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Agenda item 106:

Restoration of the lawful rights of the Royal Government
of National Union of Cambodia in the United Nations ...

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President: Mr. Leopoldo BENITES (Ecuador).

AGENDA ITEM 106

**Restoration of the lawful rights of the Royal Government
of National Union of Cambodia in the United Nations**

1. Mr. RAHAL (Algeria) (*interpretation from French*): The decision to begin a debate today on item 106 was adopted, I would remind the Assembly, by 69 votes to 24, with 29 abstentions [2155th meeting]. These figures are sufficiently eloquent in themselves, and of themselves they alone demonstrate that the Members of our Organization are perfectly aware of the exact tenor of the problem which we are about to discuss and of the true purpose of our debate. They therefore should enable me to refrain from referring to the manoeuvres aimed at distorting not only the true intentions of those who have introduced this item in the work of the Assembly, but also the entirely unambiguous character of the question itself to which we must provide a completely clear answer.

2. The atmosphere that some are endeavouring to create around this debate is in all respects similar to that which existed during our discussions two years ago on the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. In both cases we find, as a matter of fact, that it is the same ringleaders who, lacking imagination and sound arguments, are today engaged in a further demonstration of their baseness. It is indeed true that they have learnt nothing, but the Assembly has, for its part, not forgotten anything.

3. What therefore is at issue here? What is the specific significance of the debate that we are beginning today? I shall say at the outset—and I apologize for reaffirming as obvious a truth as this—that the issue does not involve the admission of a new Member to the United Nations. Cambodia has belonged to our Organization for 20 years; it is therefore not necessary to find it a seat among us. But the situation which has prevailed in that country since March 1970 and whose tendencies are becoming clearer each day entitles us to challenge the representative character of the delegation which claims to speak and to act on behalf of the people of Cambodia. The Organization cannot validly deliberate and take decisions unless it is assured of express-

ing the authentic will of the peoples which have joined it. Its authority and its prestige compel it to refuse to condone any usurpation of representation, especially when the exercise of authority in a country is seriously challenged and when the opinion of the population leaves no further doubt as to its choice and preferences. This same problem arose in the case of the representation of the Chinese people; and, without wishing to reopen the quarrels of that period, I shall recall the situation from which the Organization had suffered for many years due to the occupation of China's seat by a delegation which did not represent the Chinese people. This situation is being repeated today in the case of Cambodia.

4. The coup d'état which overthrew Prince Sihanouk in March 1970 was not accepted by the Cambodian people and was thus not capable of calling into question the legality and the legitimacy of the constitutional authority represented by Prince Sihanouk. In fact, the coup d'état was instigated by a foreign Power, and nothing in the domestic situation of the country itself made it possible to anticipate such an event, so that the head of State was at that moment on an official visit abroad and the coup d'état took place during his absence. If Prince Sihanouk's authority had indeed been endangered and if internal difficulties had threatened him, it is hardly likely that the person exercising authority would have chosen precisely that moment to leave his country. On the other hand, Cambodia, which has attempted to preserve its neutrality in an Indo-China plunged into war, had been the target of numerous acts of aggression by American and Saigon troops. At that time the Security Council was seized of numerous complaints from the Government of Cambodia, which denounced the violations to which its territory was constantly subjected, as well as the oppressions inflicted on its populations. The neutrality of Cambodia under Sihanouk, which resisted all those pressures, thus became a target of the United States and the Saigon régime and led to the preparation and execution of the coup d'état by which not only was an end put to Sihanouk's authority but, in addition, Cambodian territory was handed over to American troops. The use of that territory in the Viet-Nam war and the extent of the American presence in Cambodia after the change of régime in Phnom Penh left no doubt concerning the real goal of the United States and its direct responsibility in the events of March 1970.

5. Thus the coup d'état carried out at the instigation of the United States by people in its pay cannot be considered as the manifestation of the will of the Cambodian people and cannot, therefore, introduce an interruption in the constitutional legality of the power of Sihanouk. Moreover, the latter has continued to act in the name of the Cambodian people and it was in that capacity that he formed a Government and entered upon a struggle to restore legal power in his country and to put an end to foreign interference. When one realizes the size of the forces that opposed him, the

violence of the blanket bombing to which the American forces constantly resorted and the extent of the deployment of those forces throughout the country, how is it possible to explain the growth of this struggle, its progress and its success, otherwise than through the active and conscious participation of the whole of the population, which could give no better pledge of its attachment to Prince Sihanouk and its refusal to endorse a coup d'état which delivered its country to foreign influence? If further proof of the legitimacy of the authority personified by Sihanouk were necessary, could better evidence be found than that the Cambodian people has expressed its unequivocal choice between a Government which draws its strength from popular support and a régime which owes its existence and its survival to the support of the United States?

6. We are told that the Government of Prince Sihanouk is a Government in exile, whose headquarters is in a foreign capital, and that it can therefore not claim to hold any authority over the country. That argument doubtless deserves some attention. One might first recall that, when a country is occupied by foreign forces, popular resistance is frequently directed by a government in exile—there are numerous examples in history. The fact that the organs directing the resistance are outside the country in no way minimizes their authenticity or their efficacy. It is precisely in that fashion that many peoples have had to bring about their liberation. But the conditions of the struggle have clearly improved in the meantime and, the greater part of the Cambodian territory now being liberated, the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia no longer has the same reasons for prolonging its exile; and it is known that the Ministers forming part of that Government are all inside the country with the exception of the Minister for Foreign Affairs, whose responsibility it is precisely to maintain contact with the outside world. While this new situation is to the satisfaction of those who remain attached to legal formalities, it adds nothing to the representative character of that Government, a character which rests more upon the adherence of the population than upon the actual location of its headquarters. It is that Government which can speak with validity here in the name of the people of Cambodia, whereas the régime born of the coup d'état, while remaining provisionally in Phnom Penh, can but echo its masters' voice. Thus we have two representations and two voices, to quote the spokesman of Lon Nol himself.

7. In international terms, on the other hand, the Government of Sihanouk has continued to be recognized by numerous countries, particularly those of the third world, as the only Government holding legal power in Cambodia. That recognition was brought to the forefront in the most striking way at the Algiers Conference of Non-Aligned Countries,¹ where Prince Sihanouk himself represented his people. On the completion of their work, the Heads of State and Government of the Non-Aligned Countries recalled "the legality and legitimacy of the Royal Government headed by Prince Norodom Sihanouk, victim of the coup d'état against Cambodian neutrality" and considered that "by its collective recognition of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia" the Conference had provided the Cambodian people "with the most valuable support in their

rightful struggle for independence, sovereignty and neutrality" [*A/9330 and Corr. 1, p. 48*]. That position of the Sihanouk Government in the international field is growing in strength and, as the struggle of the Cambodian people is developing and as its unity around Prince Sihanouk grows in strength, the number of countries which give it diplomatic recognition is also increasing.

