

The death of President Machel is a loss not just to his country and people, not just to Africa, but to the world.

I now invite members of the Assembly to stand and observe a minute of silence in tribute to the memory of President Samora Moises Machel.

The members of the General Assembly observed a minute of silence.

The PRESIDENT: I call on the Secretary-General.

The SECRETARY-GENERAL (interpretation from Spanish): It is with great sorrow that I address my most sincere condolences to the people and Government of Mozambique, to the family of the deceased and to the Mozambican delegation to the United Nations on the tragic death of Mr. Samora Moises Machel, President of the Republic of Mozambique.

In him Africa loses one of its most outstanding leaders, who was at the same time a fighter, a man of action and of dialogue; Mozambique loses its leader and source of great inspiration in the heroic days of its fight for independence; the United Nations, which he regarded as the depository of the hopes of all developing peoples, loses a Head of State who always gave it his enthusiastic support; and I personally lose an admired and respected friend.

The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Benin, Mr. Simon Ifèdè Ogouma, who will speak on behalf of the Group of African States.

Mr. OGOUMA (Benin) (interpretation from French): Africa has just learned with bitterness of the tragic death of one of its true sons, Samora Moises Machel, President of the FRELIMO Party and President of the People's Republic of Mozambique. He died in an air accident in the company of his closest comrades. He died carrying out a mission for the people of Mozambique and for Africa, a mission which is part of the struggle conducted by the people of southern Africa for independence and sovereignty, against apartheid and for peace in the region.

President Samora Machel was known in Africa and internationally as an intrepid leader, and a faithful son of the people of Mozambique, faithful to its cause, faithful to its needs and faithful to its struggle. With his death we have lost a hero of the national liberation struggle of Africa, to which he devoted his entire life, in the service of the liberation of the continent and in particular

(Mr. Oguma, Benin)

of Mozambique. He was known to all. He was with us last year to deliver his message of peace and hope in this very Hall when we commemorated the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations.

Today, the situation in southern Africa must be the focus of our attention and we must take further steps to put an end to the racist apartheid régime.

On this sad occasion, we offer our condolences to our brothers and friends in Mozambique, to the people of Mozambique as a whole, and to our colleagues in the Permanent Mission of Mozambique in New York.

The PRESIDENT: I now call on Mr. Kiyoaki Kikuchi, representative of Japan, who will speak on behalf of the Group of Asian States.

Mr. KIKUCHI (Japan): On behalf of the members of the Asian Group, I wish to extend sincere condolences to the People's Republic of Mozambique on the tragic death of its beloved President, Mr. Samora Moises Machel, and others who perished in the accident. It was a great shock to learn that 37 people lost their lives along with those distinguished statesmen when the aircraft in which they were flying crashed near the borders of Mozambique, Swaziland and South Africa.

President Machel had guided his great country with courage and determination since he led it to independence in 1975. As the first President of his country, he devoted his great energy and talent to the development of Mozambique. Consequently his death will be a great loss not only to the people of Mozambique but also to the people of Africa and, indeed, the whole world.

As far as the Japanese Government and people are concerned, we are especially grieved, because just this past summer the late President Machel paid an official state visit to Japan and the leaders of our two countries deepened mutual understanding.

(Mr. Kikuchi, Japan)

I wish to express again my deep sympathy to the wife of the President and the bereaved families and to the people of Mozambique.

The PRESIDENT: I call on Mr. Anatoly Mardovich of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, who will speak on behalf of the Group of Eastern European States.

Mr. MARDOVICH (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (interpretation from Russian): On behalf of the States of Eastern Europe, I should like to express to the people and Government of the People's Republic of Mozambique our heartfelt condolences on the tragic death of their President, Mr. Samora Moises Machel. A valiant fighter for peace, freedom and justice has died. Under the guidance of the FRELIMO Party and its President, Samora Moises Machel, the people attained independence and is now building a new society based on the principles of freedom and social progress. That work was carried out in conditions of the intensified opposition of outside forces.

In international affairs Mozambique is conducting an anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist and anti-racist policy to consolidate the forces of peace and social progress, help bring about a cessation of the arms race and improve the international climate, and is working actively within the Organization of African Unity and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries.

(Mr. Mardovich, Byelorussian SSR)

Once again we should like to express our profound condolences to the people of Mozambique and to the family and friends President Samora Moses Machel. We express the conviction that the people of Mozambique and FRELIMO will successfully attain their revolutionary goals and move along their chosen path. The people of Mozambique can, as in the past, count on our full solidarity.

The PRESIDENT: I call on Mr. Mario Moya Palencia of Mexico, who will speak on behalf of the Latin American States.

Mr. MOYA PALENCIA (Mexico) (interpretation from Spanish): On behalf of the Latin American and Caribbean Group of countries, we express to the people and Government of Mozambique our great sorrow and profound solidarity on the occasion of the tragic death yesterday of its President, Mr. Samora Moises Machel. The peoples of Latin America and the Caribbean once again today join with the heroic people of Mozambique, as they did when they supported its struggle for national liberation and hailed its admission in 1975 to the community of nations as an independent State under the guidance of its leader, Mr. Samora Machel.

We saw President Machel personally for the last time at the recent meeting in Harare, where he reiterated the political and social principles of the Non-Aligned Movement, condemned apartheid and banditry supported by the Government of Pretoria, fully in keeping with what he was throughout his life, a constant heroic fighter for freedom and the equality of all people.

The death of President Samora Machel, the causes of which must be fully clarified, is an irreparable loss for Mozambique, for the peoples of Africa and for the whole United Nations. But his example lives on and will continue to stimulate the efforts of the world on behalf of peace, political liberation and economic development.

The PRESIDENT: I now call on Mr. Hans Werner Lautenschlager of the Federal Republic of Germany, who will speak on behalf of the Group of Western European and Other States.

Mr. LAUTENSCHLAGER (Federal Republic of Germany) It is indeed with deep regret that the members of the Group of Western European and other States learned this morning of the fateful accident that took the lives of the Head of State of the People's Republic of Mozambique and other members of the Government of the People's Republic of Mozambique, as well as other members of the Mozambican delegation. On behalf of the members of the Group of Western European and Other States, I should like to express to the people and Government of the People's Republic of Mozambique, as well as to our colleagues in the Mozambican delegation, our sincere sympathy.

We all had come to feel a deep respect for that great statesman whose loss will be felt not only by his own country but also by the whole world. We all know that President Samora Machel was a charismatic national leader of great stature.

The members of the group of Western European and Other States share the grief of the people of Mozambique, their Government and the bereaved families over their sudden and painful loss.

The PRESIDENT: I now call on Mr. Saoud Bin Salim Bin Hassan Al-Ansi of Oman, who will speak on behalf of the Group Arab States.

Mr. AL-ANSI: (Oman) (interpretation from Arabic): On behalf of the Group of Arab States, I extend sincere condolences to the people and Government of Mozambique on the tragic death of President Samora Moises Machel, President of the People's Republic of Mozambique and of FRELIMO, and his innocent comrades in the distressing airplane accident.

(Mr. Al-Ansi, Oman)

President Samora Machel was a militant in the service of freedom and an outstanding statesman who led the struggle of his friendly country, Mozambique, in its triumph over colonialism and in building the free People's Republic of Mozambique. His constructive contribution to the struggle against apartheid, against the policies pursued by the Pretoria régime, whether within his country, in co-operation with African front-line States or other African States or States of the world in general, has exposed the racist policy of that régime.

We all extend our condolences to the family of the late President and to the families of his comrades, the martyrs of freedom.

The PRESIDENT: I now call on Mr. Joseph Verner Reed of the United States of America, who will speak on behalf of the host country.

Mr. REED (United States of America): On behalf of the President of the United States of America, the people of the host country and the entire delegation of the United States mission to the United Nations, I should like to express our profound condolences and regret at the sudden and tragic death of the President of the People's Republic of Mozambique.

We extend to the people of Mozambique and its delegation accredited to the United Nations and to the families of those who were lost, our expression of fortitude in what we know and understand to be a difficult time.

We recall President Machel's visit to the United States during the fortieth anniversary session of the General Assembly. President Machel was a leader calling for peace and hope. A visionary, he worked to build his nation. President Machel understood the urgent need for co-operation in the interest of peace in southern Africa. He worked to improve relations between Mozambique and the United States of America. The President led his people with courage and unfailing determination in the struggle for the independence of Mozambique.

(Mr. Reed, United States)

Again we express our profound condolences to the people of Mozambique and to the family. President Machel will long be remembered by his people and his friends around the world.

