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SPEECH OF THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM
FOREIGN MINISTER R. NGUYEN CO THACH AT THE NON-ALIGNED
FOREIGN MINISTER CONFERENCE IN NEW DELHI

It is wellknown that during the past four years, all designs of restoring the genocidal Polpot regime and opposing the Kampuchean People's resurrection, as well as all attempts to demand for the presence of the genocidal Polpot clique in our movement, who have committed bloody crimes have failed. But why are some people still making so much fuss about this question at this conference? Obviously, they are acting so neither for the benefit of the Kampuchean people, nor for the supreme interests of the movement which are to ensure the success of the seventh summit in uniting the Non-Aligned countries in the struggle for peace, national independence and a new international economic order. Like the imperialists and reactionaries who are so worried about this conference, they want our conference to waste time and get bogged down in the controversial problems between some non-aligned countries which, as is well known, cannot be solved yet. They have utilized this forum in order to distort facts, calling black white. We deem it necessary to speak up the truth: as is wellknown, during the past 35 years, while launching aggression against Vietnam, the imperialists have slanderously accused the latter of being the aggressor and an instrument of China and the Soviet Union. Today, China is doing the same. While carrying out a hostile policy toward Vietnam, the authorities in Peking accused Vietnam of being an aggressor and an instrument of the Soviet Union. The ASEAN countries who in the past echoed the imperialist allegation, are now joining China to oppose Vietnam, but fact is fact.

THE FIRST QUESTION IS THAT WHO IS THE GENUINE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE KAMPUCHEAN PEOPLE.

In order to determine who the Kampuchean people's representative is, one must, first of all, mention the Kampuchean people's aspirations, the Polpot clique have murdered more than three million

Kampuchians, that is nearly half of the population, destroyed the whole social and family life of the Kampuchian people, and brought the latter to brink of extermination. And today, four years after the Polpot clique were overthrown, they are still being the nightmare of Kampuchian survivors.

After the overthrow of this clique, the Kampuchian people having been brought to life from death, faced terrible famine and had to overcome the heavy consequences left behind by the Polpot regime, hundreds of thousands of orphaned children wandered over devastated and death - stricken villages and cities, hundreds of thousands of women became widows and tens of thousands of families were destroyed. No nationality, no religion in Kampuchea could escape the scourge of genocide. The Cham Muslims were the ones who suffered most. The Polpot clique killed 500,000 Kampuchian Muslims. And in Kampuchea now there remain only 200,000 Muslims. Obviously, Kampuchea has started the resurrection from devastation and death, from scratch. At present, after four years of resurrection, family and social life has returned to normal in Kampuchea. The achievements made by the Kampuchian people over the past four years have gone far beyond everybody's expectation. It takes, however, many more generations to overcome the consequences of the Polpot clique's genocide, many of which would never be eradicated. The Kampuchian people have emerged from scratch. Almost all intellectuals, doctors, professors, engineers and monks, have been killed. The Polpot clique wanted to model Kampuchea on China's "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution". Four years is only a short period of time, but during this period the Kampuchian people have attained wonderful achievements. This is due to the strength and creativeness of those who have emerged from death and poverish life. The achievements of this resurrection have been made possible, first of all, thanks to the leadership of the government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, and also due to the international community's assistance.

In Kampuchea, any foreigner can ask any Kampuchian what his aspiration is. Whether it is the genocidal Polpot clique or the People's Republic of Kampuchea who is undertaking the resurrection for the Kampuchian people? Anyone at this hall, who has common sense, can know the answer.

We are sitting here, quite far away from Kampuchea, but we should not forget the cries of three million innocent people including children, women and old folks, who have been murdered and are demanding mankind to punish this genocidal clique unique in history. It is our duty to meet the aspirations of the Kampuchean survivors who have been brought to life from death, for the right to continue to live and to forever get rid of the day-and-night obsession about the genocidal Polpot spectre.

THE SECOND QUESTION IS ABOUT THE PRESENCE OF VIETNAMESE VOLUNTEER TROOPS IN KAMPUCHEA.

Those who are pressing for the genocidal Polpot clique's right to represent their victims, use the pretext of the presence of Vietnamese volunteer troops in Kampuchea to condemn Vietnam as "aggressors" and to cover up the Polpot clique's crimes.

