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GENERAL ASSEMBLY  
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Items 23, 72, 130 and 137 of the  
provisional agenda\*

THE SITUATION IN KAMPUCHEA  
REVIEW OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE  
DECLARATION ON THE STRENGTHENING  
OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY  
PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES  
BETWEEN STATES  
DEVELOPMENT AND STRENGTHENING OF  
GOOD-NEIGHBOURLINESS BETWEEN STATES

SECURITY COUNCIL  
Forty-third year

Letter dated 15 August 1988 from the Permanent Representative  
of Democratic Kampuchea to the United Nations addressed to  
the Secretary-General

I have the honour to transmit herewith, for your information, the texts of the statements by Mr. Khieu Samphan, Vice-President of Democratic Kampuchea in charge of Foreign Affairs, delivered in Bogor, Indonesia, during the Jakarta Informal Meeting on the afternoon of 25 July and on 28 July 1988 (annexes I and II), and his press statement on 28 July 1988 at the conclusion of the meeting (annex III).

I should be most grateful if you would have the text of this letter and its annexes circulated as an official document of the General Assembly, under items 23, 72, 130 and 137 of the provisional agenda, and of the Security Council.

(Signed) THIOUNN Prasith  
Permanent Representative

\* A/43/150.

ANNEX I

Statement given by the Vice-President of Democratic Kampuchea  
in charge of Foreign Affairs at the Jakarta Informal Meeting  
at Bogor on the afternoon of 25 July 1988

Mr. Chairman,  
Your Royal Highness,  
Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

First of all, I would like to join my voice to that of His Excellency Son Sann in saying how grateful we are to His Excellency President Soeharto and to the people and Government of Indonesia for their steadfast support to the cause of the people of Kampuchea for national liberation.

I would also like to take this opportunity to express my heartfelt thanks to you, Mr. Chairman, for your untiring efforts to organize this informal meeting. I would also like to tell you how much we appreciate the hospitality you have extended to us in this historical city of Bogor.

I would like to take the floor in order to add some comments to what His Excellency Mr. Son Sann has said regarding the basic elements for a peaceful settlement of the Kampuchean problem.

THE NEED TO CLARIFY THE NATURE OF THE PROBLEM OF KAMPUCHEA

First of all, I believe that this meeting here today bears witness again to the need to clarify the nature of the problem of Kampuchea which is basically the problem of foreign aggression and occupation. Therefore, in order to find a solution to the Kampuchean problem, we cannot put aside this basic aspect of the problem. For if we were to do so, we would take the path towards confusion. We would get nowhere. Definitely we would not find a solution. Let me give you an example of what I mean about confusion.

Mr. Nguyen Co Thach has stated that there was confrontation between the two Kampuchean forces. But actually, the international bodies such as the United Nations have clearly stated that the problem prevailing in Kampuchea is that of occupation by foreign armed forces in our country.

Another example of confusion which would prevent us from tackling the problem of Kampuchea: if we do not realize what the real problem in Kampuchea is, we would not know whom to turn to and where to turn to in order to find a solution. Here is another example, one could be led to accuse the 117 United Nations Member States, that is to say the overwhelming majority of member countries, who have called year after year, since 1979, for the total withdrawal of foreign troops from Kampuchea. And I repeat, this would be tantamount to accusing these countries of seeking to interfere in the internal affairs of Kampuchea. Whereas, in actual fact, the principal responsible of the Kampuchean problem will try to sneak away. That is

why it is absolutely essential for us to see what the real nature of the Kampuchean problem is.

That is the first point I wish to add, and now I come to the second point.

**VIET NAM'S ABUSE OF WORDS IN ORDER TO PERPETUATE  
ITS OCCUPATION OF KAMPUCHEA**

I would like to draw the attention of all participants present here today to the terms used such as "an independent and non-aligned Kampuchea". These words would be meaningless - even abused - if Kampuchea continued to be occupied by foreign forces.

The same goes for the terms such as "the right to self-determination of the Kampuchean people". The same is also valid for the term "national reconciliation". National reconciliation is the deepest aspiration of the Kampuchean people. It is our aspiration but such an aspiration could never be realized as long as we have foreign forces in our country. It can only be materialized within a sovereign and independent Kampuchea. Otherwise, this can only mean to ask the national resistance to lay down their arms.