The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the entire General Assembly I request the representative of Mozambique to convey our condolences to the Government and people of Mozambique and to the bereaved families.

Mr. DOS SANTOS (Mozambique): Mr. President, I wish most sincerely to thank you, the Secretary-General, the Chairmen of the regional groups and the representative of the host country for their very kind words. They are so touching and yet so comforting. You will understand that, at this moment of great grief for my people and country, I have no words to reciprocate. I shall convey your kind message to my Government and to the bereaved families. With your support, we shall be able to surmount this irreparable loss and these difficulties and to continue our struggle. A luta continua.

AGENDA ITEM 25

THE SITUATION IN KAMPUCHEA

- (a) REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (A/41/707)
- (b) DRAFT RESOLUTION (A/41/L.2)

The PRESIDENT: The report of the Secretary-General, agenda item 25, is contained in document A/41/707. A draft resolution has been circulated in document A/41/L.2.

Before calling on the first speaker, I should like to propose that the list of speakers in the debate on this item be closed today at 12.30 p.m. May I take it that there is no objection to this proposal?

It was so decided.

The PRESIDENT: I now call on the first speaker in the debate on this item, Mr. Sarre of Senegal, who will also speak in his capacity as Chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee of the International Conference on Kampuchea.

Mr. SARRE (Senegal) (interpretation from French): After the tribute that has been paid by the international community to an outstanding son of Africa, President Machel, I should like humbly to add the sincere condolences of the Head of State and Government and the people of Senegal and to ask our colleague from Mozambique to be kind enough to convey them to his Government.

At its fortieth session the General Assembly adopted, for the seventh consecutive year, a resolution calling for the ending of the suffering of the people of Cambodia. At the same time our Assembly unequivocally condemned the foreign occupation of that country. It is regrettable that today no political solution has yet been found, despite the initiatives undertaken this year in that area. Once again, at a time when we are observing the International Year of Peace, a historic opportunity will have been lost. The General Assembly at the forty-first session is once again called upon to be mindful of the need to find a political settlement of this question. First I should like to recall that, for my country, Senegal, which is a member of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and of the Ad Hoc Committee of the International Conference on Kampuchea, there is no doubt that the prolongation of this tragedy can only worsen the already tense climate in international relations and incurs the risk of increasing the danger that persists in that region.

However, we should recall that the principles and the basic modalities for a comprehensive political settlement were clearly defined at the International Conference on Kampuchea held in July 1981. These principles comprise, on the one hand, respect for the right of the Khmer people freely to decide their own future, the restoration of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Kampuchea and, at the same time, the total withdrawal of foreign troops from that

(Mr. Sarre, Senegal)

country. The Conference also took account of the legitimate concerns of all the countries of the region with regard to their security.

My country considers that the conflict in Kampuchea is the result of a violation of those principles, which are in keeping with the principles of the Charter and of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. As the international community pointed out at the very outset of the conflict, there cannot be any authorization under any pretext whatsoever of the use of force to overthrow the Government of a neighbouring country. Allowing that to happen would bring the risk of compromising the security of many States and first and foremost that of small States that have no military resources. That would be tantamount to acknowledging that might is right.

Since the adoption of the most recent General Assembly resolution, the situation in Kampuchea has, unfortunately, shown no encouraging signs, despite all the steadfast efforts and the recent diplomatic initiatives undertaken by certain parties concerned. Among others, we have noted the recent eight-point proposal made by the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea on 17 March 1986. In our view, that initiative contains positive elements, since it has the advantage of taking account of the interests of all the parties concerned. We should have liked that initiative to have been given at least some consideration by the other party, which would have facilitated the beginning of serious negotiations conducive to a just and lasting settlement of the question of Kampuchea. Unfortunately, the rejection of that proposal has only increased the risk of an escalation of that conflict. We wish also to note the various diplomatic initiatives undertaken by the countries of the Association of South-East Nations (ASEAN) to promote a comprehensive political settlement of the question of Kampuchea. In this regard, we wish to recall the positive elements contained in the recent communiqué of the ASEAN countries at their 19th ministerial meeting, held in Manila at the end of June.

(Mr. Sarre, Senegal)

Furthermore, Indonesia, as the ASEAN interlocutor, has continued the contacts it undertook in 1984 with Viet Nam to establish the basis for a mutually acceptable broad dialogue.

At the beginning of this year the President of the International Conference on Kampuchea, Mr. Leopold Gratz, made a tour of the region, and talked with the main parties to the conflict. Again, the aim of that mission was to seek to establish a dialogue among the parties concerned.

I cannot fail to mention the major contribution made by our Secretary-General to the efforts to find a political solution to this problem. The work he has been engaged in and points for consideration put forward in his report to this session attest to his dedication to the cause of peace in this region. Senegal sincerely hopes that Mr. Perez de Cuellar and his Special Representative Mr. Rafeeuddin Ahmed will continue to work for a comprehensive political settlement to this question.

At the military level, despite the relative calm along the Kampuchean-Thai border the situation of the Cambodian civilians established in the border region remains precarious, which increases the already heavy burden on the Thai Government. I should like once again to pay a tribute to the Thai authorities for the humanitarian spirit they have demonstrated in helping Cambodian civilians displaced by the hostilities. I also wish to congratulate the United Nations and the other international humanitarian organizations concerned for the effective work they are doing and for the support they are giving the refugees.

In keeping with its mandate, the Ad Hoc Committee of the International Conference on Kampuchea, over which Senegal has the honour of presiding, has undertaken consultations this year with a number of interested Governments. The object of those consultations is to reaffirm the abiding concern of the international community at the situation in Kampuchea and to secure the broadest

(Mr. Sarré, Senegal)

possible support for efforts to resolve this problem. The Committee has stated repeatedly that one of its basic objectives, is to help bring about negotiations among the parties concerned in keeping with the declaration adopted by the International Conference on Kampuchea in 1981. On behalf of the members of the Ad Hoc Committee I should like once again to express our gratitude for the understanding that has been shown to us and for the encouragement we have received in the various countries visited by the Ad Hoc Committee.

Finally, I wish to draw the General Assembly's attention to the annual report of the Ad Hoc Committee (A/CONF.109/11), dated 24 September 1986, in which the Committee reiterated:

"its appeal to those Member States which did not participate in the International Conference to co-operate in any suitable way with the efforts to achieve the goals of the Declaration on Kampuchea and the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly. It also appeals to all parties concerned to consider steps to overcome the obstacles that have, thus far, stood in the way of a truly constructive dialogue. It is the hope of the Committee that, in order to facilitate this process, all parties concerned will refrain from taking any action that would further complicate the situation in Kampuchea and jeopardize the chances for a fair and peaceful solution of the problem." (A/CONF.109/11, para. 28)

Senegal hopes sincerely that this appeal to reason will finally be heeded. My country is convinced that the adoption of a negotiated settlement leading to an independent, neutral, non-aligned Cambodia will undoubtedly be of benefit to all parties to the conflict, while taking into account their best interests. Such a settlement will also make it possible to provide the necessary means and conditions

(Mr. Sarré, Senegal)

for the lasting peace and stability, for which the countries in the region have for so long hoped.

It can never be over-emphasized that the attitude of the international community on this matter does not arise from any hostility to a country or group of countries, but rather emanates from its determination to find an honourable solution to this conflict in keeping with the United Nations Charter and the rules of international law.

These are the principal objectives of draft resolution A/41/L.2, on which the Assembly has been asked to take action and which my country has agreed to support. We hope that this will facilitate the search for a solution which, if implemented, will without doubt lead to peace and stability in that region.

Prince Norodom SIHANOUK (Democratic Kampuchea) (interpretation from French): The announcement today of the tragic and brutal death in an air accident of President Samora Moises Machel of Mozambique and several of his colleagues has plunged us all into the deepest sadness. I had the honour to establish ties of friendship with President Machel more than 10 years ago in Peking and we saw each other again about four years ago in Pyongyang. Therefore it is my privilege to pay a glowing tribute to him personally and to the heroic people of Mozambique, whose historic and victorious struggle for national liberation symbolized gloriously the liberation struggle of other oppressed peoples. As an old fighter for the independence of my own country, Cambodia - Kampuchea in Khmer - and a fervent and loyal friend of Africa, I weep for the loss of my brother and companion-at-arms, President Samora Moises Machel. On this sad occasion, I extend to the Government and the friendly people of Mozambique, to the bereaved families of the victims of this accident and to the President of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) the brotherly sympathy and most heartfelt condolences of my delegation.

