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 THE SITUATION IN KAMPUCHEA

 SECURITY COUNCIL
 Forty-fourth year

Letter dated 2 August 1989 from the Chargé d'affaires a.i.
 of the Permanent Mission of Democratic Kampuchea to the
 United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General

I have the honour to transmit herewith, for your information, the address delivered by His Royal Highness Samdech Norodom Sihanouk of Cambodia in Paris on 30 July 1989 at the International Conference on Cambodia.

I should be grateful if you would have this letter and its annex circulated as an official document of the General Assembly, under item 31 of the provisional agenda, and of the Security Council.

(Signed) IENG Kounsaky
 Chargé d'affaires a.i.

* A/44/150.

ANNEX

Speech made on 30 July 1989 by the Leader of the Cambodian
National Resistance and President of Democratic Kampuchea
to the Paris International Conference on Cambodia

This 30th of July 1989 is, for the Cambodian people who has suffered for so many years, an historical day, because it marks without doubt the beginning of the genuine peace and freedom process for itself and the return of Cambodia to full and complete independence, in its territorial integrity.

On behalf of all Cambodian patriots, men and women, I express my deepest, moved, respectful and eternal gratitude to France, her Head of State (H.E. President François Mitterrand), to her government (in particular to yourself, Mr. Minister of State Roland Dumas) and to her great people (the French people) for the kind affection you have always granted to our country (Cambodia), for the sincere compassion which you have shown towards our, for almost twenty years already, so unfortunate and unhappy people, for the very generous hospitality, the protection, assistance and multiform support which so many of my compatriots have benefitted here in France, and for this very important International Conference of Paris on Cambodia whose outcome, certainly positive, will give an historical and decisive contribution to the settlement of the tragic "problem" so-called "of Kampuchea" and, consequently, to the salvation of Cambodia and the Cambodian people and to their return, yesterday until unlikely, to freedom, independence in peace, national unity and territorial integrity.

May I also be allowed to equally pay a sincere homage and to express the eternal gratitude of all Cambodian patriots to the 122 States, members of the United Nations which have voted, at the General Assembly of the latter, in favour of the just Resolutions on Kampuchea, to H.E. Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, Secretary General of the United Nations; to ASEAN and to all the other countries, States, Governments and Peoples devoted to justice, peace and freedom, without whose active support and multiform assistance my unlucky country and very unfortunate people would loose any chance of safeguarding their national identity and of recovering, one day, their sovereignty.

Mr. Chairman,
Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is not my intention to engage, during this speech, in polemics with anybody.

But it is my duty to respectfully present to this august assembly, certain realities concerning the "problem" so-called "of Kampuchea", realities whose failure to appreciate would risk inducing certain delegations to formulate proposals of a "partial" or "global" settlement which would be inapplicable on Cambodian soil.

These realities are as follows:

Firstly: what is known as the "problem of Kampuchea" comprises, in reality, only one aspect, that of the aggression (since 1978), military occupation, colonization, the Vietnamisation of Cambodia, full member of the United Nations since 1955, by the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

Contrary to what has been said or written by certain governments, personalities, journalists, etc... around the world, there has not been and there is no "civil war" in Cambodia.

The war in Cambodia only exists and will be pursued between Vietnam, the aggressor and Cambodia, the aggressed party.

To pretend that, in Cambodia, there is, currently a "civil war" it is like suggesting that the war undertaken by the armed forces of "Free France, during the second World War, was not against Hitlerian Germany but against the French "collabos" who operated, in Paris and elsewhere in occupied France, under the permanent supervision and, in several instances, on the orders of the army, police and government of Nazi-Hitlerian Germany.

The Cambodian National Resistance (CNR) has not fought and is not fighting against Cambodian enemies. She limits her role to the struggle against the Foreigner who, since 1978, does not cease to militarily occupy and colonize our country, Cambodia.

Consequently, what is wrongly called the "problem of Kampuchea", is, in reality a problem between the S.R. of Vietnam and Democratic Kampuchea.

Secondly: what is currently called, the "withdrawal of all Vietnamese troops by the 26th September 1989" will not, most certainly, amount, on that date, to the genuine withdrawal of all armed Vietnamese from the Cambodian territory, because after the 26th September 1989, there will remain in Cambodia a great

number of Vietnamese disguised as Cambodian officers, sub-officers, soldiers and militiamen, and that, without mentioning 1 million of Vietnamese settlers who have come from Vietnam to illegally establish themselves in Cambodia between 1978 and 1989 and whose peaceful repatriation will have to take place, in a not distant future, under the auspices of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and of the International Committee of the Red Cross.

After the 26th September 1989, the Cambodian National Resistance will be forced to continue her national liberation struggle and that, as long as Vietnamese colonialism under its different aspects will not accept to leave Cambodia.

The CNR does not like war and even less bellicosity, but she could not accept for her motherland a "Pax Vietnamica".

The CNR sincerely desires to establish friendly relations with the S.R. of Vietnam. She has no hatred for the latter. She only requests Vietnam to give back to Cambodia her full and complete independence and her territorial integrity which the S.R. of Vietnam has unjustly confiscated since 1978-1979.

