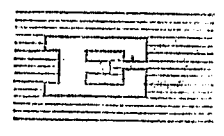


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Item 9 of the provisional agenda

THE RIGHT OF PEOPLES TO SELF-DETERMINATION AND ITS  
APPLICATION TO PEOPLES UNDER COLONIAL OR ALIEN  
DOMINATION OR FOREIGN OCCUPATION

Letter dated 16 November 1984, addressed to the Assistant Secretary-General  
for Human Rights, by the Permanent Representative of Democratic Kampuchea  
to the United Nations Office at Geneva

I have the honour to transmit herewith:

(a) The text (in French and English) of the address by H.R.H. Prince Norodom Sihanouk, President of Democratic Kampuchea, at the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, on 25 September 1984, in the course of the general debate; and

(b) The text (in French and English) of his statement on 29 October 1984 on agenda item 20, entitled "The situation in Kampuchea".

I should be grateful if you would arrange for distribution at the forty-first session of the Commission on Human Rights, under the item entitled "The right of peoples to self-determination and its application to peoples under colonial or alien domination or foreign occupation", of the following passages:

- (1) In the case of the first text, the passage from the bottom of page 2 to the end of the penultimate paragraph on page 5, concluding with the words "...reduced to bondage by the Hanoi Government";
- (2) In the case of the second text, the passage from the beginning of the statement to the end of the first paragraph on page 5.

(Signed) NGO HAC TEAM  
Ambassador  
Permanent Representative

Annex

A. EXTRACT FROM THE ADDRESS BY H.R.H. PRINCE NORODOM SIHANOUK,  
PRESIDENT OF DEMOCRATIC KAMPUCHEA, AT THE THIRTY-NINTH SESSION  
OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE UNITED NATIONS, ON  
25 SEPTEMBER 1984

...

Mr. President,  
Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

This year, our struggle for liberation is marked by new successes in the battlefield. Since the beginning of the last dry season, our armed forces have stepped up their activities and intensified their attacks in the middle of the country, particularly in the provinces around Tonle Sap (the Great Lake), a region of primary strategic and economic importance. It forms a junction of railways, roads and waterways, allowing the enemy to supply their units stationed in the north-west and in the west, near the border with Thailand. Our resistance forces there have engaged in fierce fighting, harassing the enemy and destroying many war material and supply depots, as far as the heart of the provincial chief-towns of Battambang, Siemreap, Kompong Thom and Pursat.

As a result of our constant attacks on the railway lines and roads, as far as the Great Lake of Tonle Sap, more than two thirds of the enemy supply convoys have been disorganized or destroyed. A large part of the "rice granary" of Battambang province has eluded Vietnamese control, posing serious problems of supply for the occupying forces and reducing to almost nothing the rice levy they endeavour to collect in order to send rice to Viet Nam herself, whose economic difficulties well-known to everyone, are very acute.

\* \* \*

Viet Nam thought it had found a palliative to its setbacks in large-scale settlement of Vietnamese "peasant soldiers" on the best lands in Kampuchea. Foreign observers who have visited so-called "People's Kampuchea" "led" by the puppet team of Heng Samrin, which is under tighter and tighter control from Hanoi's cadres, have reported that the process of pure and simple colonization of Cambodia has reached very alarming proportions.

It has been reported by reliable witnesses that almost half of the inhabitants of our capital city are now Vietnamese and that, in some regions under Vietnamese control, the occupiers have set up purely Vietnamese zones in which most of the "settlers" are armed and participate in the repression against the resistance activities of the Khmer patriots.

\* \* \*

This policy, favoured by some hundreds of Heng Samrin's followers, who have become mere "collaborators" with the enemy, imposes compulsory teaching of the Vietnamese language in schools, use of the Vietnamese language at all levels of the puppet administration, and favours mixed marriages. Besides, the age-old traditions of Kampuchea have been outrageously distorted by the new masters, so that school-children learn to feel they are members of "Greater Vietnam", that is, of the "Indochinese Federation" concocted by Ho Chi Minh ...