(Prince Norodom Sihanouk,
Democratic Kampuchea)

In January 1979, when it invaded Kampuchea, my country, with an army of more than 100,000 men backed by an armada of tanks, heavy artillery pieces and other sophisticated war materials provided by the Soviet Union, the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam already proclaimed total victory. It arrogantly and solemnly declared to the world at large that its fait accompli was irreversible and that, consequently, there was no problem of Kampuchea.

Today, after almost eight years of war and occupation in Kampuchea, Viet Nam is inextricably bogged down, admits that it is hopelessly getting entangled in increasingly serious economic, social and political difficulties, and suffers from a growing isolation in the international arena.

This development is the result of the combined pressure increasingly exerted on the ground by our people and our national resistance forces whose resolve and patriotism have constantly been galvanized by an ever-growing generous support granted to their just cause by the international community which, through an ever increasingly overwhelming majority of the Member States of the United Nations, votes every year in favour of the resolutions on "The Situation in Kampuchea". This emphasizes the importance of the annual debates and resolutions on the agenda of the General Assembly. Indeed, they have greatly contributed to prevent the illegal occupation of Kampuchea from becoming a fait accompli, and the violation by Viet Nam of the Charter from being condoned.

These past eight years of war imposed upon us by Viet Nam have been for all our compatriots, whether at home or abroad, as many years of the most trying ordeals in our history, but also rich in experiences and lessons for the present as well as for the future of our nation, through which our national unity has been forged and tested in the fire of the resolute and dogged resistance against the Vietnamese ambition to eliminate our national identity and to annex our country.

(Prince Norodom Sihanouk,
Democratic Kampuchea)

Those who have followed our struggle for national survival recognize that continued progress has been made despite the many and difficult obstacles we have had to overcome. This year, more than in previous years, the armed forces of our coalition government have achieved significant progress. In my address on 30 September last, I had the honour to brief the General Assembly on that favourable development which was and continues to be echoed widely and unanimously by the media.

In point of fact, the large-scale Vietnamese attacks launched during the 1985 dry season along the western border, with a great number of reinforcements from Viet Nam and materials provided by the Soviet Union, have not broken the backbone of our resistance. Not only did the Vietnamese forces meet with a total fiasco in their scheme to seal the border so as to stifle and wipe out our forces operating deep in the interior of the country, but, what is more, they are now irremediably bogged down and harassed day and night throughout the country, in particular in the most fertile and densely populated central regions, in the Tonle Sap Lake area and around the capital city, Phnom Penh. Our forces are now operating openly and not clandestinely. Our attacks are conducted by units in uniform stationed permanently around Phnom Penh and the main provincial towns.

The major aim of our attacks is to dismantle the enemy's administrative, political and military apparatus at all levels in order to liberate the population and the Khmer soldiers and civilians forcibly enlisted by the enemy to serve their colonialist war. Our successes have gradually deprived the Vietnamese occupiers of the human and material resources they need to hold on to Kampuchea. Those successes have encouraged the population and all, whether military or civilian, who have been forced to serve the Vietnamese colonial régime in Phnom Penh, to rise up and join our forces. Day by day, through our military actions on the ground, our

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national unity is developing, expanding and strengthening under the motto: "Khmers do not fight Khmers" and "Khmers unite to drive out the Vietnamese occupiers". If our national resistance forces have been able to intensify their attacks which have become more accurate and more deadly deep inside the country and even as far as to the borders with Viet Nam, it is precisely because of the support, assistance and active participation of the population, Khmer soldiers and civil servants of the puppet Phnom Penh administration, who inform and guide them.

The balance of forces on the ground is changing in our favour. Although far less numerous and less well-equipped than the enemy, our forces have the advantage of several favourable factors: they are endowed with a lofty spirit of patriotism and are resolved to carry out their struggle for national survival; they are given growing support and active co-operation by the whole population and by an increasing number of Khmer soldiers and civilians of the puppet Phnom Penh administration.

It is with a view to coping with the politico-military situation which has been developing more and more against it that the Vietnamese military high command has been forced to transfer a significant part of its forces from the western border to the interior of the country, and to replace the Khmer soldiers of the puppet régime it no longer trusts, by Vietnamese forces in order to defend Phnom Penh which is now within striking range of our forces. For the first time since 1979, the Vietnamese forces have been unable to launch their annual dry season offensive. These are as many indications that they have been losing their combat initiative. Moreover, the morale, health and material situation of their soldiers keep worsening. According to a report broadcast on 14 August 1986 by Hanoi Radio, the Vietnamese soldiers fighting in Cambodia are "dressed in rags, poorly fed, and mostly disease-ridden ...", the Vietnamese aircraft "have to fly through unsafe

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Democratic Kampuchea)

skies; ... and have difficulty in finding landing sites ..., to say nothing of the difficulties arising from the shortage of fuel ...", while "enemy activity is aggressive ..."

The fundamental factor of this happy development and the main characteristic of the current situation in Kampuchea have been the strengthening and broadening of national unity among all Cambodians as such on the level of patriotic awareness as of action against the Vietnamese occupiers, and on every level of the national community, both at home and abroad.

In the country, the population in all provinces has been exasperated by almost eight years of Vietnamese crimes and oppression. Every day, they see that the Vietnamese occupiers are their worst enemy, and that the danger of "Vietnamization" of our country is deadly for our nation, culture, civilization and national identity.

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Democratic Kampuchea)

It is because they are well aware of this deadly danger that more and more among the population and even among those working in the puppet Heng Samrin administration have been granting their multiform support and assistance to the armed forces of our Coalition Government, and that Khmer patriots forcibly enlisted by the Vietnamese into the Heng Samrin army rebel, revolt and mutiny, often by whole units, and desert every day.

I wish at this stage to quote only a few glaring facts. On 15 December 1985, at Leach in the province of Pursat, 700 Khmer soldiers from the first and second regiments of the second Division of the Phnom Penh régime mutinied against the Vietnamese, captured two Vietnamese tanks and eliminated several Vietnamese soldiers and officers. Two days later, they were joined by 150 more of their fellows. After they ended their mutiny, which was given active support by the population, they returned to their native villages or joined our forces. On 21 April 1986, Heng Samrin's Battalion 507, stationed at Siemreap-Oddar Meanchey, joined our forces with arms and matériel. According to the deserters themselves, the number of deserters in many units reaches 50 per cent.

The more the Vietnamese persist in occupying Kampuchea, the more will the antagonism of the population towards the Khmer soldiers and civil servants of the puppet régime they have installed in Phnom Penh worsen and increase. Whatever they may do, the Vietnamese will never be able to gag the nationalist and patriotic feelings of the Cambodian people, and still less oppose the dynamics of national resistance, dynamics engendered, sustained and accelerated by the very persistence of their occupation of Kampuchea.

The trend of national unity against the Vietnamese occupation, which is now irresistible is shored up by continued strengthening of mutual understanding and

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reciprocal confidence, which have led to the uniformity of views and actions within the tripartite Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea. On the ground, the armed forces of the three components of our Government have consolidated their co-operation in their attacks against the enemy. In the heat of their combat against a common enemy, the three patriotic forces, sharing weal and woe, weave their fraternal ties, which are the tokens of our victory.

The repeated manoeuvres of our enemies aimed at sowing dissension within the tripartite Coalition Government have only strengthened its conviction that national unity and reconciliation are vital for the survival of the nation, both at present and in the future. The eight-point proposal of 17 March 1986 which I had the honour to present to you in detail in my address of 30 September testifies to this conviction that has led to an identity of views on the political solution to be brought to the problem of Kampuchea and on the future of our country as well. This proposal testifies to our magnanimity, to the utmost limits of our concessions, to our moderation, and to the spirit of conciliation not only among all Cambodians irrespective of their tendencies, but also towards Viet Nam, our aggressor, as well. It constitutes our national charter at the present time, and for the future as well. It depends entirely on Viet Nam - through its agreement to stop its invasion and occupation and to withdraw all its forces from Kampuchea - to clear the way for the participation of the Heng Samrin group, set up and maintained by force by Viet Nam in Phnom Penh, in a quadripartite coalition government of Kampuchea, which would organize free general elections under United Nations supervision. It also depends entirely on Viet Nam whether our two countries, placed side by side for eternity, establish once again sincere relations of friendship and co-operation based on the five principles of peaceful coexistence, on an equal footing, and with mutual respect and reciprocal interests.

(Prince Norodom Sihanouk,
Democratic Kampuchea)

In the course of the general debate at the current session of the General Assembly, a great many delegations were kind enough to do us justice and grant support to our peace plan. It is for me a privilege and a pleasure to express to them, on behalf of the Coalition Government and of my people, as well as on my own behalf, our profound and heartfelt gratitude for this noble support, which has greatly encouraged us to persevere in the achievement of our national charter.