At this forum, the Socialist Republic of Vietnam has, on many occasions, expounded the reasons for this presence. After the failing to compel Vietnam to depend on it, China, on the one hand, used the Polpot clique to unleash the war against Vietnam from its South West and, on the other hand, launched the war of aggression on Vietnam at its Northern border. From 1975 to 1978, Vietnam, on many occasions, embarked upon the path of negotiation, asked the United Nations and the Non-Aligned Movement to help find a peaceful solution with Polpot. For their part, the Polpot clique completely rejected it and were determined to intensify their aggressive war against Vietnam. In such a situation, Vietnam had the legitimate right for self-defence and at the same time had the duty to help the Kampuchean people to free themselves from the Polpot clique's genocide in response to the appeal of the National United Front for the Salvation of Kampuchea. This is not the first but rather the third time the Vietnamese volunteer troops come to Kampuchea. In the past, Vietnamese volunteer troops twice returned home as soon as the French colonial war and the American aggressive war ended. This time, the Vietnamese volunteer troops are gradually withdrawing every year and will completely withdraw after China puts an end to its threats against the security of Kampuchea, to its help to Polpot and its use of Thai territory against the Kampuchean people.

The previous two withdrawals and the present gradual one of Vietnamese volunteer troops show that the Socialist Republic of Vietnam has always respected the independence and sovereignty of Kampuchea, and this has been welcomed by world opinion.

Singapore complains that the Non-Aligned Movement has not condemned the so-called Vietnam's aggression while the United Nations has done it. History has made clear discrimination between aggression and occupation by foreign troops and the legitimate self-defence right and the right to assist another nation for self-defence. During the Second World War, the Soviet Union, the United States and Great Britain exercised their right for self-defence to overthrow the fascist Hitlerite and militarist Japanese regimes and helped the nations under their domination to establish independent states. Prime Minister Indira Gandhi has correctly put it in her analysis of the presence of foreign troops in Afghanistan that "it depends whether those troops are occupying the country or helping them to help themselves". In Kampuchea now who are helping the Kampuchean People's resurrection and who are attempting to re-impose the Polpot genocidal regime? Obviously, the wonderful achievements made by the Kampuchean people during the past four years cannot be separated from the presence of Vietnamese volunteer troops in Kampuchea. It is clear that at present the Kampuchean people are living under the threats of Polpot's genocide aided by foreign powers from Thai territory.

The Socialist Republic of Vietnam has clearly stated that the presence of the Vietnamese volunteer troops in Kampuchea is at the request of the People's Republic of Kampuchea and also at the latter's request all of them will be withdrawn from Kampuchea.

In Kampuchea any foreigner may ask any Kampuchean about the presence of the Vietnamese volunteer troops there. The Kampuchean people all want the presence of Vietnamese volunteer troops in Kampuchea to defend the most sacred right of human being, the right to live and struggle against the genocidal danger from the Polpot clique. The ASEAN countries have made outcries about the presence of Vietnamese volunteer troops in Kampuchea but some ASEAN countries have participated in and supported the American aggressive war against Vietnam and now are supporting the occupation by foreign troops in East Timor.

The Non-Aligned Movement has correctly acted in conformity with mankind's conscience and not followed the tracks of the United Nations. It is wellknown that the United Nations condemned China as aggressor when the Chinese volunteer troops came to help the Korean people, and supported the U.S. aggressors against Korea and considered the former as the protector of free world. From 1950 the United Nations recognised Taiwan and denied the existence of the People's Republic of China, that incorrect resolution could not during twenty years reverse the situation in China. At the end, the situation in China had reversed the resolution of the United Nations. During the sixties and seventies, while world opinion condemned the war of aggression against Vietnam, the United Nations was wellknown for acting as an accomplice of the United States by keeping silent. Moreover, the United States who was the aggressor has a seat in the United Nations while Vietnam, the victim of aggression, was during 35 years, kept out of the United Nations.

The Non-Aligned Movement consists of countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America which have been victims of the aggression and exploitation by colonialism, imperialism and other reactionary forces. The United Nations comprises all nations in the world, including the aggressors and the victims of aggression. To defend the interests of the peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America against aggression and exploitation has been one of the objectives of the Non-Aligned Movement. The resolutions of the Non-Aligned Movement reflect our interests.

In the 50's, the United Nations was under the sway of imperialism and since the 60's, it has undergone gradual changes, due to the struggle of the Non-Aligned countries, the socialist and other peace-and-justice-loving countries. The Non-Aligned Movement has the duty to struggle for the unceasing reduction of the U.S.'s and other imperialists' sway over the U.N. We should not do otherwise.

It is the wish of U.S. imperialism and international reactionaries to make the Non-Aligned Movement abide by the unjust resolutions of the United Nations.

THE THIRD QUESTION IS RELATED TO THE ALLEGATION OF THE ASEAN COUNTRIES WHO CONSIDERED KAMPUCHEA'S VACANT SEAT AS THE RESULT OF AN ARBITRARY ACT OF CUBA AS CHAIRMAN.