The same could apply to the terms such as "stability, peace and co-operation among countries in the South-East Asian region". So I feel that it is important to draw your attention to the importance of clarifying the true meaning of these words.

I would like to conclude by saying that in order to achieve the goal of a neutral, non-aligned, independent and sovereign Kampuchea so as to enable the people of Kampuchea to decide their own destiny and exercise their right to self-determination, in order to achieve a true national reconciliation among all Kampucheans without any exclusion of whoever and in order to contribute to peace, security and true co-operation at every level among countries in our region, in order to do all of this I would like to ask the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam which has occupied my country, Kampuchea, for nearly 10 years now, whether the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam is ready to totally withdraw its troops from Kampuchea within a well-defined timetable, under international supervision, in the framework of a very precise agreement and not on the basis of an unilateral declaration which nobody can believe for there has been no international supervision.

Needless to say, Mr. Chairman, for us who have been fighting on the battlefield, we know that there has been no withdrawal of foreign troops so far.

These are some elements I wish to bring to your attention because I think they are vital to us. I thank you for your attention.

ANNEX II

Statement given by the Vice-President of Democratic Kampuchea  
in charge of Foreign Affairs at the Jakarta Informal Meeting  
at Bogor on 28 July 1988

"BEHIND THE 'TWO KEY ISSUES' LINKAGE"

Mr. Chairman,  
Your Royal Highness,  
Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

With your permission, I should like to state, in this meeting, the views of my delegation on paragraph 6 of the Statement you have just made in this meeting in Bogor on the situation in Kampuchea.

But first, I should like once more to pay a heartfelt tribute to you Mr. Chairman for the untiring efforts you have personally made for the good proceedings of this meeting.

With regard to the wording of paragraph 6 of the document (Statement of the Chairman), I very much regret that it has been maintained in the present form since it could do great harm to the cause of national liberation of the people of Kampuchea.

First of all, this paragraph speaks of "two key issues" which are interlinked. Our delegation cannot accept this linkage between the two issues because it is a knowledge of the international community that the problem of Kampuchea stems from the aggression against Kampuchea by the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam (SRVN). That is the only true situation that has been prevailing in Kampuchea since the Vietnamese aggression and invasion in December 1978. Consequently, by international law and the United Nations Charter, nothing can justify this aggression. To link, as your Statement does, this basic question to that of the past internal policy of Kampuchea would be tantamount to condoning the violation of the sacred principles of international law and the Charter of the United Nations, and to opening the way for other violation of these principles by other powerful countries against their weaker neighbours, and to enabling them to pass judgement on the internal affairs of these countries. It would be a dangerous precedent for the international community, and also a source of constant tension and serious conflicts in the relations among States.

In this respect, I would like to bring the attention of the meeting to the fact that, the day before yesterday and yesterday, during his press conferences, Mr. Nguyen Co Thach knowingly misled the international community by claiming that there was already an agreement of the meeting to link the so-called "two key issues". One may wonder why he has rushed to make such statements to the press. That is because Viet Nam wants to exploit the linkage of the two questions in order to perpetuate its occupation of Kampuchea. We denounce this perfidious manoeuvre.

Today, everyone knows that the Democratic Kampuchea party is one of major patriotic forces fighting for the past 10 years, in unity with the other two patriotic forces of the CGDK, against the Vietnamese occupation forces on the battlefield in Kampuchea, and that the Vietnamese aggressors have been striving by every means to eliminate them in order to realize their ambition of "Indochina Federation" under the Vietnamese domination. Everyone knows also that that patriotic forces constitute the main obstacle to the Vietnamese expansionism in the region. Consequently, it is regrettable that these patriotic forces, that is the Democratic Kampuchea party, have been put on the same footing as the Vietnamese aggression forces in Kampuchea.