The outright rejection of our peace plan by Viet Nam does not at all mean that this plan is not realistic and hence without any useful purpose. This is but new proof that the leaders in Hanoi want at all costs to absorb Kampuchea, along with Laos, into an "Indo-China Federation". Testimony to this Vietnamese ambition, conceived and worked out by the Vietnamese Communist Party ever since 1930, is more than sufficient. Despite the repeated denials by Hanoi, each day that passes brings new evidence of this insatiable Vietnamese expansionism. On 28 June last, Heng Samrin, the puppet chief installed in Phnom Penh, stated:

"We are proud to recall that our Party has taken its roots in the Indochinese Communist Party"

Moreover, in the parlance used by Viet Nam in every article, in every statement, there is a reference to the "three Indochinese countries", to the "Indochinese bloc" or again, to the "Viet Nam-Kampuchea-Laos special relations" - terms that are all only euphemisms for the Vietnamese "Indo-China Federation". The Hanoi authorities, acting as the master, organize and decide everything. The "Conference of Indochinese foreign ministers" or other meetings are but masquerades staged by Viet Nam in which the other two act as faithful lackeys, repeating whatever is said by their lord and master.

It is with the objective of achieving this baleful "Indo-China Federation" that the Hanoi leaders are clinging to Kampuchea at all costs, at the cost of the

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mourning and ruin they have sown in Kampuchea and in Viet Nam as well. Having failed for the past eight years to achieve this end through military means, the Hanoi leaders have been desperately and shamelessly trying to achieve it through diplomatic manoeuvres, with the aim of dividing and conquering, namely, dividing and weakening the national resistance forces so as to compel them to capitulate and acknowledge the Vietnamese fait accompli in Cambodia, and also dividing and weakening the international support for our struggle.

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In that respect, Viet Nam speaks of "negotiations for a peaceful settlement", of "national reconciliation between Cambodians", of "respect for the right to self-determination of the Cambodian people", of "an independent, neutral and non-aligned Cambodia", of "annual partial withdrawal" and even "total withdrawal of its occupation forces by 1990", and so forth. It tries to make people believe that it is sincerely conciliatory and flexible and that it has been brought to its senses and agrees at last to comply with the call of the international community for a political solution to the Kampuchean problem. But serious consideration of those statements proves the contrary and shows the perfidy of Viet Nam, which in this case uses the same language to cover up a complete divergence of views by the parties to the conflict.

By "negotiations for a political settlement", the Hanoi authorities mean negotiations between what they call "the three Indo-Chinese countries" - that is, the Vietnamese Indo-China Federation - and the members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN), as a third party. That is a trap which the ASEAN countries could never fall into. Moreover, one cannot but ask how Viet Nam will be able to reach a political solution to the problem of Kampuchea while it obstinately refuses to negotiate with the only party against which it is fighting - namely, the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea.

Viet Nam speaks of "national reconciliation between Cambodians", but it demands that one of the three components of our Coalition Government be eliminated in advance and that the leaders of the other two surrender, hands in the air, to the so-called People's Republic of Kampuchea". This Vietnamese-style national reconciliation actually aims at destroying the Government which has been recognized by the United Nations and the international community as the sole legal and legitimate Government of Cambodia. If Hanoi were to succeed in carrying out this

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manoeuvre, Viet Nam and its allies could assert that henceforth there was no reason for the United Nations to continue considering the problem of Kampuchea and that, consequently, the seat of Kampuchea at the United Nations should ipso facto revert to the puppet Phnom Penh régime. The Vietnamese manoeuvre is therefore manufactured out of whole cloth and cannot deceive international public opinion.

The Vietnamese statement about "respect for the right to self-determination of the Cambodian people" is only vain rhetoric, for that people will be able to exercise that inalienable right only after the withdrawal of all Vietnamese forces from its country, Cambodia.

As for the Vietnamese proclamation that the "People's Kampuchea" of the Phnom Penh puppets is "independent, neutral and non-aligned", the least we can say is that Viet Nam has a notion of values that is quite different from that of the international community. For everybody is aware of the links which chain this puppet régime to the "Vietnamese chariot", within the framework of "special solidarity" and "special friendship" - euphemisms for the Vietnamese "Indo-China Federation".

Lastly, Viet Nam's statements on an annual partial withdrawal and a total withdrawal of its forces by 1990 are mere propaganda which can no longer deceive anyone. We have said on many occasions - and world public opinion agrees with us - that the annual partial "withdrawals" not only are troop rotations but, even more, are stratagems to conceal annual reinforcements of troops sent from Viet Nam to make up for the increasing number of casualties and even strengthen the Vietnamese occupation army in Kampuchea, now facing the irresistible rising tide of Khmer national resistance. As for the so-called total withdrawal by 1990, the magazine Asiaweek in its issue of 3 August 1986 contained an article entitled "Viet Nam's 1990 Question", from which I quote the following:

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(spoke in English)

"As the 1986 rains get under way, this year's offensive seems to have achieved much less than the last, and the four-year pull-out deadline for the Vietnamese looks ever more questionable".

(continued in French)

Hoang Bich Son, the Vietnamese Deputy Foreign Minister, recently told Asiaweek:

(spoke in English)

"We will conclude our withdrawal by 1990, but we have all along said that if the situation requires it and the Kampuchean Government" -
that is, the puppet régime in Phnom Penh -

"deems it necessary, we will discuss the coming back of our troops. ... And we have made a promise that we would come back if requested".

(continued in French)

I have already had occasion to point out that Viet Nam has not yet left Cambodia but it is already preparing its return. In the past, the Vietnamese leaders have shown the world that, for them, making promises and keeping them are two different things. Indeed, they have never kept their commitments, whether signed or "solemnly pledged". This is testified to by the agreements signed in Geneva in 1954 and in 1962, on Laos, and in Paris in 1973; by the "solemn" declaration made in 1967 to respect the territorial integrity of Kampuchea within its present borders; and, again, by the promise made by Pham Van Dong in September 1978 to all the ASEAN member States that Viet Nam would not invade Cambodia.

Viet Nam's solemn promises and commitments have shown that, for Hanoi, diplomacy is only a means to serve its strategic military objectives, within the framework of its expansionist policy. Today, under the growing and combined

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pressure of the national resistance forces and the international community, it is in Viet Nam's interest to make such promises in an attempt to deceive world public opinion. But Viet Nam is not ready, nor will it be ready between now and 1990, to give up its ambition to absorb Kampuchea into its "Indo-China Federation", unless it is finally compelled to do so by the struggle of the people of Kampuchea and by international pressure.

The Soviet Union can lend its assistance to the achievement of that end, for it is well known today that Viet Nam would not have been able to carry on its aggression against and occupation of Kampuchea without the huge amount of Soviet aid. That is why we ask the Soviet Union, a permanent member of the Security Council, responsible for the maintenance of international peace and security under the United Nations Charter, to heed the call of reason and bring Viet Nam to its senses. In Asia and the Pacific - more especially in South-East Asia - until the Soviet Union abandons its support for Viet Nam's policy of aggression and expansion, and in particular for Viet Nam's occupation of Kampuchea, it will never succeed in convincing anyone of its desire to establish friendly relations and remove what it calls "sterile suspicions and mistrust". It is not by repeating the same rhetoric about peace, disarmament, friendship, and so forth, that it will prove its good faith. And it is not by evading the problem of Kampuchea created by the Vietnamese invasion and occupation that it will contribute to restoring peace, security and stability in South-East Asia.

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In order to perpetuate the Vietnamese occupation of Kampuchea and consolidate its "Indo-China Federation", Viet Nam has been conducting a large-scale propaganda campaign aimed at discrediting the patriotic Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea and at glorifying the puppet Heng Samrin régime installed in Phnom Penh. This campaign of disinformation ceaselessly praises the marvellous rebirth of what is called the People's Republic of Kampuchea, its "economic, cultural and social development" and peace and security prevailing throughout the whole country - that is the "whole cake" as called by the Vietnamese minister Nguyen Co Thach, which is placed under the control of the Quisling Phnom Penh régime.

Reacting to this campaign of disinformation, any person of common sense wonders why, if that is the case, the Hanoi authorities refuse to withdraw from Kampuchea about 200,000 of their soldiers who for eight years have drained all human and material resources of their country and turned Viet Nam, once a model in the struggle for national independence, into an outcast of the international community. Why should the Soviet Union continue to bear this burden of aid to Viet Nam, which year after year becomes heavier and heavier? Viet Nam will never be able to answer that question without contradicting itself, for the truth is quite different.