The famous French naturalist and ethnologist Marie-Alexandrine Martin, researcher at the French National Scientific Research Centre (CNRS), author of several authoritative books on Cambodia, wrote in the "Revue Internationale" of the summer of 1984 a study of great value on "the process of Vietnamization of Cambodia", which anyone interested in the problems of our country should read.

She pointed out in particular that, in 1982, "the maritime borders were shifted to the detriment of Cambodia" and that, in July 1983, a "treaty on the solution to the border problems between the two countries" was signed between the Hanoi leaders and their puppets in Phnom Penh.

She recalled that another text recognizes the existing borders, but envisages a "new delimitation of the land borders": rectifications of the border have already been made, especially in Svay Rieng (the Parrot's Beak).

Actually, according to witnesses, and thanks to the prevailing influence of their representatives in Kampuchea, the Vietnamese cross over freely to Kampuchea and settle there ...

Backed by their own findings and a number of reliable sources of evidence among Khmer refugees, foreign observers estimate the present number of Vietnamese settlers in Cambodia at 500,000 or 600,000. At a meeting in Phnom Penh, attended by high-level administrative cadres, chiefs of districts and provincial communes were informed of a decree (prakas) specifying that the Khmers must "share their lands with the Vietnamese civilians, help them to settle down and build their houses"; otherwise they would be put in gaol for anti-Vietnamese activities. Therefore, many incidents have occurred and many Khmer civilians have fled into the maquis or to Thailand.

Ms. Martin stated that some Vietnamese civilians, especially those who speak Khmer as a result of their previous stay in Cambodia, "have already taken Cambodian nationality and pass themselves off as Khmers (...). They have of course the right to vote".

She added that the Phnom Penh leaders, "as reported by many runaway officials, do not have even a semblance of power. They come up against the inertia of their compatriots, who refuse to co-operate with the occupiers and are more and more sympathetic to the members of the resistance". In the administration, "the number of Vietnamese advisers has doubled".

Ms. Martin concluded: "The people of Kampuchea, who have undergone all kinds of humiliation and repression, are admirable in their dignity in the test of strength which is now going on".

\* \* \*

The Bangkok-based correspondent of the Washington Post, confirming this information in a dispatch to the Japan Times a few months ago, stressed the growing resentment of the Khmers inside the country towards the Vietnamese occupiers. The Vietnamese have aroused the aversion of the population because of the indiscipline of their troops and the evermore massive and heavy settlement of Vietnamese nationals in Kampuchea's provinces. Last year, reported the journalist, 15,000 Khmers fled to Thailand as a result of a "purge" by the occupiers of Heng Samrin's provincial administrative and military forces.

The correspondent of the Washington Post stated that, while the Vietnamese and the puppets in their service say that only 56,000 Vietnamese have settled in Kampuchea since 1979, western diplomats gave a number of 200,000 to 400,000, and the resistance movements a figure of 500,000 to 600,000.

On his part, Mr. Sek Yen, a leading figure in the Heng Samrin regime, former Deputy-Director of the Political and Propaganda School of the regime, fled to Thailand with 15 members of his family and was transferred to Bangkok.

Sek Yen revealed in a press conference that most of the Khmer senior officials married Vietnamese women, who met each other once a week and reported the activities of their husbands to the Vietnamese authorities in Phnom Penh. Children born of those marriages have been sent to study in Viet Nam.

With regard to the Vietnamese influence in Cambodia, Sek Yen said that, from the central administration down to the lowest levels, "all decisions were made by the Vietnamese". The home of every Kampuchean official - or of those who want to please the occupiers - should have a portrait of Ho Chi Minh hung in the best place".

He also pointed out that "the Cambodians in general are beginning to seek ways and means to support the (anti-Vietnamese) resistance forces".

The Khmers, concluded Sek Yen, "are more and more numerous in supporting the Coalition Government, for they want to eliminate the Vietnamese and liberate their country, a task they believe is possible".

\* \* \*

Mr. President,  
Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I have made a point of summarizing the remarks by Ms. Martin, who is an excellent authority on our problems, and whose independence of mind is beyond doubt, and those by Mr. Sek Yen, who was a leading figure in the pro-Vietnamese regime of Heng Samrin and fled his country in protest against the Vietnamese domination of Cambodia, reduced to bondage by the Hanoi Government.

...