I am convinced that the future will shed light, if need be, of the truth in this matter, that is the Democratic Kampuchea party is imbued with a lofty patriotism and puts the high interests of the people and nation, the national survival, above any political and ideological considerations. In this connection, I wish to state once again here that the Democratic Kampuchea party solemnly pledges, as we have done so, before our people and the international community:

1. Not to go back, in any case, to the 1975-1978 policy;
2. To unite with all the Kampuchean patriotic forces to carry out the struggle for national liberation, and after the withdrawal of the Vietnamese troops, to even form with the Phnom Penh régime a provisional quadripartite government under the leadership of His Royal Highness Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, in the spirit of national reconciliation among all Kampucheans without consideration of their political and ideological past, in order to build a new independent, united, peaceful, neutral and non-aligned Kampuchea, within the framework of a liberal democracy and without the presence of any foreign military bases on her soil.

That is the strategic policy of the Democratic Kampuchea party, a policy dictated by the survival of our people and nation in the face of the expansionist policy of the Vietnamese "Indochina Federation". Because, if one day the Vietnamese forces are compelled to totally withdraw from Kampuchea, the Vietnamese danger of swallowing up and annexing Kampuchea into the "Indochina Federation" will remain present at our door-step. As Kampuchea is placed in such a geo-political context, our people must remain united and vigilant. To defend their independence and to ensure their national survival, our people and country, now and in the future, still need the strong and warm support of the international community and in particular that of the ASEAN countries.

As it has been renewed in the tripartite Declaration of 25 June 1988, we are always ready to co-operate with the ASEAN countries and the international community in seeking an effective guarantee for the loyal implementation of an eventual agreement on a comprehensive settlement of the problem of Kampuchea, in particular on measures to be taken so as to prevent any party from eliminating the others and seizing power for itself alone.

In conclusion, I would like to take this opportunity to renew our most profound gratitude to all peace- and justice-loving countries, in particular ASEAN, for their noble and strong support accorded to the just struggle of our people and our CGDK for national liberation and survival.

ANNEX III

Press statement delivered on 28 July 1988 by the Vice-President  
of Democratic Kampuchea in charge of Foreign Affairs

Taking profit of the Jakarta Informal Meeting, Vietnamese Foreign Minister Nguyen Co Thach has made several press conferences aimed at deceiving the international community. The delegation of the Democratic Kampuchea party feels obliged to make a clarification, for the world public opinion, on two following points:

1. In his 26 and 27 July press conferences, Nguyen Co Thach said that the Jakarta Informal Meeting has agreed that there were two key issues of the problem of Kampuchea: one is the withdrawal of the Vietnamese forces and the other one is the prevention of the Democratic Kampuchea party from coming back to power. He also said that the meeting has not yet agreed on any means for the prevention.

According to such a linkage logic, Viet Nam has now the right to keep its forces of invasion and occupation in Kampuchea as long as means are not yet found to prevent the Democratic Kampuchea party from coming back to power. Indeed, Viet Nam will try hard to impose its own conditions.

Actually, the overwhelming majority of the world community and the United Nations have been very clear that the problem of Kampuchea has been the result of the Vietnamese invasion and occupation. They have also rejected all the pretexts advanced by Viet Nam to justify its occupation of Kampuchea. Viet Nam must unconditionally and totally withdraw its forces from Kampuchea.

We wish to inform the world community that at the Jakarta Informal Meeting, the three parties of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea have unanimously asked Nguyen Co Thach "whether the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam agrees to withdraw all its forces from Kampuchea, within a definite timetable, under international supervision in the framework of an agreement on a comprehensive political settlement of the problem of Kampuchea". Nguyen Co Thach has rejected this question.

In our tripartite statement of 25 June 1988, we have reiterated that we are always ready to co-operate with the ASEAN countries and the international community in the search of an efficient guarantee of the fair and loyal implementation of an eventual agreement on a comprehensive solution to the problem of Kampuchea, particularly on the means to prevent one party from eliminating another one and seizing the power for itself alone.

2. Nguyen Co Thach has also claimed that the four Kampuchean parties have reached an agreement on a wide range of issues. By making such a shameless lie, Nguyen Co Thach has testified that Viet Nam continues to carry out perfidious manoeuvres in order to occupy Kampuchea forever through its puppet régime installed in Phnom Penh in accordance with its Indochina Federation strategy.