I would not mind the arrogant claim of the Vietnamese Foreign Minister, Nguyen Co Thach, that the Phnom Penh puppets control the Cambodia "cake", for everyone knows that they control nothing at all, not even themselves, everything being decided and made by Vietnamese advisers and the Vietnamese army of occupation, yet the latter control only the main towns and some sections of lines of communication, along which they have forced Khmer villagers to live in strategic hamlets surrounded by several mine-infested barriers, which prevent the inhabitants

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from engaging in agricultural production through fear of coming into contact with our resistance forces.

Mme. Marie Alexandrine Martin, a French ethnologist and naturalist at the National Centre for Scientific Research in Paris, presented the situation in Vietnamese-occupied Cambodia in a nutshell:

"In the countryside, as well as in the cities, arrests are daily occurrences. Torture (beatings, electric shocks, plastic bags over the head ...) is the rule. It is impossible to estimate the number of political prisoners in Kampuchea today. In Phnom Penh, between 1980 and 1984 no less than 6,200 people were imprisoned in the two jails belonging to the Ministry of National Defence and 16,800 in the six jails run by the Ministry of the Interior. In both cases the real directors of the jails are Vietnamese with 'puppet' Khmer directors to keep up appearances ..."

Those facts were confirmed by the New York based Lawyers Committee for International Human Rights and Amnesty International of London, which in its September 1986 file on torture issued a detailed report on the widespread practice of torture, including torture by Vietnamese "experts", in Vietnamese-occupied Cambodia.

Mme. Marie Alexandrine Martin further said:

"Last year, Khmer peasants arriving at the Thai border were crushed by extreme poverty, despair and grief. 'Today it is worse', say newcomers.

"The town-dwellers, many of them from Phnom Penh, flee their country because it is now so easy to become a 'suspect'. All it takes is an 'inappropriate' gesture or the inadvertent use of the wrong word. One is always under the threat of the unlikeliest denunciation. Civil servants also flee their homeland because they do not want to die while being sent away to forced labour. Refusal to participate in the work for 'National Defence' as

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forced labour along the Thai-Kampuchean border is called in Phnom Penh, means imprisonment. People from Phnom Penh who are privately employed pay enormous taxes. They, too, are coming to the border in large numbers after closing their stalls in the market, or the little shop set up in their home. 'It is no longer possible to earn one's living unless one has a relative who travels and trades at the border. Even so it is hard, so very hard ...', they say.

"Vietnamese settlers do much better. They pay low taxes; they are not enlisted for forced labour. Their ethnic origins put them above the law in any quarrel or dispute with the Kampucheans. They are the privileged citizens in a country whose very own people feel more and more alienated ...

"In 1985 a new identity card was imposed all over the country. It was supposed to prevent independent workers from settling illegally in the cities. Phnom Penh is protected by an important Vietnamese garrison and inhabited by at least 250,000 Vietnamese civilian settlers.

"As for the Khmer civil servants, their number will drop further as quite a few of them keep fleeing to the border and are replaced by Vietnamese. That is already the case at the Ministry of National Defence. Little by little, low-ranking Khmer bureaucrats have been sent to the army and replaced by Vietnamese. Several high-ranking posts in various ministries are held by Khmers who fled to Hanoi in 1954, after the Geneva Agreement. They are fluent in Vietnamese, and are married to Vietnamese women ...

"... This two-fold increase of Vietnamese experts which was under way at that time seems to be effective almost everywhere ... Any project prepared by a Khmer must be scrutinized by Vietnamese experts, who correct it and give it the final touch prior to any approval by the Prime Minister and President of the Republic - respectively, the puppets Hun Sen and Heng Samrin installed in

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Phnom Penh. Even for festivities in pagodas permission must be given by Vietnamese advisers in charge of festivities and entertainments. At the central office of Vietnamese experts, known as Office A-50, it is the expert in charge of Party Affairs who has the last say, even over the Chairman of the Office, Le Dinh, formerly President of Ho Chi Min City, whose main task is to execute the (Vietnamese Communist) Party's orders."

Since 1984 the Vietnamese have rounded up and every year sent hundreds of thousands of men and women to the western border to carry out for a period of two to three months para-military labour, such as transporting foodstuffs and ammunition for the Vietnamese forces, clearing forests, building roads, detecting and laying mines, digging trenches, raising wall barriers with a view to cutting off our supply lines and stifling our forces in the interior of the country. Several tens of thousands of Cambodians, men and women, have thus been killed by mines or have died from malaria and other diseases, and several thousands of others have returned mutilated to their villages.

That forced labour has disastrously diverted the larger part of manpower from rice production. Actually, the "miraculous rebirth" of Cambodia placed under Vietnamese domination means the transformation of a rice-exporting country into an international rice beggar. In 1984 the Food and Agriculture Organization estimated the rice shortage as being as high as 177,000 tons; in 1985 the World Food Programme estimated it at 400,000 tons.

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The Vietnamese propaganda machine is cynical, for it is not ashamed of the contradictions that reveal its perfidy. In its attempts to legalize its invasion and occupation of Kampuchea, Viet Nam speaks of "miraculous rebirth". But when it needs aid to feed its occupation forces, it spreads the news that the people of Kampuchea face a serious rice shortage and orders the Phnom Penh puppets to beg for international aid. Should it be granted, this aid would feed only the Vietnamese occupation troops for, as in previous years, it would not be distributed to the needy Khmer population.

Forced labour, famine and the most savage forms of repression, in addition to Vietnamese attacks, have in the past eight years already claimed the lives of hundreds of thousands of Cambodians and forced hundreds of thousands more to flee their ancestral lands and native villages to seek protection in the areas controlled by our Government, or refuge on Thai territory. To replace them, the Hanoi authorities have already sent more than 700,000 Vietnamese to settle on the most fertile land, in towns and along the rivers. The objective is to raise this number to 2 million within the next four or five years. Thousands of new families keep arriving every month. According to Mme. Marie Alexandrine Martin:

"Senior civil servants report that the new settlers from Viet Nam come in during the night" - as was reported by refugees last year - "in large groups, without the knowledge of the Khmer [puppet] authorities. The appropriate department of the Revolutionary People's Committee in the capital has to hold meetings in the middle of the night to decide immediately where they should go so that other people do not know where they have come from. The inhabitants, if at first unaware of these arrivals, soon realize the situation when they see the new houses in which the Vietnamese live, which are built on what a few days earlier was waste ground. In the spring of 1985, people living in Phnom

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Penh were simply driven away from their houses and replaced by the Vietnamese. They were sent into the countryside. Some of them managed to escape and reach the border. New identity cards have been in circulation since the last census; identification checks and raids are frequent.

Everything seems to be planned gradually to turn Phnom Penh into a Vietnamese town with only the necessary Khmer administrative personnel."

I would add that the names of the main streets and squares in Phnom Penh have already been changed or translated into Vietnamese.

Lastly, several so-called agreements and treaties have allegedly been signed between the Vietnamese boss and his Phnom Penh lackeys in all fields - economic, financial, social, cultural, technical, frontier, and so forth. Those "agreements" and "treaties" are actually farces of the same type as the "meetings" or "conferences" of the three so-called Indochinese countries, aimed on the one hand at showing the world the legitimacy of the puppet Phnom Penh régime and on the other at laying the so-called legal foundations of the gradual absorption of Kampuchea by Viet Nam. A concrete instance was provided by the 1983 so-called border agreements which shifted the maritime border between Kampuchea and Viet Nam as indicated since 1939 by the Brevié line and gave Viet Nam a large tract of the well-known oil-bearing Khmer maritime territory. As for the land borders, the Hanoi authorities have since the beginning of the invasion shifted the boundary marks from 3 to 5 kilometres within Kampuchea.

That is the actual situation in Kampuchea this year. Viet Nam has proclaimed that the situation is irreversible, namely, that it has not the slightest intention of ever allowing the people of Kampuchea to exercise their right to self-determination or ever allowing Kampuchea once again to become an independent, free, united, peaceful, neutral and non-aligned country. However, since 1979,

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despite Soviet aid estimated at \$US 6 million a day, the Vietnamese forces have been irremediably bogged down in Kampuchea. To say the least, the situation does not appear to be as irreversible as Viet Nam claims.