B. EXTRACT FROM THE STATEMENT BY SAMDECH NORODOM SIHANOUK,  
PRESIDENT OF DEMOCRATIC KAMPUCHEA, HEAD OF THE DELEGATION  
OF DEMOCRATIC KAMPUCHEA TO THE THIRTY-NINTH SESSION OF  
THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE UNITED NATIONS, ON AGENDA  
ITEM 20, ENTITLED "THE SITUATION IN KAMPUCHEA", ON  
29 OCTOBER 1984

Mr. President,  
Mr. Secretary-General,  
Honourable Delegates,

On behalf of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, which I preside, our patriotic Resistance and the overwhelming majority of the people of Kampuchea, I would like to say how honoured I am to present before this General Assembly the thoughts prompted by the situation of my country, invaded, occupied and in the process of colonization by our ungrateful and powerful neighbour, the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam.

I say ungrateful, because a restored and reunified Viet Nam has chosen to forget the commitments she solemnly undertook prior to 1970 to myself and to the Khmer people, that is, respect for our independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, when, at great risk, I had helped her in many ways to carry on her fight for national liberation and reunification. May I also recall that, in 1969, when President Ho Chi Minh died, I was the only Head of State to go to Hanoi to attend the funeral of that revolutionary patriot?

Powerful, the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam certainly is. Ten times more populated than Kampuchea, with an army ten times larger and a hundred times better equipped than our Resistance forces, it seems at first sight that David, as we now are, is powerless before this Goliath. Yet ancient and present-day history have taught us never to lose hope when we defend a just cause...

Viet Nam now has an occupation army of 200,000 men in Kampuchea, one which she can reinforce when necessary and which is equipped with complete and up-to-date Soviet weaponry. Moreover, Viet Nam has installed a puppet administration which causes her considerable trouble, since a growing number of its cadres and soldiers, refusing any longer to be servants of the Vietnamese, have fled to join the liberated areas, where they are looked after by the Resistance. These defections, as well as those of young Vietnamese soldiers from South Viet Nam, have also been widely reported by the media.

The Heng Samrin team, which manages to keep going with Vietnamese bayonets, has no authority of its own, as has been noted by all independent observers. This team is controlled, at all levels, by an ever-increasing number of Vietnamese "advisers" who ultimately take all the decisions on its behalf, in every field.

Being aware that they cannot count on their Khmer puppets, the Vietnamese are practising, to a higher and higher degree, direct colonization of our depopulated country, by settling on rich lands groups of "farmer-soldiers" from Viet Nam, whose massive arrival the puppet authorities are quite unable - and quite unwilling - to oppose. Moreover, the Phnom Penh authorities have given instructions to Heng Samrin's urban and provincial "cadres" to summon the Khmer population to assist in every possible way in installing the Vietnamese "settlers", to "share" with them food and cattle, and to "give them a hand" in building their houses - under penalty of very severe punishment.

Is it any wonder then that tens of thousands of our peasants, deprived and threatened, have fled on many occasions to the liberated areas, or, when they cannot do so, give locally their precious help to the units of the Resistance?

Moreover, the people of Kampuchea have long since made up their minds about the sincerity and unselfishness of their so-called Vietnamese "ally". From the beginning of the occupation of our territory, and constantly ever since, a total of nearly one million of the men and women of our country, of all ages and from all social strata, have shown their deep-seated aversion for the occupiers by an exodus which has led some to the liberated areas and others to every part of the world, in particular to Thailand, the United States of America, France, Australia, New Zealand, the Philippines, Malaysia, Indonesia, the People's Republic of China, Japan, the Federal Republic of Germany, the United Kingdom, Belgium, Switzerland, the Netherlands, Canada, Italy, Austria, Senegal, Hong Kong, Macao, and so on.

Rejection of the Vietnamese "protectorate" is almost unanimous among the people of Kampuchea, while the puppet "administration" and its meagre armed units, the soldiers of which are often forcibly enlisted, are breaking up before our eyes.

Were it possible for you to put questions to our peasants in refuge in the liberated areas of Kampuchea, you would understand why they have insisted on asking us for the privilege of being provided with weapons in order to fight the Vietnamese occupiers.