8. The real authority of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia, after having asserted itself within the country by the size of the territory it controls and of the population there, has thus received a just endorsement on the international scene. Such a situation cannot remain without effect in the United Nations which, in its turn, must recognize the facts in Cambodia and render justice to the Cambodian people whose authentic voice cannot remain absent from our debates any longer.

9. In restoring the lawful rights of the Sihanouk Government, the Organization could not be accused of interference in the internal affairs of Cambodia any more than it could have been accused of interference in the internal affairs of China when it recognized the right of the People's Republic of China to occupy the seat reserved for that country. The decision which the Assembly will thus adopt will, in the final analysis, be but the confirmation of the will of the Cambodian people itself, whose choice has been expressed irrefutably in the constant and increasing support which it has been giving to Prince Sihanouk and in its gallant participation in a struggle for which it is paying the price but of which it also knows the stakes.

10. We cannot subscribe to the view that Cambodia's neighbours should have the responsibility of studying this problem and providing a solution to it. We acknowledge their particular concerns and the primary interest for them of any changes in the situation in Cambodia. But we would have preferred to see much sooner this concern to preserve their region from all foreign interference, and they would doubtless today have had more than one reason for having their point of view prevail if they had adopted, towards the events in Cambodia, an attitude of neutrality which would have made it possible for them to strive today for a solution based on conciliation. They can no longer claim to have such a role, first because they failed to oppose the American intervention, which many of them facilitated or even assisted, and also because they have already taken sides in the Cambodian conflict. Moreover, how can they deny us the right to concern ourselves with a problem which, deriving its source from the Viet-Nam war, is extending its implications to the whole of the international situation and thus directly affects world peace and security? That alone would be sufficient to explain the interest we attach to this question, even if, in addition, we were not inclined to demonstrate the natural solidarity which we feel for the Cambodian people and which makes it a duty for us to support its legitimate aspirations and to oppose any attempt to stifle its voice.

11. To be sure, the struggle is not over for the people of Cambodia and the usurping régime of Phnom Penh is still in the capital with the assistance given to it by the United States. Its obstinacy in its treason is prolonging the sufferings of the Khmer people, but cannot shake their faith in their just cause and their hope to recover their freedom. The

¹ Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Algiers from 5 to 9 September 1973.

victories they have achieved in their struggle and the sympathy shown to them by ever-increasing numbers of peoples throughout the world ensure that they will have the last word. The debate opening today in the General Assembly will show them that the international community is responsive to their situation and to the message which their resistance implies. Contrary to what some would have us believe, this debate will not complicate the issue or delay its solution. It is by ignoring the clearly expressed will of the Cambodian people that one would become the accomplice of those who wish to impose upon them a foreign domination to which they refuse to submit. When the representatives of the illegal Lon Nol régime tell us that they are prepared to enter into negotiations with the Sihanouk Government to bring about a political settlement of the Khmer problem, they are deceiving no one; while their suggestion cannot give them the authority they are unable to claim, it shows in any event that the Sihanouk Government is not as lacking in authority as they would have us believe and that its true representative character is something which they themselves have finally had to acknowledge.

12. The issue before the General Assembly is in fact a very simple one, in spite of the complexity of the concepts it brings into play and in spite of the attempts made by some to introduce elements of confusion.

13. If I may be permitted to sum up in succinct terms the conclusions that can be drawn from an analysis of the situation which is the subject of our debate, I would state the following.

14. First, until March 1970, Cambodia had practised a policy of neutrality which exposed it to pressures on the part of the United States, to multiple aggressions, as well as to violations of its sovereignty. Apart from these external difficulties, the Government of Prince Sihanouk did not meet the kind of internal opposition that might have presaged its overthrow.

15. Secondly, the March 1970 coup d'état was obviously of foreign inspiration and, moreover, occurred during Prince Sihanouk's absence.

16. Thirdly, the change of régime which resulted therefrom was accepted neither by Prince Sihanouk, who formed a Government of National Union and embarked upon a struggle for the liberation of his country, nor by the Cambodian people, which rallied in total support of this struggle, nor by numerous countries throughout the world which have continued to accord their recognition to the Sihanouk Government alone.

17. Fourthly, the Sihanouk Government, whose members are all within Cambodian territory, with the exception of the Minister for Foreign Affairs, now controls 90 per cent of the territory and 80 per cent of the population of Cambodia.

18. Fifthly, in this situation, the delegation of the illegal Lon Nol régime represents in our Organization only the group which still holds power in the city of Phnom Penh and cannot speak with validity or act in the name of the Cambodian people. It must also be emphasized that the credentials of that delegation are challenged each year by an increasing number of delegations to this Assembly.

19. Sixthly, the Assembly thus has the duty to restore to the seat of Cambodia the representatives of the Sihanouk Government as the only authentic spokesmen of the Cambodian people. In taking this decision the Assembly will not be taking the place of the Cambodian people in the choice of its leaders; it will only be confirming the choice already made by the Cambodian people itself, a choice that cannot be ignored except by those to whose advantage it is to prolong the present crisis and place Cambodia at the service of foreign interests. In adopting that decision, moreover, the Assembly will be facilitating the solution of the Cambodian problem by putting an end to the equivocal situation underlying this tragedy. Finally, in so doing, the Assembly will be restoring its authority and prestige by ensuring the authentic representation of the peoples composing our Organization.

20. It is thus on behalf of 33 delegations that I have the honour to submit to the General Assembly draft resolution A/L.714, by which it would decide:

“... to restore the lawful rights of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia in the United Nations, recognizing its representatives as the sole lawful representatives of Cambodia, and to expel the representatives of the Lon Nol group from the seat they illegally occupy in the United Nations and in all the organizations related to it.”

21. We are convinced that the General Assembly will vote in favour of this draft resolution, and we shall call for a vote upon it immediately after the end of the present debate.

22. Mr. LONG BORET (Khmer Republic) (*interpretation from French*): The United Nations General Assembly is called upon today to consider the draft resolution submitted under agenda item 106, whereby 33 sponsors propose the expulsion of our delegation and its replacement by that of the so-called “Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia”, formed in Peking by the former Head of State, Norodom Sihanouk.

23. During the general debate at the current session, as at previous sessions, we have never ceased to provide this Assembly with objective information about the true facts and developments that have taken place before and after the removal of Prince Sihanouk from his functions as Head of State and also about the situation of the war of aggression of which the Khmer people has been the victim to this very day. We have proved, by citing precise facts in support of our case, that the present sufferings of the innocent Khmer people are a direct result of the aggression by North Vietnamese and Viet Cong troops, with the selfish complicity of our former Head of State, Sihanouk. We have also proved that the events of 18 March 1970 which led to the fall of Sihanouk were in no way a coup d'état, since the Khmer Parliament, which removed him from office, did not depart from the constitutional procedure then in force. Furthermore, as we emphasized, the Khmer people had decided once and for all to abolish the monarchy and to set up the Republic by adopting a republican constitution through a referendum.

24. We had also indicated that the Government that we have the honour to represent here, which it is our duty to represent, was the outcome of free elections, since our Presi-

dent of the Republic, Marshal Lon Nol, was elected by universal and direct suffrage by the Khmer people on 4 June 1972 and legislative elections followed a few months later, providing the Khmer people with the first Senate and the first National Assembly of the Republic.