If the S.R. of Vietnam gives back to Cambodia her full and complete independence and her territorial integrity in her land and sea boundaries legally and internationally recognized until the 17th March 1970, my government and myself engage ourselves not to demand the payment of war damages from the SRV, and that, despite the incalculable damages suffered by and which continue to suffer Cambodia and the Cambodian people under the occupation of communist Vietnam.

Thirdly: according to the SRV and a number of certain governments (including those who sympathize with the "non-communist" Resistance), the "Pol Pot-Khmer Rouge danger" and the "prevention of their return to power" constitute one of the "fundamental" aspects of the "problem" so-called "of Kampuchea".

Allow me to recall that the Polpotian Khmers Rouges tortured and assassinated in the years 1975 to 1978, 5 of my children, 14 of my grandchildren and an incalculable number of Royalist-Sihanoukist Khmers.

I have no intention of presenting myself in front of you as an advocate of the Khmer Rouge cause.

But if this Paris International conference on Cambodia decides to include in the process of settlement of the "problem" so-called "of Kampuchea" the question of past and current violations of human rights by the Khmers Rouges, it would be necessary, in all fairness, that this Conference also examines the question of violations of human rights by the Vietnamese army in Cambodia and Mr. Hun Sen's regime, which Amnesty International, London, has detailed, with photographs and sketches in her "Annual Reports". These violations of human rights have affected innocent Cambodians of both sexes.

The CNR and myself, because of our desire for conciliation, do not ask you to condemn the Vietnamese Army and Mr. Hun Sen's regime for their very serious violations of human rights committed against so many of our innocent compatriots (without mentioning a great number of Cambodian freedom fighters arrested, imprisoned, tortured and executed without any form of due process).

The question of violations of human rights to the detriment of the Cambodian people is extremely important. It would be necessary to adopt appropriate, realistic and efficient measures designed to stop these inadmissible violations.

But I must draw your high attention to the necessity of not losing sight, in our common work, of the essential objective of these proceedings: the departure of Vietnamese colonialism in all its forms from Cambodia.

As far as the Khmers Rouges are concerned, they have themselves formulated, in writing and formally, very specific measures to be taken by the United Nations, the UN Security Council and, more particularly, by this Paris International Conference, absolutely preventing them from trying, if they ever so desire, to retake power alone in Cambodia. Among these measures, I mention:

a) Through the good offices of an International Mechanism Control (IMC) and an International Peace Keeping Force (IPKF), total disarmament (or at least a reduction of effectives to 10.000 by each) of the four armed Cambodian factions, dismantling of the sanctuaries and arm caches of the Khmer Rouges and other Cambodian factions;

b) Stationing in Cambodia (for a period of at least 5 years minimum) of the IMC and the IPKF to supervise, night and day, and everywhere, the Khmer Rouges (and others) in order to prevent them from threatening the security and freedom of our people, the peace of our country and the existence, on an equal footing, of all Cambodian factions and parties.

c) Definitive exclusion of Pol Pot, Nuon Chea, Ta Mok... from the political, governmental, administrative and military spheres of control or influence in the new Cambodia which will be born from a "global" settlement of the "problem of Kampuchea".

Renunciation of communism and acceptance, for Cambodia, of a liberal democracy and political pluralism similar to the Fifth French Republic.

The PDK (Khmer Rouges) engages formally, in front of the whole world, to respect completely and always the outcome of the forthcoming free general elections under international supervision.

Mr. Chairman,
Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

Allow me, before concluding this speech to reiterate certain precise details on the well-known position of the CNR as far as an equitable solution to be given to the "problem" so-called of "Kampuchea" is concerned, on the one hand, and to the best way by which the Paris International Conference on Cambodia should, in a spirit of fairness and efficiency, undertake its proceedings and make decisions, on the other.

As far as the conception of the CNR of an equitable settlement to be given to the "problem" so-called "of Kampuchea" is concerned, it is necessary, in my humble opinion, to take into consideration the following facts and to draw the appropriate inferences:

Primo: the regime of Messrs. Heng Samrin and Hun Sen was born from neither the will nor the serious suffrage of the Cambodian people. It was created, in January 1979, and has been imposed since then, by the might of guns, to Cambodia and the Cambodian nation by the S.R. of Vietnam.

The CNR whose Leader I am and Democratic Kampuchea, full member of the United Nations since her complete victory on the "Khmer Republic" of Lon Nol, on 17th April 1975, shall not efface in front of the illegal and pro-Vietnamese regime of Messrs. Heng Samrin and Hun Sen to rally, in one form or another, to this regime, whose constitution, despite certain amendments, remains unacceptable because of its illegality.

The CNR and Democratic Kampuchea do not have any hatred against Mr. Hun Sen and his group, because they are our blood brothers.

We have proposed to them to unite with us in a quadripartite government of national union, our four parties having, within this government, the same rights and duties and assuming all state, governmental, administrative and military responsibilities.