Despite the ever-increasing and inextricable difficulties it is facing in Kampuchea, at home and in the international arena, Viet Nam remains intransigent and inflexible. This stand shows that Viet Nam is in Cambodia, as it is in Laos, with the intention of remaining there for ever, in keeping with the expansionist, colonialist tradition of North Viet Nam, which, in its insatiable southward thrust in quest of ever greater "vital" space to serve its economic and "nutritional" interests, already in the past absorbed the Islamic Kingdom of Champa to form the present Central Viet Nam, and then 65,000 square kilometres of our territory of Lower Cambodia to form the present South Viet Nam. Because of this Vietnamese strategic ambition, we foresee a long struggle, filled with sacrifice, similar to our past struggle against colonialism, particularly since this new imperialism is much more savage and perfidious.

In the face of the vital stake of the survival of our people, our nation, our culture and our civilization, whose wondrous monuments of Angkor have become the heritage of mankind, we, the Khmer, have no other means of salvation than to unite and continue our patriotic struggle. Freedom is the supreme value to which every individual, people and nation has an equal right. Viet Nam cannot, and will never be able to, deny Kampuchea this right, much less the sacred right of its people and nation to wage its struggle by every means available to it, including the use of arms, in order to recover this supreme and inalienable value.

For the sake of our survival, we are resolved to persevere in our efforts constantly to develop and strengthen our national unity and achieve national reconciliation by rejecting the elimination of anyone or any party, least of all

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one of the present three partners in our Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea. Moreover, the three partners are more than ever determined to strengthen their unity and, after their nation is liberated, devote themselves together, in national union and reconciliation, to the tasks of the development and defence of Kampuchea. From now on we are ready to welcome new partners, including those which today are installed by Viet Nam, but which, as soon as the Vietnamese forces withdraw, will agree to work together with us for the restoration, development and prosperity of an independent, united, peaceful, neutral and non-aligned Kampuchea, with a liberal and democratic régime that respects human rights.

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National union is and will be our major weapon against the enemy and the essential factor of our victory, that is, of our national survival for the present as well as for the future. It is not surprising that the enemy continues to manoeuvre to prevent its development. We will never let the enemy achieve those aims or those manoeuvres to succeed, for they would undermine not only our efforts in the struggle, but also the restoration of peace, security and stability in South-East Asia. We consider our policy of national union both as a national patriotic duty and as an obligation to the international community.

If there is an irreversible element in today's Kampuchea situation, it is precisely the development and the consolidation of our national unity. And, whether Viet Nam likes it or not, we will succeed in building up an independent, united, peaceful, neutral and non-aligned Kampuchea, within the framework of national reconciliation, for this is a vital issue for all of us Cambodians.

Our eight-point proposal has demonstrated our sincerity in this act of faith and also our will to go as far as we can along the road leading to conciliation and peace, for we want a political settlement to the Kampuchean problem, a settlement that will be just and lasting for all - for us, the victim, as well as for Viet Nam, the aggressor. We believe that magnanimity consists in doing justice and not in asking for justice. As a matter of fact, although the Vietnamese leaders are, by their aggression against Kampuchea, war criminals, just as were Hitler and his Nazi disciples, we will not ask for revenge, punishment or war damages - I emphasize, no war damages. Rather, we propose to establish with them good relations based on peaceful coexistence for the well being of our two peoples. It is not possible for us to go beyond the concessions already made unless we accept to offer our country to Viet Nam on a silver platter, which would be a total negation of eight years of struggle which has been developing very favourably for

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us, thanks also to the substantial contribution of all peace and justice-loving countries, peoples and personalities throughout the world, and this United Nations General Assembly, who have given us their continued and enduring support.

To all of them, I should like to renew once again, on behalf of our people, our Coalition Government and on my own behalf, our deepest gratitude. Never will we forget this noble and invaluable support granted us at the most difficult time in our history. Every year, the ever growing number of statements on the problem of Kampuchea, both in the general debate and during its consideration, the ever-increasing number of co-sponsors of draft resolutions and the increasingly overwhelming majority of votes in their favour have greatly contributed to maintaining at an ever-higher level the morale of our people and our fighters. In the unequal struggle they have been waging with heroism against an enemy far more powerful, cruel and cunning than the former colonialists and imperialists, a good morale is a sharp and effective weapon and an important factor for victory.

I am particularly happy to renew the expression of our deep and eternal gratitude to the six member States of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) which, through their noble and strong support for our struggle, have given proof of initiatives and perseverance in the search for a just and lasting solution that would lead to the end of the Vietnamese aggression and occupation in Kampuchea, would allow Kampuchea again to become an independent, united, peaceful, neutral and non-aligned State, would contain Vietnamese deeply rooted expansionism and turn South-East Asia into a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality. Today and in the future, Kampuchea and its people will continue to develop their cordial ties of friendship and solidarity with the ASEAN countries and to bring their active participation to the achievement of that noble goal.

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We feel that we cannot reiterate enough our most profound and cordial gratitude to our neighbour, the Kingdom of Thailand, which has greatly contributed to the survival of our nation by showing its generosity and compassion with which it welcomes in refugee camps hundreds of thousands of our fellow nationals fleeing the massacres and repressions of the Vietnamese occupiers. Neither the pressures and intimidations from Hanoi nor the massacres and destructions perpetrated by the Vietnamese occupation forces in Kampuchea against the Thai border population during their numerous and annual incursions into Thai territories have succeeded in shaking this exemplary generosity and compassion. Quite the contrary, they have only strengthened the sincere and fraternal ties of friendship between our two Governments, countries and peoples, Kampuchea and Thailand, which are very close to each other in terms of their history, civilization, culture, language, religion and customs.

We would also like to express our deepest gratitude to the People's Republic of China for its strong, unconditional and permanent assistance without which our struggle could not have developed so favourably. The sincere and many-faceted aid it has been granting to our struggle against the Vietnamese expansionist designs testifies to its determination to work for peace and security in Asia and in the world. This has strengthened our conviction that Viet Nam will never be able to realize its dream of absorbing Kampuchea into an "Indo-China Federation".

To our Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, whose recent unanimous reappointment is gratifying to us all, I wish to reiterate our warm congratulations and our profound gratitude for his tireless and deserving efforts in performing with dedication the mandate entrusted to him by the Charter and the relevant resolutions on the situation in Kampuchea. If he has not yet been successful, it is not because he lacks initiatives or perseverance but rather because of the

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Vietnamese intransigence and manoeuvres. His dedication to and his faith in the Charter and role of our Organization in maintaining international peace and security have reinforced the confidence we have always had in him. I would also like to express our high appreciation for the noble efforts made by all of his colleagues in order to find a political solution to the problem of Kampuchea within the framework of the relevant resolutions adopted by the General Assembly.

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I should like also to express our profound gratitude to all those countries which have been willing to grant asylum in their territories to hundreds of thousands of Cambodians who have been compelled to flee their homeland. Our warmest thanks also go to all the donor countries for their financial and material contributions and to the various United Nations organs for their activities in distributing those contributions and saving the lives of hundreds of thousands of our compatriots displaced throughout the country, near the Thai border or taking refuge in Thailand.

I wish to express my heartfelt thanks to all the international humanitarian assistance agencies and to all those persons who take an interest in the fate of the Cambodian people and who offer the hand of assistance to my people. Lastly, I am happy to repeat our deep appreciation and warm thanks to Mr. Gratz, President of the International Conference on Kampuchea and to all the members of its Ad Hoc Committee, in particular to its President, Ambassador Sarré of Senegal. Through their untiring activities and their missions to various countries in Asia, Africa, America and Europe they have greatly contributed to a better understanding of the problem of Kampuchea, have aroused and maintained the international community's concern about this problem, and have thereby strengthened international support for our just struggle.

Through their immeasurable misfortunes and sufferings, which have lasted all too long, our people and our Coalition Government are greatly comforted by having throughout the world many sincere and dedicated friends who have for almost eight years given them firm, steadfast and ever broader support. Never will we forget this invaluable support, so vital for our survival. We will continue to do whatever we can to deserve and strengthen it. It is quite clear that without such support our struggle would not have been able to develop on such a scale and it could never have been successful. In the geo-political situation of my country,

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next to a powerful neighbour with an insatiable appetite, this international support constitutes for us, both now and in the future, a continuing and vital necessity without which we would not be able to build up an independent Cambodia, which is united, peaceful, neutral, non-aligned and prosperous.

Mr. President, before concluding, allow me, on behalf of my people and my Coalition Government and on my own behalf, once more to express the sincere respect and high esteem we have for you, and also to reiterate solemnly, in this International Year of Peace, our faith in the United Nations, whose noble ideals, enshrined in the Charter, and whose support, constitute a great moral force for all the small and weak countries like Kampuchea which have to fight for their survival and their freedom in defence of their honour and national dignity.