25. Finally, we emphasized and drew to the attention of our Assembly that the so-called "Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia" of Prince Sihanouk is nothing more nor less than a Government in exile which remains permanently based in the capital of a foreign country, geographically separated from ours by three neighbouring countries: North Viet-Nam, Laos and South Viet-Nam.

26. Unfortunately, despite all the evidence that we adduced in support of our statements, certain delegations persist in overlooking the historical facts and try by every possible means to impose on the sovereign Khmer people a man which they have already repudiated. It is strange to note the arrogance and the pretension of these delegations which, in their statements, wish to set themselves up as super-censors over a brother people that aspires only to live in independence and in good-neighbourly relations with all other peoples. But what is even stranger is the fact that these delegations, in so acting, are claiming to do justice to Sihanouk and support the "just struggle" of the Khmer people, or even, to help "to put an end to the suffering" of the Khmer people. For, they insinuate either in good faith or in bad faith, if their draft resolution were adopted by our Assembly, "injustice" would be eliminated and "peace" would be restored to the Khmer nation. Moreover, to illustrate this odd thesis, it has not been possible to do better than to repeat the harangues of a bitter and desperate prince, who having drained the dregs of the cup of shame, "would drink the sea and all the fish therein", if he could succeed in having himself restored to power and realize his dreams of personal vengeance against those who have committed no crime other than to want to liberate their country from foreign invasion and domination.

27. Certainly, it is very difficult to enlighten those who do not want to understand and make people see or listen who do not want to do so.

28. But the Khmer people and Government will never allow themselves to be discouraged or intimidated by the campaign of lies and strident threats carried out here or elsewhere.

29. Aware of their full rights and their just cause, they will confront with courage and determination all the obstacles and hindrances that are set up in their path by their adversaries. Therefore, we shall not waste our time in answering the insulting and defamatory statements of those who seek to quarrel with us, or who want to set fire to the powder keg to incite hatred and discord at this delicate time when we are in the course of concentrating all our efforts in defending the sovereignty and independence of our country, which is the victim of aggression, and in achieving reconciliation and national concord. But there is a limit to everything and our adversaries must not exceed this limit. Faithful to the wisdom, culture and civilization of the Khmer people, which are well known, we shall be careful not to answer gratuitous insults in similar language, which is hardly worthy of representatives of a civilized country or people.

30. There is a Khmer proverb which teaches us that insults and vulgarities proffered by dishonest people will boomerang against their authors and that the language of a man reveals a great deal about the level of his culture and his civilization. People who claim to be the defenders of a principle rarely allow themselves to be carried away and to use vulgar language or coarse epithets. To people in this category, we prefer to answer by silence and to keep our dignity as representatives of a nation.

31. Our super-censors describe our leaders as a "traitor clique", but they forget to make it plain that the interests betrayed are certainly not those of the Khmer people, but rather their own interests. In the face of such provocative accusations, we should have flung back in the face of our accusers the same criticisms, since most of them do not even have an elected President, whereas in our country, despite the war which has not allowed us to complete our administration, we at least have the satisfaction of having a President and a Government elected by democratic means. But we will refrain from doing this, as we are faithful to the principle of non-intervention in the domestic affairs of other States. We should merely like to inform them that neither war nor the difficulties that our adversaries have created for us here have prevented us from assembling a bulky file on what is happening in each one of the countries of those who are levelling accusations against us.

32. We recognize that most of the sponsors of draft resolution A/L.714 have been purely and simply misled by the lying campaign of the enemies of the Khmer people. To cite only one example, I can reveal to the Assembly that the Minister for Foreign Affairs of a country that had recognized Sihanouk recently sent a telegram to the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the "Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia" but addressed that cable to Phnom Penh. The Minister sending the cable in all innocence thought that this so-called Government-in-exile of Sihanouk was resident in the Khmer capital, whereas its actual headquarters continues to be in Peking.

33. We do not hold anything against this category of accusers, because we are well aware that they are misled and totally ill-informed about our situation and our problems. On the other hand, we blame exclusively those who, fully informed of the real Khmer situation, attempt by all possible means to distort it for the needs of their own cause.

34. The cynicism of the latter group is such that on Saturday, 1 December, at about 1.30 p.m., in front of the United Nations Headquarters in New York, a demonstration was organized by about 60 persons in favour of Sihanouk. In the pamphlets that these demonstrators distributed, the following statements were included: "Group of Khmer residents living in America." My compatriots were able to mingle with the demonstrators and they took photos of them; they even entered into discussions with some of them; they saw exactly three Khmer people and those who were interviewed confessed that they were Chinese. This set-up should provide sufficient evidence of how people have dared to distort Khmer realities at the very door of the United Nations Headquarters, this highest international body which people claim to respect.

35. The same thing happened on the eve of the Fourth Conference of Non-Aligned Countries held at Algiers. With a view to demonstrating to the participants in the Conference that he was able to visit Khmer territory, Sihanouk had photos published showing him acclaimed by a crowd of would-be Khmer peasants. Knowledgeable people could easily discern that the faces of the latter group were Chinese or Viet-Nameese rather than Khmer. Moreover, no correspondent of the world press was able to witness that alleged visit which he himself described as historic.

36. Quite recently, to support his claims with regard to the United Nations, Sihanouk made it known that he had decided to transfer his ministries to Cambodia itself and that all his Ministers living heretofore in exile were henceforth installed in Khmer territory, with the exception of his "Prime Minister", who was ill, and his "Minister for Foreign Affairs." In order to find out the truth, it is sufficient merely to put the following questions to him. What are the names of those Ministers who are living within the Khmer nation? How many are they in number? Are they new Ministers or old Ministers-in-exile who are now returning to the country? In what corner or in what town of Khmer territory do those new Ministers reside? Can anyone show the new headquarters of the so-called Government to journalists or to a diplomat of any country that has recognized the so-called Government of Sihanouk?

37. Here we can already guess what the reply would be; for strategic reasons, unfortunately, we cannot reveal the headquarters site of our Government.

38. To that we shall answer: but if you cannot say where your capital is, how and where do you want people to have relations with your Government? If you do not dare to indicate where the headquarters of your Government is located, it is because you fear for your security. And if you are so afraid for your security that you do not even dare to disclose where you are domiciled, it is because you do not possess any control even over the place where you have established your political authority.

39. Hence, how can you claim to control 90 per cent of the Khmer territory? A raggle-taggle power, a fleeting power that has no fixed point of residence other than in some foreign capital, can it claim, or does it deserve, to be considered a State Power?

40. It has now been proved that wandering tribes, no matter how powerful they may be, never constitute States. A fixed territorial location is essential to the birth of State entities.

41. In his magazine *Le Sangkum*, issue Number 12 of July 1966, Sihanouk himself had written:

"Accordingly, for our red colleagues, nothing should be spared for the cause of Marx and Lenin, not even the calm and peace of their own homeland.