They would tell you of the brutality they suffered from the masters of the day when they refused to comply with their orders, for instance, having to repair bridges, roads, railway lines damaged or destroyed by the Resistance forces, to supply agricultural products or cattle to the enemy, to cut wood for them, and so on.

Our refugees would tell you of the countless abuses by the occupiers and the Phnom Penh administration: the plunder by the puppet officials ... and by the Vietnamese of humanitarian aid given by international organizations, the Red Cross and some countries, the seizure of lands and villages, the shameless exploitation of the country's natural resources: especially rice, rubber, forests, fisheries, and the precious stones of Pailin; the looting of Angkor's antiquities, but also the lack of hospitals, infirmaries, schools - with the exception of Phnom Penh, the "shop window" of the pro-Vietnamese regime, intended to make foreign visitors believe that the situation in the rest of the country is excellent...

\* \* \*

The Socialist Republic of Viet Nam assures the international community that it would be judicious to entrust her with the task of "saving" unfortunate Kampuchea and "healing her wounds".

Obviously, Viet Nam assumes that her listeners are incredibly naive if she thinks that they are capable of believing for one instant in such childish reasoning.

I spoke a moment ago of the brutal and autocratic way, permeated with archaic colonialism, in which Viet Nam was acting towards the population of Kampuchea placed under her domination.

Yet I must point out that Viet Nam, who pretends to cure others of their ills, is not even able to provide decent treatment for her own citizens, those who live inside Viet Nam.

The Hanoi Government is not even able to relieve the miseries prevailing from North to South Viet Nam, to reduce inequalities, to respect the most elementary human rights in Viet Nam. Reference should be made to a recent report by Amnesty International which calls attention to the existence in that country of gulags, those concentration camps and prisons where all political opponents - and a large number of people wrongly accused by informers - rot and die.

And what about the hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese who, although attached to their homeland, flee on dilapidated boats and junks to more hospitable lands, and half of whom at least, if they are not lost at sea, die of hunger or thirst.

In Kampuchea itself, those who dare utter the slightest criticism against the occupiers or their Phnom Penh puppets are put in abominable prisons or disappear without trace.

And it is those people, masters and servants, who ask to be allowed to "heal the wounds" of our compatriots subjected to bondage!

\* \* \*

Furthermore, we are witnessing "great diplomatic manoeuvres" by Mr. Nguyen Co Thach, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Viet Nam, who goes from one capital to another in his attempt to convince countries, friends of Kampuchea, that Hanoi, in its desire for peace, is ready to make concessions so as to ease the situation, and would agree to a conference on Kampuchea if, for example, the Phnom Penh and Vientiane puppet regimes could participate in it.

These declarations by Vietnamese diplomatic circles have no aim other than to disorient international opinion by misleading it about the realities of the problem of Kampuchea.

May I be permitted to repeat that this problem will find a solution only when Viet Nam gives up her military occupation and colonization of Kampuchea, recognizes the latter's rights to hold free general elections under the supervision of the United Nations, enabling her to choose her regime or leaders.

But Mr. Nguyen Co Thach and his Government want nothing of the sort. They want to induce the States of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) and other powers concerned to give de facto recognition to the Vietnamese fait accompli in Kampuchea and the existence of the Heng Samrin puppet Government, although the latter is spurned by the whole of our people. Acceptance of this compliant solution would, to say the least, encourage new thrusts of Vietnamese ambition and thirst for expansion.

The manoeuvres by Mr. Nguyen Co Thach and his Government would not meet with a favourable reception among free peoples anxious to preserve their independence and sovereignty.

Furthermore, the Vietnamese and their Phnom Penh puppets try to make people believe that our Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea is a group of "rebels" against the so-called "legitimate Government" of Heng Samrin, composed of traitors at the service, and under the orders, of an occupying and annexationist foreign power. How can Khmer patriots ever be rebels against avowed servants of the enemy, assisted by foreign "advisers" at all levels?

Only the firm and repeated United Nations resolutions on Kampuchea offer a just and reasonable solution to the problem which is today under consideration by you. As a member of the United Nations, Viet Nam has the duty strictly to respect the Organization's resolutions, adopted with an overwhelming majority.

...