We even accept to dismantle our Democratic Kampuchea, full member of the United Nations, on condition that the illegal "State of Cambodia" otherwise known as the "People's Republic of Kampuchea" be simultaneously dismantled. Together our 4 parties, within the government of National Union of Cambodia (GNUC) could organize general elections under the control of the ICM, allowing the Cambodian people, the true and only master of our country, to exercise freely its right to self-determination and its right to endow to Cambodia a suitable regime.

Mr. Hun Sen and his party reject our reasonable proposals.

For our part, we must bring to the attention of this august assembly that we could not ever accept the counter-proposals of Mr. Hun Sen, because to accept them would amount to insulting the sovereign Cambodian people as a whole while recognizing the "legitimacy" of the Vietnamese communist "fait accompli" in Cambodia.

Secondo, the CNR whose tripartite delegation is here present will never accept a "partial" settlement of the "problem" which will permit the S.R. of Vietnam to unjustly escape its heavy and very serious responsibilities towards Cambodia, its victim, and to shape a "new Cambodia" which would remain in fact a Vietnamese protectorate and a land to be populated by Vietnamese as it happened already to Lower Cambodia (Kampuchea Krom), which since the middle of the second half of the 19th century, has become South Vietnam.

Thus, the S.R. of Vietnam, after the 26th September 1989, will continue to assume all responsibilities for the continuation of the war and other difficulties in Cambodia.

Only a "global" settlement, making disappear fully and irreversibly from Cambodia all traces of Vietnamese colonialism, will be accepted by my government and the CNR.

Tertio, the CNR will always ask for Cambodia the sending of the IPKF and the ICM. In effect, without an ICM-UNO assisted by an IPKF-UNO, there will be in Cambodia neither independence, peace, stability nor the possibility of national reconstruction and freedom for our people whose sufferings do not have, alas, an end.

Quarto, certain countries whose delegates are present in this august assembly are probably going to ask that the seat of Cambodia at the United Nations be declared vacant as from the next session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, pretending that such an arrangement would facilitate the settlement of the problem "so-called" of "Kampuchea".

My government (CGDK) proposes that the seat of Cambodia at the U.N. be allocated by the U.N. to the government of National Union of Cambodia (GNUC), government in which should participate the 4 Cambodian parties (FUNCINPEC of Sihanouk, PDK of Mr. Khieu Samphan, the KPRLF of Mr. Son Sann and the PRPK of Mr. Hun Sen), as from the formation of the GNUC.

The "vacant seat" formula at the United Nations, as far as Cambodia is concerned, instead of facilitating the settlement of the "problem" so-called "of Kampuchea", wouldn't but worsen the situation in Cambodia and would make it explosive, because such a formula would exacerbate in my country the bloody antagonisms

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between the Resistance and the "Collabos", would intensify the Khmer-Vietnamese war, would amount to legitimize the Vietnamese "fait accompli" in Cambodia and would allow the multiform process of Vietnamization of Cambodia to continue without any break.

Quinto, certainly everybody, in this august assembly, is in agreement for Cambodia to be "neutral" and "non-aligned".

Being the "Father" of Cambodian Independence and neutrality and one of the co-founders of the Movement of Non-aligned countries, I must draw the high attention of all the personalities and delegations here present to the fact that "neutrality" for Cambodia would make no sense as long as Cambodia will not have recovered, in advance, her complete independence and her territorial integrity in her land and sea boundaries of before the 18th March 1970 (date of Lon Nol's Putsch).

As far as the "non-alignment" is concerned, it is evident that Cambodia could not be "non-aligned" in the same way that the false "non-aligned" such as the SRV and other in theory "non-aligned" countries, but in fact very "aligned".

Mr. Chairman,
Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I am convinced that this International Conference will undertake its proceedings and make its decisions in a spirit of fairness towards resistant Cambodia and with the aim of efficiency as far as the process of peace in my martyr-country is concerned.

In this regard, please allow the CNR to request the consideration that only the rule of "unanimity" (and not that of "concensus") will be the proper one, as far as your decisions and resolutions regarding the "problem" so-called "of Kampuchea" and engaging the future of my country and its people are concerned.

Besides, it would be convenient to base our deliberations and decisions on the fair United Nations Resolutions on Cambodia, resolutions voted last year by an overwhelming majority of members of this world organization (122 votes against 19).

It would be convenient, finally to allow Austria and Senegal to play an important role because the Assembly of the Peoples of the World, which is the United Nations has very clearly assigned to those noble countries the task of taking care of the ICK (International Conference on Kampuchea).

Mr. Chairman,
Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

It remains for me to express my sincere thanks to all the participants of this great Conference for their noble acceptance to assist in the settlement of the "problem", something which shows their friendship towards the Cambodian nation and their attachment to our common ideals of peace, freedom and justice.

Thanks to H.E. François Mitterrand, President of the French Republic, and thanks to you all, I am convinced that our Conference will achieve a notable success in the sense that great progress will not fail to be made in the way towards the total rehabilitation of Cambodia and her people and towards peace and stability in this important region of the world that is South East Asia.