"The throne demands only one thing of the reds: spare our homeland and people from a useless civil war and preserve for them that peace and priceless calm which they need and to which, whatever our red colleagues may say, they cling tenaciously.

"I am neither a Louis XVI nor a Farouk, and I shall never accept to go into exile. If my enemies triumph, I

shall remain at their disposal; they will be able to pass judgement on me, to condemn me or even to kill me. I shall finish my days, even in unhappiness, on the soil of my homeland.

"Flight into exile would be an unexpungable dishonour for history and for the honour of my family."

42. That statement, which attempted to present itself as patriotic, was completely denied by the facts a few years later. First of all, he placed himself on the side of the red Khmers whom he had accused of being enemies until the very day of his downfall, in the sole hope that the latter would help him to regain power. Then he said that he would remain in exile. In a recent interview granted to the daily newspaper *Le Monde*, did not Sihanouk say the following? "I shall remain in Peking until my death; I shall not return to Cambodia."

43. This contradiction between facts and deeds is only one example among thousands which induced the Khmer people in the last years of his reign to withdraw its confidence from him.

44. Now again one wonders what he wants. The statements made in the past two years shed even further light on the incoherent and contradictory proposals that he has made. At one point, he states that he is firmly defending the monarchy, and then again he talks about making Cambodia a communist State or even a popular socialist monarchy, and so forth. He continues to change at whim.

45. This is the man whom the sponsors of the draft resolution want to reimpose on the Khmer people as God-king. Here I must emphasize that, whatever this Assembly may decide, the Khmer people will never change its opinion. That people chose a Republic, with all its advantages and disadvantages.

46. But the strident propaganda of Sihanouk and his protectors has not helped world public opinion to obtain objective and sound information about the realities of Khmer life. That propaganda has created—and no one can doubt this—confusion in the minds of those who live far from our country. But the true facts will not thereby be affected for the historians of tomorrow.

47. Then it may perhaps be too late since, by a misunderstanding of current Khmer realities, the community of nations might be induced to favour the prolongation of the war which, in its turn, by its destructive and devastating effects, might place our people under foreign domination and even lead to its extinction as a national entity.

48. In the circumstances, the only thing that could save people of good faith from an error of judgement would be to invite them to go and observe the facts on the spot, and not the facts as they are reported and interpreted in printed reports of political propaganda to serve the needs of a cause which people do not admit they are serving.

49. What has been happening in our country during these past few years? Why did the Khmer parliament remove Sihanouk from office on 18 March 1970? Was that removal

from office legal? Who is the author of this war? Who profits from this war and its prolongation? Has the Government of the Khmer Republic made any efforts to restore peace in the country? Why have these efforts not achieved positive results? What would be the consequences if the United Nations were to decide to expel the representatives of the legal Government of the Khmer Republic in order to allocate its seat to the Government-in-exile of Sihanouk? To answer these questions, I shall confine myself once again to repeating a few historical facts with which representatives have already had an opportunity to become familiar through my previous statements.

50. I have nothing to add or to take back since these are historical facts that we have lived through. I shall therefore confine myself to recalling what I said from this rostrum on 8 December 1972² during the debate on the report of the Credentials Committee dealing with the credentials of delegations at the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly.

51. In 1941, Prince Sihanouk, who was then 18 years of age, was placed on the throne, although that throne should in principle have been occupied by the Sisowath branch of the family. He reigned until 1955, when he abdicated in favour of his father, His Majesty King Norodom Suramarit. He swore a solemn oath that he would never remount the throne. In the interim he founded the Sangkum Reatr Niyum, the Popular Socialist Community, which he actively directed until his downfall. In 1960, his father died, leaving the throne vacant. Since he could not again become King because of his oath, but since he did not wish, either, that any other prince should succeed his father the King, Sihanouk asked the two Chambers of the Khmer Parliament—and at that time I was a member of the National Assembly—to amend the Constitution by adding a new provision which became article 122, a new article, and which read as follows:

“In the event that circumstances do not make it possible to designate either the new Sovereign or the Regency Council, in accordance with the provisions of articles 30 and 30 *bis* of the present Constitution, the two Chambers, convened by the President of the National Assembly and under his Presidency, may, in accordance with the will expressed by the people, entrust the powers and prerogatives of Head of State to an uncontested personage expressly appointed through elections by the nation.

“Before assuming those powers, the Head of State shall, in the National Assembly, take the oath provided under article 32 of the Constitution adding the words ‘and to be faithful to the throne’.

“If the Head of State is temporarily absent from Cambodia or temporarily unable to exercise his functions, he shall entrust those powers to the President of the National Assembly, who shall exercise them under his own responsibility.”

Accordingly, the notion of head of State was created in the Constitution of the former Kingdom of Cambodia.

² See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Plenary Meetings*, 2104th meeting, paras. 115-172.

52. It was under this article that the two chambers of Parliament, the National Assembly and the Royal Council, designated Prince Sihanouk to serve as head of State of Cambodia pending the nomination of the new sovereign.

53. But this temporary situation lasted 10 years, in other words until 18 March 1970, when the two chambers of Parliament met in session as Congress and, after a long and historic debate, decided by a unanimous vote to remove Prince Norodom Sihanouk from office and from his functions as head of State.

54. Accordingly, the situation is clear. Raised to the highest office by the two chambers of Parliament, Sihanouk was removed from office 10 years later by the same Parliament. Is this something that one calls a coup d'état?

55. It is useful to emphasize, moreover, that all the members of these two chambers of Parliament, without exception, belonged to the Popular Socialist Community of Prince Norodom Sihanouk; and the National Assembly, which adopted this resolution, was described by Prince Sihanouk himself as “the most representative that had ever existed in Khmer parliamentary history” at the time when he, in 1966, was presiding over the opening of Parliament. For it was the first time that the deputies were not chosen by the Chief of Sangkum, Sihanouk, and that the elections were really free.

56. In 1966, for once, Prince Sihanouk had not himself appointed the Prime Minister; instead, he called upon the Parliament to do this by a vote of its members. It was such a vote which then brought General Lon Nol to the post of Prime Minister in 1966.

57. Following an accident, Prime Minister Lon Nol offered his resignation in 1967. But, after other government crises, Prince Sihanouk himself appealed to General Lon Nol on 14 August 1969 again to form a new Government, which Prince Sihanouk himself described as a “rescue Government”, since the country, on the eve of his downfall, was seriously threatened in its economic life. It is this Government which continued to guide the affairs of State after the downfall of Prince Sihanouk on 18 March 1970. At that time there had been only a change of head of State, but not of Government. We had the same Prime Minister and the same Ministers, who continue to guide government affairs. Mr. Cheng Heng, the then President of the National Assembly, in accordance with constitutional provisions, succeeded the former Head of State Sihanouk.

58. It was only two years later that Marshal Lon Nol was elected President of the Republic.

59. In fact, the Khmer Republic was proclaimed on 9 October 1970 by the two chambers of the Parliament, following massive demonstrations by all levels of society. For two years, the draft constitution was prepared and finally, on 30 April 1972, it was submitted to a national referendum organized throughout the country. Eighty per cent of the electors participated in the vote and 97 per cent of the voters said “yes” to the Republic.