To criticise Cuba in terms of the question of Kampuchea's representation is part of a plan directed against Cuba and the resolutions of the Sixth Summit Conference held in Havana. It is recalled that even before the Sixth Summit was convened in Havana, the U.S. imperialists caused military tensions against Cuba and, together with other reactionaries, tried by all means to sabotage the convening of the conference. After the conference was successfully held, they left no stone unturned to undermine the role of Cuba as Chairman and the implementation of the correct resolutions of the conference. They made allegations that the Non-Aligned Movement under the Chairmanship of Cuba had gone into a crisis, had been divided and diverted from its original objectives. It is true that the Sixth Summit's resolutions run counter to the interests of the imperialists and reactionaries. That is why, they are making such a hue and cry. But the louder cry they made, the more telling blow they are given. As for those struggling for peace, national independence and a new international economic order, these resolutions are warmly welcomed.

During the past three years, the Non-Aligned Movement has gone through difficulties, complexities and crises which were caused by imperialism and reactionaries : the tense situation and the arms race in the world, the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, the U.S. threats of aggression and intervention against the countries in Central America and the Caribbean, the invasion of Malvinas, the aggression unleashed by South Africa against the front-line states, the deployment of the rapid deployment forces in the Persian Gulf region, the construction of military bases in the Indian Ocean region, the use of air-craft and warships to violate Lybia's territory, China's threat of aggression and intervention against the three Indochinese countries, the burden of economic crises unleashed by the imperialist powers upon the Non-Aligned countries.

Among the Non-Aligned countries, there are also differences . But these regretful things are of very minor, local and temporary character as compared with the threat of aggression and intervention by imperialism and reactionaries against the Non-Aligned. Imperialism and reactionaries fan up those differences with a view to dividing the Non-Aligned countries and diverting our struggle for common, larger interests. On the other hand, it is during the tenure of Cuba as Chairman of the Movement, a period of very tense situation, that the Non-Aligned countries' struggle for peace, national independence and new international economic order have gained unprecedented victories : the struggle of the Palestinian people under the P.L.O. leadership has shown that though facing very difficult conditions, the Palestinian people have fought against a much bigger Israeli force equipped with modern weapons, for a long period, and defeated Israel's scheme to liquidate Palestine's resistance. Twenty years after the victory of the Cuban revolution, the Latin American revolution has met with many difficulties but the revolutionary struggle of the Central American and the Caribbean countries have entered a new stage of strong development despite U.S. threats and intervention.

The Malvinas event has marked a turning point in the anti-U.S. struggle for defending the independence of the Latin American countries and further embarking upon the Non-Aligned path. The three Indochinese countries have defeated step by step the hostile policy of China acting in collusion with the U.S. against the independence of the three countries which have become stronger than ever before, the Indochinese countries capabilities of defending their independence and peace in Southeast Asia are bigger than ever before. The victories recorded in the struggles over the last three years by the Non-Aligned countries have vindicated the Sixth Summit resolutions and have been reflected faithfully in the resolutions of the Foreign Ministers Conference in New Delhi and the Conferences of the Co-ordinating Bureau held in New York, Kuwait, Nicaragua, etc.

Cuba, as Chairman, has excellently fulfilled its duty. It is our duty to defend Cuba, which is also to defend the resolutions of the Movement and our solidarity. All attempts to attack the chairman-

ship of Cuba are aimed at attacking the correct resolutions and the solidarity of our Movement. Leaving Kampuchea's seat vacant is the decision made by the Conference of Heads of State and Government of the Non-Aligned countries after careful consideration and with full sense of responsibility. Although this decision has not morally defended the victims of the genocide in Kampuchea, it is a right decision to protect the unity of the Non-Aligned Movement. All conferences of Foreign Ministers, of the Coordinating Bureau and other conferences relating to the Movement of Non-Aligned countries from 1979 up to now have chosen to settle the question of representation of Kampuchea in the spirit of the Havana decision. Realities in the last four years have once again proved that this is a right decision and up to now no consensus has been reached in our Movement on handing over Kampuchean seat to the People's Republic of Kampuchea. To slanderously accuse that decision of Cuba as an arbitrary act is lack of respect for our respected Heads of State and Government. I resolutely condemn this kind of imprudence.

As Foreign Ministers, we are determined to stay aloof from this unworthy action towards the leaders of our countries. On behalf of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, I would like to reaffirm once more that :

The People's Republic of Kampuchea is the sole legitimate and authentic representative of the Kampuchean people.

The Polpot clique as well as the Polpot cliques disguised as the so-called Coalition Government only have their place in prisons and at tribunals like Nuremberg.

Mr. Chairman,

We are facing problems of great significance for the destinies of the Non-Aligned countries as well as for the whole mankind, that is peace, national independence and economic development. The reactionaries and the international reactionary forces want to

divide and weaken us so as to easily impose their rule and exploitation. The question before us is to oppose all designs by the imperialists and reactionaries to divide us, put aside the differences so as together to strengthen the solidarity and endeavour for our common objectives namely peace, national independence and a new international economic order.

The strength of our Movement lies in the fact that its objectives are in conformity with the aspiration of thousands of millions of people in the world. Running counter to that aspiration, the existence of the Movement itself will also be threatened.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.