In expressing these profound sentiments, I should like to make an earnest appeal to all the delegations of peace-loving and justice-loving Member States to lend their noble and effective support to draft resolution A/41/L.2, sponsored by 60 countries. We are confident that once again they will express their determination to defend peace, freedom and justice in the world and thereby to strengthen the sacred principles of the Charter. I wish to extend to all of them, in advance, my profound gratitude and that of our people, our fighters and our Coalition Government.

The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of Singapore, who will also introduce draft resolution A/41/L.2.

Mr. YEO (Singapore): It is with deep sorrow that we learned of the tragic event involving President Machel and some of his senior colleagues. My delegation would like to associate itself with the sentiments expressed by you, Mr. President, and other speakers this morning. On behalf of the Government and people of Singapore, I should like to convey our sincere condolences to the Government and people of Mozambique on this tragic loss.

(Mr. Yeo, Singapore)

It has been said that if the heavens could weep Kampuchea would never know drought. This country used to be a symbol of peace and harmony. It has, unfortunately, become a modern-day symbol of continuous tragedy and suffering. There have been basically three phases in Kampuchea's suffering, the first being the civil war between 1970 and 1975 and the second the brutal rule of the Khmer Rouge from 1975 to 1978. What is perhaps less well known is that the latest phase of Kampuchea's suffering, the result of Viet Nam's invasion and occupation of Kampuchea, has lasted almost as long as the first two phases combined. This single fact highlights Viet Nam's cruelty in prolonging the suffering of the Kampucheans.

It is truly tragic that we have to meet here once again to discuss the question of Kampuchea. For seven years in a row we have adopted resolutions calling upon Viet Nam to withdraw its forces from Kampuchea and make Kampuchea a free and independent nation again. Viet Nam's response, reiterated only recently in this hall by the Vietnamese Minister, Vo Dong Giang, has been to say that these resolutions are "erroneous". It is unfortunate that Viet Nam has so little respect for the views of the international community or the United Nations.

My delegation is, however, gratified that after eight years the international community's response has been that it will persevere with its efforts to persuade Viet Nam to withdraw from Kampuchea. We have to persevere for two fundamental reasons: first, because we have a moral obligation to end the 16 years of nightmare and suffering for the Kampucheans and, secondly, because the international community has to demonstrate that no nation can be exempted from the principles of international law. We must prove that no State, not even Viet Nam, can be allowed to violate these fundamental principles. If Viet Nam succeeds, other aggressors might be encouraged, and that could make the world a more dangerous place for small States.

(Mr. Yeo, Singapore)

It is perhaps inevitable that with the passage of time we become desensitized to a problem. The human psyche is incapable of remaining permanently engrossed in the suffering of any one people; our attention gets distracted. We are fatigued by compassion. Inevitably, Kampuchea's suffering begins to recede into the background.

This lack of public attention to Kampuchea's problems should not blind us to the fact that, in some ways, the Kampucheans are suffering more today than they have in the last 16 years. Let me just quote to you a few passages from a recent book by Elizabeth Becker who, as Viet Nam knows, has been a true and credible witness of events in Kampuchea. In her recent book, "When the War is Over", she described the nature of the Vietnamese occupation of Kampuchea:

"Each year that control has produced humiliating orders from the Vietnamese overlords. Although Kampuchea does not produce enough rice to feed its own population, it is required to send rice and fish to Viet Nam. Vietnamese is becoming the second language in Government offices. The number of new Vietnamese settlers rises each year, following the pattern set hundreds of years ago when the Vietnamese settled in what is now South Viet Nam. First come the Vietnamese equivalent of carpetbaggers, petty merchants who now inhabit entire quarters of Phnom Penh. Then come the farmers and fishermen. The farmers settled in disputed territory near the Vietnamese-Cambodian border, further blurring the divide. The fishermen moved up the waterways and are now clustered as far west as the Great Lake. If the pattern holds, the next group to settle will be demobilized Vietnamese soldiers who are given land in return for pacifying Cambodia."

Having perpetuated the Cambodian suffering for so long, it is shameless - and I am only using the word that Minister Vo Dong Giang used several times in his speech - shameless for Viet Nam to pretend that it is rescuing the Cambodian people from suffering.

(Mr. Yeo, Singapore)

Viet Nam has also given lectures here on previous human rights abuses in Kampuchea. Let me quote from a recent report by Amnesty International, a report entitled "File on Torture" dated September 1986, which documents the involvement of Vietnamese experts in the continuing torture of Kampuchians:

"Vietnamese 'experts' are reported to have participated in or been present during torture at these PRK centres, especially those at the provincial level and above." (A/41/701, p. 3)

If we recall that Viet Nam defended the record of the Khmer Rouge at meetings of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights in 1977 and 1978, these reports of Vietnamese atrocities should not surprise us.

I am afraid that there were many other misleading elements in Minister Vo Dong Giang's speech to the General Assembly. In an effort to divert attention away from its brutal invasion and occupation of Kampuchea, Viet Nam has spread rumours that "peace is at hand" in Kampuchea. Mr. Vo Dong Giang said:

"Developments in and around Southeast Asia have shown that confrontation is step by step being replaced by dialogue and the differences are gradually being narrowed".

Viet Nam has also announced its own proposals for a settlement of the Kampuchean problem and declared that "the withdrawal of the Vietnamese volunteer troops from Kampuchea ... will be completed by the year 1990".

Since I fear that this Vietnamese announcement may mislead many observers into believing that Viet Nam is ready to withdraw from Kampuchea, let me explain Viet Nam's tactics. We live today in an age where colonialism and imperialism are no longer fashionable. The new colonialists and imperialists no longer trumpet the results of their aggression, but pretend to be conforming to modern principles of international law. Hypocrisy, they say, is the compliment that vice pays to virtue. Viet Nam, I fear, is being totally hypocritical.

(Mr. Yeo, Singapore)

To understand Viet Nam's proposals, let us consider what our reaction would be if South Africa made exactly the same proposals concerning Namibia. Both South Africa and Viet Nam are occupying territories in violation of United Nations resolutions. Both have made ingenious attempts to justify their occupation. What would our reaction be if tomorrow South Africa announced that it was prepared to withdraw its troops from Namibia in 1990, but only if the so-called internal administration in Windhoek was not threatened by Namibia's nationalist forces? And would this offer of withdrawal be credible if South Africa added a condition that these troops should be allowed to return to Namibia at the request of the so-called internal administration in Windhoek? This is precisely what Viet Nam is proposing when it offers to withdraw its forces from Kampuchea. It should not therefore come as a surprise that Viet Nam's proposals have been received with great scepticism in South-East Asia and all around the world.

My delegation firmly believes that if Viet Nam is sincerely interested in finding a peaceful solution to the Kampuchean problem, it should speak directly to the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, the legitimate representative of the Kampuchean people. Notwithstanding Viet Nam's continued intransigence, the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea put forward to Viet Nam on 17 March 1986 a reasonable eight-point proposal for a political settlement of the Kampuchean problem. The eight points have been outlined in the text which I have circulated, so I shall not proceed to quote them.

The Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) countries have announced their support for this eight-point proposal because it contains at least two new ideas. First, Democratic Kampuchea is prepared to accept a phased rather than an immediate withdrawal of Vietnamese troops. Secondly, to promote national reconciliation following this withdrawal, representatives of the Heng Samrin régime

(Mr. Yeo, Singapore)

will be allowed to participate in a quadripartite government. We are pleased to note that the international community has also responded positively to these proposals, which have demonstrated the flexibility and open-mindedness of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea. Unfortunately, Viet Nam has rejected outright the eight-point proposal.

If I have spoken at length about the sufferings of the Kampuchean people, I have done so because I believe that our concern for the Kampucheans should be the primary reason for our continued involvement in the Kampuchean issue. However, the outcome of the Kampuchean issue will also have implications for all of us, especially the smaller States of the United Nations.

(Mr. Yeo, Singapore)

We met here last week to consider the financial crisis of the United Nations. Most of us agreed that what the United Nations faced was not only a financial crisis but also a political crisis arising from the failure of some Member States to abide by the obligations of the Charter. We are not surprised to see the major Powers undermining the United Nations. However, we are surprised that Viet Nam has contributed to this process by refusing to accept the moral authority of the United Nations. By selectively accepting or rejecting resolutions, Viet Nam has torn large holes in the United Nations fabric of moral authority and through these holes others, like the South African racists, have also escaped from the moral authority of this great Organization.