60. In the circumstances, how can anyone describe this Republic as a régime abominated by the Khmer people?

Why does the United Nations want to impose another régime on the Khmer people? On this point, the Khmer people is categorical: it will not compromise, whatever be the sacrifices required and regardless of foreign pressures. Now, at the same time as it is fighting to liberate its country from foreign invasion, the Khmer people is defending with faith and determination the cause of the Republic, which it has won through a noble struggle.

61. I shall now answer the following question: why did the Khmer Parliament remove Prince Sihanouk from office as Head of State?

62. To understand this matter we would have to go back to the last years that preceded the events of 18 March 1970. About the middle of the 1960s, North Viet-Nameese and Viet Cong troops began unobtrusively to infiltrate Khmer territory.

63. The area of Cambodia is 181,000 square kilometres. Early in March 1970, over an area of Khmer territory estimated at 3,500 square kilometres, there was a *de facto* occupation by the Viet Cong and North Viet-Nameese troops. The areas affected were not only those adjacent to the frontier between the Khmer Republic and South Viet-Nam but also those located in the very centre of the country, in particular around the Great Lakes area. The occupied areas were located primarily in nine of our 22 provinces and municipalities—Ratanakiri, Mondulakiri, Kratié, Kompong Cham, Svay Rieng, Prey Vèng, Kandal, Takéo and Kampot.

64. Our forces wanted to penetrate the invaded zones and they were often ambushed and sometimes killed. In 1969, one year before the fall of Sihanouk, Marshal Lon Nol himself, who was then Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Minister of National Defence, came under the fire of the Viet Cong during a tour of inspection in the north-eastern part of the country. In the occupied areas these foreign forces installed small arsenals and factories for the manufacture of weapons and munitions, repair shops, warehouses for supplies and centres for training and instruction for their soldiers, hospitals and so on. The various institutions for military purposes included powerful defence systems. Firmly entrenched, these bases had vast networks of tunnels in which to conceal their fighters and their military equipment.

65. While the effective occupation of certain parts of the Khmer territory is an undeniably spectacular event, the creation of important networks of Viet Cong and North Viet-Nameese subversion in the towns and villages of a large part of the country constituted an undoubtedly more discreet but finally equally serious infringement of our sovereignty. At Phnom Penh itself, where a large Viet-Nameese colony lived, our security services revealed the existence of a strong Viet Cong/North Viet-Nameese organization, a fifth column ready to enter into action against us as soon as it was given the green light from Hanoi. Similar organizations were discovered in almost all the urban centres of the east, the central and southern parts of the country as well as in the rubber plantations and large industrial enterprises.

66. What is more, these foreign forces used Khmer territory to protect the supply lines of their troops fighting in

South Viet-Nam. The arms, munitions, medicines and goods purchased by the Viet Cong came into our ports and airports, directed to various addresses, in order finally to be channelled to the Viet Cong and North Viet-Nameese bases. Supplies of rice, fish and other foodstuffs came in large measure from contraband purchases despite the existence of commercial and trade agreements between our country and the countries concerned. These purchases of contraband were beyond the control of the Khmer authorities, which led to serious difficulties. Thus, for example, while we were suffering from a serious shortage of rice in the second half of 1969 because of the bad crop in 1968-1969 owing to the unsatisfactory rainfall, Viet Cong purchases, estimated at 130,000 tons, had a serious impact on the supply of rice for the Khmer people.

67. This occupation was not carried out without giving rise to a number of clashes with units of our forces and the civilian population. Just before the overthrow of Sihanouk in March 1970, 122 incidents were recorded and as a result 54 persons were killed, 98 were wounded and 25 persons were kidnapped. This occupation was a real fact of our life. But, in order to remove an embarrassing witness to these huge facilities set up by foreign forces, Sihanouk called for the suspension of the International Control Commission for Cambodia towards the end of 1969. This International Control Commission set up under the Geneva Agreement of 1954, was made up of three members—India, Canada and Poland—and had as its specific task supervision of the application of the Geneva Agreements on the cessation of hostilities in Cambodia.

68. Despite the authorizations issued by Sihanouk allowing the Viet Cong freely to use our territory, serious warnings had been issued ever since 1969, one year before the downfall of Sihanouk, to the Hanoi authorities and the National Front for the Liberation of South Viet-Nam. These warnings emanated from various personages in the Government, in particular Marshal Lon Nol who was at that time President of the Council of Ministers and Commander of the Army.

69. Our members of Parliament, who were well aware of the infringement of Khmer sovereignty by the occupying forces, as well as the complicity of Sihanouk and his entourage—which greatly benefited from the situation by means of contraband and other clandestine activities—repeatedly and publicly denounced that state of affairs.

70. Many scandals denounced by Parliament early in 1969 finally shook the pride of this Prince who in the course of his 30 years in the highest office of the country had never tolerated the slightest criticism of his personal and despotic power.

71. The infiltration of Viet-Nameese Communist forces into Khmer territory was constantly increasing, to such a point that Sihanouk himself finally had to admit the reality of those infiltrations—after having denied them for years—in the face of national as well as international opinion, although he was the person primarily responsible for that state of affairs.

72. Thus, in 1969, the last year he held power, he publicly and repeatedly denounced the increase in Viet Cong and

North Viet-Nameese infiltration, the crimes of harassment committed by those troops, and the serious danger which resulted therefrom to the independence and territorial integrity of the country. These public revelations were made in the course of press conferences which he held in 1969—on 26 March, 16 April, 30 April, 3 May, 17 May, 23 May and 11 June—and in his statement of 19 June 1969 at Svay Rieng. I cite here the dispatches of United Press International, Agence France-Press, the Associated Press, Reuter and the publication of Sihanouk's speeches which he himself supervised.

73. But the following year, on 18 March 1970, Sihanouk did not hesitate to deny his own statements and to side with those whom he had denounced only the day before—only because the Khmer people had just put an end to his dictatorship. Inspired by personal hatred of the revolutionaries and no longer having any popular support, he relied solely on the armed intervention of the North Viet-Nameese to have himself restored to power, accepting with a glad heart the destruction and ruin of his own country.

74. On 8 March 1970 the first serious signs of popular discontent appeared in the province of Svay Rieng, where the demonstrators engaged the accomplices of the Viet Cong in hand-to-hand fighting. In the days that followed, the fury of the Khmer people exploded in various provinces of the country, but it was on 11 March that it reached a high point of violence. Carried away by its anger, the crowd of demonstrators, composed mainly of university students, intellectuals and workers, finally seized the premises of the embassies of North Viet-Nam and the Viet Cong in Phnom Penh. On the evening of that same day, the students of the Faculty of Law and Economics introduced a motion in the National Assembly to condemn the actions of the occupying forces and their accomplices.

75. On that occasion, the National Assembly began a debate on the wide-spread popular demonstrations throughout the country. Apprised of those events, the former Head of State, Sihanouk, who was at that time in France, dispatched a cable to Phnom Penh in which he condemned the National Assembly, condemned the Army and condemned the Government, which he accused of having engaged in manoeuvres against his person.

76. Many cables were sent by Marshal Lon Nol, who was then Head of Government, to the former Head of State, Norodom Sihanouk, to give the latter detailed explanations of the course of events: one cable went out on 11 March, another on 12 March, two others on 13 March and, finally, the last two were sent on 17 March 1970.

77. On 13 March it was even decided to dispatch two emissaries to Paris, the Second Vice-President of the Council of Ministers and the Minister of Justice, representing the Government, and Prince Norodom Kantol, the former Prime Minister, representing the Queen Mother. But in France Sihanouk categorically refused to receive those two emissaries. On the contrary, he insisted on announcing that on his return to Phnom Penh he would settle accounts with them and with those people—deputies, members of the Government and the military—who had dared to speak out against his policy concerning the Viet Cong and North Viet-Nameese invaders.

78. As the Parliament, the Government and the Army were well aware that they had acted in keeping with the national interest of the country following the clearly expressed wish of the sovereign Khmer people, the egotistic, despotic and anti-national position of Sihanouk made a political conflict inevitable.

79. That conflict reached its climax on Wednesday, 18 March 1970. On that day, meeting in plenary session, the two Chambers of the Khmer Parliament—the National Assembly and the Royal Council—unanimously decided to withdraw their confidence from the former Head of State, Norodom Sihanouk.

80. On 23 March, Sihanouk, in exile in Peking, called upon our fellow countrymen to rebel against the legal authority and asked the Viet Cong and North Viet-Nameese forces, estimated at 65,000 men already on our territory, to attack our country.

81. In recent world history of overthrown dictators, the case of Sihanouk is unique. A Head of State, overthrown after 30 years in power, who calls upon foreign troops to bring war to his own country, for the sole purpose of regaining the authority of which the people had divested him! If there were some who were still hesitant after Sihanouk's overthrow on 18 March, they became very rare indeed after the crime of high treason which the invitation to foreign troops to come and invade his own country represented.

82. Later, on 9 October 1970, following mass demonstrations by the people, the Khmer people proclaimed the Republic. On 30 April 1972, a draft republican constitution was submitted to a national referendum and, of the 80 per cent of the electors who were able to participate in the vote, 97 per cent voted in favour of the constitution, thus marking a definite break with the monarchy which Sihanouk continues to defend from a foreign territory.

83. In accordance with the provisions of the constitution, we then proceeded to hold general elections to choose the first President of the Republic. Of the three candidates who stood for this office—Mr. In Tam, former President of the National Assembly, Mr. Keo An, Dean of the Faculty of Law and Marshal Lon Nol himself—the latter was elected, by universal and direct suffrage, as the first President of the Khmer Republic. On 3 and 17 September 1972, legislative elections were held to choose the members of the first National Assembly and the first Senate of the Republic. Other republican institutions were also set up.

84. Finally, to answer the tendentious charges about control over the territory and its population, I shall confine myself to reminding this Assembly of the following comments that my delegation has constantly been repeating.

85. Of the 23 provinces of the Republic, only four are permanently occupied by the North Viet-Nameese and Viet Cong forces and their Red Khmer protégés: they are Stung Treng, Kratié, Mondulhiri and Ratanakiri. In fact this is a fairly sizable portion from the territorial standpoint; but that is the region where the population density is lowest, varying from three to five inhabitants per square kilometre. The Khmer Government controls all the populated areas of

Khmer territory, the rest is made up of combat zones. But I must emphasize that it is not troops of Sihanouk that are occupying that part of Khmer territory but, rather, foreign forces, which invade it with the support and the complicity of the Red Khmer, who are not by any means working for Sihanouk's monarchy.

86. When the North Viet-Nameese troops withdraw from our territory it will be quite easy for our army to resume control, because the Red Khmer alone can never stand up to our regular forces.

87. If, as is contended, foreign aggressors and the Red Khmer rebels control more than 90 per cent of the territory why, then, is it found necessary to request the prior authorization of the Government of the Khmer Republic for flights over our territory?

88. We have more than one example to show that our authorization for overflight is essential. Quite recently we granted such authorization to an African country that had recognized the so-called Government of Sihanouk, purely as an act of courtesy.

89. With respect to the population, it comprises 7 million for the entire country. In the capital of Phnom Penh alone, as everyone knows and can see, we already have more than 2 million inhabitants, including more than 1 million refugees who have fled from the unsafe zones. The population living in the other provinces under our control, including almost a million refugees who have refused to knuckle under to the enemy, amounts to 4 million inhabitants. Accordingly, out of a total of 7 million inhabitants, our Government already controls a little over 6 million. There are less than a million people who are forced to live under enemy control. Moreover, the number of electors who participated in the recent referendum and presidential and legislative elections confirms our estimate.

90. To those who assert that Sihanouk controls more than 90 per cent of the territory and more than 80 per cent of the population, we would like simply to put the following questions. Where are those Sihanouk forces to be found in the Khmer Republic? Can anyone tell us precisely where they are? What is the nationality of Sihanouk's forces? If Sihanouk's allegations are true, why did he state recently that he would not return to Cambodia but would remain in Peking until he died? If more than 90 per cent of the territory is under his control, why cannot anyone find just a little corner of the land in order to set up the headquarters of his so-called Government? Is not all this, in fact, a lie which is an affront to common sense and logic? Any comment of mine is superfluous.

91. The Algerian representative who preceded me on this rostrum spoke about the liberated zones and the efforts made by Prince Norodom Sihanouk to liberate Khmer territory. I should like merely to put the following questions. From whom does Sihanouk wish to liberate Khmer territory except the Khmer people, for in Cambodia there are no American troops, no American soldiers? In fact, the foreign troops in our country consist only of North Viet-Nameese and Viet Cong, who number about 45,000.

92. I should like now to draw the attention of the General Assembly to the fact that the Khmer Government has sought all possible opportunities to demonstrate its desire for national peace and concord. On the very day after the popular demonstrations of 11 March 1970, demonstrations which caused material damage to the premises of the diplomatic missions of the Government of Hanoi and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Viet-Nam, my Government immediately offered its apologies to the Governments concerned and offered to pay compensation for all the damage inflicted.

93. However, with a view to avoiding a recurrence of similar incidents, we again asked the Embassies to urge their Governments to withdraw their troops from our territory.

94. Contacts on those issues continued until 25 March 1970, when the two Governments decided unilaterally to break off diplomatic relations with us. A few days later the Viet Cong and North Viet-Nameese forces began their open aggression, which has continued until this very day.

95. Ever since 22 March, when we issued an appeal for the International Control Commission set up by the 1954 Geneva Agreements to be reinstituted as its activities had been suspended at the request of Prince Sihanouk, many approaches have been made to the Governments concerned but up to now our request has not been heeded.