Singapore has not been alone in expressing its concern over the decline of the moral authority of the United Nations. The Movement of Non-Aligned Countries has consistently reaffirmed its faith in the Charter of the United Nations and called upon all its Member States to respect the Charter and United Nations resolutions. As one of the members of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, Viet Nam has often declared its commitment to respect the decisions of the Movement. If it is truly committed to the Movement and its goals, Viet Nam could begin by helping to implement the United Nations resolution on Kampuchea.

Regrettably, without waiting to listen to the views expressed by States Members of the United Nations, Viet Nam has already declared that any resolution resulting from today's debate will be "null and void". I refer to the letter from the Permanent Representatives of Laos and Viet Nam (A/41/712), dated 15 October 1986. I wonder whether our colleagues from Laos and Viet Nam have paused to consider the considerable damage that could be done to the moral and legal credibility of the United Nations if every delegation here decided to follow Viet Nam's example and accept or reject United Nations resolutions at will? What

(Mr. Yeo, Singapore)

moral or legal authority would United Nations resolutions have if we, the Member States, show no respect for them?

As Singapore is the current Chairman of the Standing Committee, of the Association of South-East Asian Nations, I have the honour of introducing this year's draft resolution on Kampuchea (A/41/L.2), dated 10 October 1986. In addition to the 54 co-sponsors listed in the draft resolution, six other countries have co-sponsored the draft resolution. They are Belize, Cameroon, Chile, Dominica, Haiti and Mauritius. The main purpose of the draft resolution is to spell out the key elements for a comprehensive political settlement of the Kampuchean problem. As these elements are in conformity with the principles of the United Nations Charter, we urge Viet Nam to support such a comprehensive political settlement.

We have always maintained that Viet Nam, as one of the countries of South-East Asia, has a legitimate interest in Kampuchea. Viet Nam has the right to expect that Kampuchea, which is its neighbour, should respect its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. Viet Nam has the right to expect that Kampuchea should pursue a policy of peace and good-neighbourliness towards it. Viet Nam has the right also to demand that no outside Power should use Kampuchea as a base for subversion and aggression against Viet Nam. On all these points we would agree with our Vietnamese colleagues. By the same token, however, we should point out that Kampuchea also has the right to demand and expect that Viet Nam should also observe the same principles and norms. This is the premise upon which our draft resolution is based.

In his report to the General Assembly on this question, the Secretary-General has reiterated that a political settlement

"will have to be consistent with the basic purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations". (A/41/707, para. 20)

(Mr. Yeo, Singapore)

He added:

"I am convinced that it can only be reached through a process of genuine negotiations without pre-conditions." (Ibid, para. 20)

We urge Viet Nam to heed the appeal of the Secretary-General and enter into genuine negotiations with the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea without pre-conditions.

By voting for the draft resolution before us, the Members of the United Nations will be encouraging Viet Nam to join the search for peace, which we hope will lead to an early and comprehensive political settlement of the Kampuchean problem.

Sir John THOMSON (United Kingdom): I speak first as the representative of the United Kingdom. In this capacity I should like to express my delegation's sense of shock and dismay at the terrible news we received this morning of the death of His Excellency President Samora Machel. Not only was he the architect of his country's independence, but he made a great contribution to the cause of peace in southern Africa, both during the Lancaster House Conference in London and by the signature of the Nkomati Accord. His loss is made all the more poignant by the fact that we were honoured to receive him twice in London, in 1983 and in 1985. Our support for Mozambique is manifested in a number of areas, including development assistance, emergency and food aid, and will continue. We extend our sympathy to all those bereaved as a result of this tragic accident.

I now have the honour to speak on behalf of the 12 States of the European Community.

The Cambodian problem has become distressingly familiar to this Assembly. For seven successive years, an overwhelming majority of the nations represented here have called upon Viet Nam to withdraw its forces from Cambodia, so that the

(Sir John Thomson, United Kingdom)

independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of that country can be restored and so that the Cambodian people can at last enjoy peace and freedom. Last year a record number of countries, 114 of them, including the then 10 members of the European Community, and also Spain and Portugal, joined in supporting this resolution on Cambodia. The Vietnamese occupation of Cambodia has, however, continued in violation of the United Nations Charter and the fundamental principles of international law.

(Sir John Thomson, United Kingdom)

The lot of the Cambodian people has not improved since the Assembly last met to discuss this problem. They remain subjected to illegal occupation by foreign troops and governed by a régime which has no claim to legitimacy. Viet Nam prides itself on its struggle to win independence and the right to determine its own destiny: it should now grant that right to the people of Cambodia. Instead Viet Nam continues to violate their fundamental rights and to endanger their culture and national identity.

The Twelve have no intention of contributing to the re-establishment of the Pol Pot régime in Cambodia. We share the collective abhorrence felt by the world community at the terrible abuses inflicted by Pol Pot and his Khmer Rouge. But this provides no justification for Viet Nam's illegal occupation of its smaller neighbour for nearly eight years or its imposition of an illegitimate régime. The Cambodian resistance continues to challenge the Vietnamese forces. The possibility of establishing a free and pluralist society in Cambodia still exists.

The aim must be to achieve a negotiated settlement of the Cambodian question, not one imposed by force of arms. For this reason, the Twelve have supported the efforts of the countries of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) and other parties to find such a solution. It is lamentable that Viet Nam has consistently rejected the peace proposals that have been put to it: this year, for example, Hanoi and the Government installed in Phnom Penh turned down out of hand the eight-point proposal put forward by Prince Sihanouk in March. The Twelve have called upon Viet Nam to reconsider this position and we do so again today. We continue to believe that the Declaration of the International Conference on Kampuchea offers the best basis for a settlement. But we have yet to see an indication of any serious will on the part of Hanoi to negotiate or to discuss the implementation of successive United Nations resolutions based on the principles laid down by that Conference.

(Sir John Thomson, United Kingdom)

Much has been made of Viet Nam's declared intention, announced last year, to withdraw all its forces from Cambodia by 1990. Some partial withdrawals have already taken place, but the overall strength of Viet Nam's occupation force has remained much the same. Resolutions endorsed by this Assembly have called upon Viet Nam to withdraw its forces immediately from Cambodia. This should remain our aim. Talk by Hanoi of a 1990 withdrawal date should in no way serve to legitimize a Vietnamese military presence in Cambodia until then. The Vietnamese Government has no right to put a timetable on the restoration of Cambodia's independent status. We support the efforts made by the Secretary-General, his representatives and the Ad Hoc Committee of the International Conference on Kampuchea to persuade Hanoi to agree to a settlement in accordance with resolutions adopted by the United Nations. Any settlement would, inter alia, need to include guarantees against Vietnamese forces re-entering Cambodia after their withdrawal.

Last year the Assembly met in the wake of the most ferocious Vietnamese military offensive in Cambodia since Hanoi's invasion of the country in 1978. Some quarter of a million Cambodian civilians had been forced to flee across the border into Thailand. The situation for those unfortunate people has not changed; they have not been able to return to their homes in Cambodia. Viet Nam has maintained its forces in the Thai border area, from where they have continued, in violation of international law, to make incursions and fire artillery into Thailand, causing casualties among the civilian population. The laying of mines on both sides of the border by Vietnamese troops has also caused unnecessary suffering. Thailand has drawn the Secretary-General's attention to these abuses. The Twelve urge Viet Nam to cease the attacks forthwith.

We should not overlook the severe refugee problem which is a distressing consequence of Viet Nam's policy towards its smaller neighbours. Of particular

(Sir John Thomson, United Kingdom)

concern is the plight of the Khmer border population who remain totally dependent on international relief. The Twelve applaud the humanitarian role played by the Government of Thailand in providing succour for those civilians who have been forced from their country by Vietnamese force of arms. We would also remind this Assembly of the admirable role played by representatives of the international and voluntary organizations, including many nationals of European Community member countries, in looking after this population. The European Community and its member States will continue to play their part, in supporting the programmes, co-ordinated by the United Nations Border Relief Operation, for the benefit of these unfortunate people.

But the root cause of the Cambodia refugee problem lies in Hanoi. This problem will persist for as long as Viet Nam remains in illegal occupation of Cambodia, and the sufferings of the refugees provide a forceful humanitarian argument for Viet Nam to comply with United Nations resolutions.

The Twelve will once again give their full support to the resolution submitted by the ASEAN countries, calling for a peaceful and just solution to the conflict in Cambodia, based on a total withdrawal of foreign forces and free and fair elections. We call on other Member States to join us in supporting this resolution and in pressing Viet Nam to take immediate action to end its illegal occupation of Cambodia, and to respect the sanctity of international frontiers and the territorial integrity of that troubled country.

The meeting rose at 1.20 p.m.