96. Appeals were addressed to this Organization as well, and we very much hope that international observers could be sent to help us on the spot to find solutions to our problems. Diplomatic initiatives have been taken, both in Phnom Penh and in various capitals of the world. We have spared no effort to reach a peaceful solution.

97. We welcomed with the liveliest satisfaction the Paris Agreement of 27 January 1973, since article 20 provides that all foreign troops operating in Khmer territory should leave our country without delay.

98. After the signing of the Agreements, North Viet-Nam allowed its troops to infiltrate again, instead of withdrawing them. The joint Kissinger-Le Duc Tho communiqué issued on 13 June 1973, which called for strict respect for the articles of the Agreement of 27 January, provided no results at all on the spot. This beautiful Agreement has remained a dead letter. That is why on 6 July 1973, in the face of the tremendous sufferings inflicted on our people, our Government proposed a specific plan for a cease-fire and a negotiated settlement on the following lines.

99. First, strict application of the Paris Agreement.

100. Secondly, the overriding necessity for the immediate withdrawal of all foreign forces and their weapons and munitions from Khmer territory, in order to enable the Khmer people to settle their own problems without foreign intervention and free from all foreign pressure.

101. Thirdly, reactivation of the International Control Commission to supervise the effective application of article 20 of the Paris Agreement.

102. Fourthly, the introduction of an immediate cease-fire between the forces of all parties concerned.

103. Fifthly, discussions between the Khmers, at a place to be decided by agreement between the parties, with a view to bringing hostilities to an end and achieving national reconciliation.

104. My Government brought that proposal formally to the notice of the 12 Member States attending the Paris Conference and of the Secretary-General of the United Nations. Unfortunately, the proposal, which testifies to our deep desire to put an end to conflicts and achieve a negotiated solution to our problems, has not met with the success it deserves. Our peace proposal was met on the part of the North Viet-Name and their Red Khmer allies with increasingly violent attacks.

105. World opinion should now realize who wants war and who wants peace for the Khmer people. Who benefits from this war and its prolongation? In our opinion, the answer is quite simple: this war is being waged on our territory and not in North Viet-Nam, and it is the latter that will benefit from it, for its prolongation would create further economic and social difficulties which would result in a weakening of the Khmer nation. It would make the Red Khmers increasingly dependent on Hanoi and, in the long run, this dependence would lead to the annexation of our territory by North Viet-Nam.

106. That is why, at the beginning of this session, we made an appeal to the Members of this Assembly to help us to restore peace in our region. But instead of answering the appeal, which was made by a Member State, the victim of foreign aggression, certain delegations preferred to discuss the choice of a political régime for the Khmer people, acting in their stead. Accordingly, they have submitted draft resolution A/L.714 and, in so doing, they are interfering in the internal affairs of a Member State and violating the fundamental principles of the United Nations Charter. For our part, remaining consistent with our own position and despite the bitterness and the sadness which such an act of injustice against us causes in our minds, we continue to respect these principles and we shall never allow ourselves to pronounce any kind of judgement on any particular Government.

107. How many political changes or changes of régime have occurred in Member countries since the founding of the United Nations? One need merely look back to see how many coups d'état and changes of régime have taken place in the world. Is there even one example when such cases were the subject of a similar draft resolution here in the United Nations? Therefore, why is only the case of the Khmer Republic raised? Why this injustice? Why this discrimination? The sole consequence of such an attitude, if it were approved by the General Assembly, would be to encourage a prolongation of the war and the sufferings of the Khmer people. Indeed, such an attitude would encourage revolt and, on our part, we should be compelled to take a harder stand in the defence of our legitimate position and our rights.

108. Moreover, such a precedent would be harmful for all Member States and would threaten the very existence of this

world Organization. In addition, how can a Government-in-exile apply the various resolutions of the United Nations except on foreign territory? And where should one install the United Nations resident representative except in a foreign capital, outside the country concerned? Finally, who is the leader that the sponsors propose to the Khmer people? I give way here to Sihanouk himself to speak. He is the proposed candidate, and I quote his words:

"I have no close relations with the Red Khmer. I have none; I hardly have any relations with them any more. Yes, it is true, I have already said that I found them Stalinist because of their daily doctrinal instructions, the language they use and their methods.

"You know, there are some wounds that cannot be healed. I tell you this: I shall not return to Cambodia. I shall remain in Peking until my death. My mother, the Queen, is going to come here and the two of us will remain here in China."

That was an interview reported by Mr. Alain Bouc in the newspaper *Le Monde*.

109. We have no comment to make except to confirm that my Government, as a purely humanitarian measure, had just authorized the former Queen and about thirty persons, members of her suite, to go to the People's Republic of China.

110. Before concluding, I should like, on behalf of my Government and the Khmer people, to express my deep gratitude to the nations of Asia and the Pacific which have made known their common view to the effect that the United Nations must allow the Khmer people to settle their own problems without foreign interference and refrain from interfering in matters falling within the internal jurisdiction of this people. We hope that this view will be supported by the majority of Member States because it is in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

111. Mr. HUANG Hua (China) (*translation from Chinese*): The representatives of the traitorous Lon Nol clique have been illegally occupying the seat of the Kingdom of Cambodia in the United Nations for three years. Such an abnormal state of affairs should no longer continue.

112. On 17 October 1973 the General Assembly decided at its 2155th plenary meeting to include in the agenda of the current session the item entitled "Restoration of the lawful rights of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia in the United Nations". This is entirely correct. This is the first correct step taken by the General Assembly on the question of Cambodia in the past three years.

113. The Chinese delegation fully supports this decision and firmly maintains that the General Assembly should adopt a resolution at its current session to restore immediately the lawful rights in the United Nations of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia led by the Head of State, Prince Norodom Sihanouk, and to expel the representatives of the Lon Nol group from the seat they have illegally occupied in the United Nations and all its related bodies.

114. The Kingdom of Cambodia, led by Prince Norodom Sihanouk, has been a State Member of the United Nations

since 1955. It made active efforts for the realization of the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter. The Royal Government of Cambodia consistently pursued a policy of peace, neutrality and non-alignment. It was dedicated to the defence of State sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity, fought against imperialist intervention and subversion, supported the just struggles of all peoples and made positive contributions to the cause of peace in South-East Asia and the world, thus enjoying high international prestige.

115. In March 1970, taking advantage of Prince Sihanouk's absence from the country, the United States Government instigated the Lon Nol clique to stage a reactionary coup d'état and impose on the Cambodian people the traitorous Lon Nol puppet clique illegally fostered by it, thus undermining the peace, independence and neutrality of Cambodia. Furthermore, in order to support the traitorous Lon Nol clique, the United States and the Saigon authorities flagrantly dispatched troops to invade Cambodia, thus bringing infinite disasters to the Cambodian people.

116. At this critical juncture when the fate of the nation was at stake, Prince Sihanouk, holding aloft the banner of resistance for national salvation, established the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia and called upon the people to take up arms against the foreign aggressors. All this has dealt heavy blows at the traitorous Lon Nol clique.

117. In the past three years, united around the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia under the leadership of the Head of State, Prince Norodom Sihanouk, the Cambodian people have fought valiantly and won brilliant victories in their heroic struggle against foreign aggression and for punitive action against the traitorous Lon Nol clique.

118. The Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia and the Cambodian People's Armed Forces of National Liberation, relying on the people and on their own strength, have now liberated over 90 per cent of the territory, and over 5.5 million Cambodian people have now become the true masters of Cambodia and have taken into their own hands the destiny of the country. From the very beginning, the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia has taken root among the people and maintained flesh-and-blood relations with them; it has established administrative organs at various levels throughout the vast liberated areas.

119. Since 1970, a Deputy Prime Minister and 10 Ministers have been leading the war against aggression and for national salvation and other work in the country. Many foreigners who have been to the liberated areas of Cambodia bear witness to the above facts. This has forcefully punctured the shameless lie spread by the Lon Nol clique that the Cambodian people rely on foreign forces in their fight.

120. Last spring, the Head of State of Cambodia, Prince Sihanouk, made a successful tour of inspection to the liberated areas in Cambodia, covering over a thousand kilometres, where he was warmly welcomed by the broad masses of the people. Prince Sihanouk made broad contacts with people from various circles in the liberated areas and person-

ally presided over the cabinet meetings. These facts fully show that the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia, under the leadership of Head of State of Cambodia, Prince Norodom Sihanouk, is the sole lawful Government of Cambodia and is effectively and fully exercising its administrative power over the vast territory of Cambodia, whereas the traitorous Lon Nol clique was imposed on the Khmer people by United States imperialism and its allies, and has been illegal from its very inception.

121. Yet elements of the Lon Nol clique and their behind-the-scenes boss have asserted that the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia is a "Government-in-exile". This is indeed the height of absurdity. The Asian, African and Latin American peoples may recall that, in order to facilitate diplomatic and international publicity work, the leaders of the Algerian national liberation movement established in Tunisia from 1958 to 1962 the Provisional Government of the Republic of Algeria, which won broad international support and assistance. Many justice-upholding countries recognized it as the sole lawful Government representing the Algerian people.

122. All anti-Fascist countries and people may also recall that the "French Committee of National Liberation" against Fascist aggression, formed at Algiers by General de Gaulle of France from 1943 to 1944, then had not even established liberated areas in the country, not to speak of liberating Paris, the capital. However, as it was engaged in a just struggle and reflected the French people's desire to safeguard national independence and fight against Fascist aggression, all the anti-Fascist countries and people at the time recognized it as the sole lawful representative of the French people, and regarded the Vichy régime as a down-right traitorous puppet clique.

123. A recollection of these historical facts enables us to see even more clearly how far-fetched and untenable it is to assert slanderously that the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia is a so-called "Government-in-exile" and that the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia should not be recognized as the lawful government of the Cambodian people because the capital, Phnom Penh, has not yet been liberated. Here it should be pointed out in particular that recently the Prime Minister's Office of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia issued a communiqué, announcing the decision that its ministries which had performed their missions abroad would move to the interior part of Cambodia and that with the exception of the Head of State and the Foreign Minister all its ministers would carry out their duties in the country. This has thoroughly repudiated the above fallacious assertion.

124. Last September, Prince Sihanouk, representing the Kingdom of Cambodia, participated as a full member in the Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries held at Algiers. The political declaration [A/9330, p. 12] and the resolution on Cambodia [*ibid.*, p. 48] adopted by the Conference declare that the only legitimate and legal government of Cambodia is the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia, presided over by the Head of State, Prince Norodom Sihanouk, request all countries that uphold peace and justice to accord formal recognition to it as such, and reaffirm its solidarity with the Royal Government of National Union of Cambo-

dia in its international struggle, and its firm support within the United Nations and other international organizations.

125. All this eloquently shows to the world that the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia is the sole lawful Government of Cambodia enjoying the broad recognition and support of other countries, and that the Cambodian people are enjoying abundant support in a just cause, and have friends all over the world.

126. On 22 November 1973 Prince Sihanouk issued a statement, reaffirming the determination to carry on the struggle without compromise until the realization of the five points contained in the Declaration of 23 March 1970 by the Head of State of Cambodia. The Chinese Government and people fully and resolutely support this solemn and just position of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia.

127. Let us take a look at the Lon Nol clique that has been entrenched in Phnom Penh. This clique is but a handful of people, national scum, that have betrayed their motherland and the people, and have long been spurned by the broad masses of the Cambodian people. In the areas controlled by the Lon Nol clique, economic conditions are seriously deteriorating, prices are soaring, and the people can hardly live. Its Fascist rule has evoked the increasingly strong resistance of the people of various strata. Internally, it is riddled with contradictions and it is in the midst of disintegration. In the Lon Nol puppet army, large numbers of soldiers and low-ranking officers have risen in mutiny and crossed over to the liberated zones, turning their guns against the Lon Nol puppet army.

128. In the dry-season campaign started last November, the Cambodian people's armed forces launched powerful and fierce offensive attacks against the enemy and won important victories of strategic significance. The traitorous Lon Nol clique is now besieged by the entire Cambodian people and entrenched in Phnom Penh and a few other isolated cities. It can maintain its precarious existence only by relying on the shot in the arm given by imperialism. Its total collapse will not be far off. What is deplorable is that a super-Power that professed full support to the Cambodian patriots in their heroic struggles for the freedom and independence of their motherland had all along refused to recognize the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia and continued to maintain diplomatic relations with the traitorous Lon Nol clique during the Cambodian people's most difficult time of their struggle against aggression and for national salvation. Now that the Cambodian people are facing a most favourable situation in their struggle against aggression and for national salvation, one may ask, in what position will that Power place itself?

129. Some people are attempting to defer to the next session of the General Assembly the question of the restoration of the lawful rights of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia. It must be pointed out that this is an intrigue, which we firmly oppose. The immediate restoration of the lawful rights of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia in the United Nations repre-

sents the legitimate desire of the entire Cambodian people. All justice-upholding countries should support this demand of the Cambodian people without reservation. Since the General Assembly has already decided to include in the agenda of its current session the question of the restoration of the lawful rights of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia in the United Nations, what is the reason for asking the General Assembly to defer the discussions and decision on it? To put it bluntly, the idea of so-called deferment is in fact put forward to suit the needs of a super-Power. It is evident that, as this super-Power is in an awkward predicament, it hopes very much that its puppet can continue to usurp the Kingdom of Cambodia in the United Nations so that it can gain time for a continued flow of assistance to that puppet, who will thus be able to prolong his precarious existence. In our opinion, all proposals for deferring the discussions or voting can only benefit the continued aggression against Cambodia and the interference in its internal affairs by outside forces and endanger peace in Indo-China. This is not in the interests of the just cause of the Cambodian people. We must all guard against this.

130. Some people even said that to ask the United Nations to discuss the question of Cambodian representation would mean interference in the internal affairs of a country by the United Nations. This is wrong. Everyone knows who has interfered in the internal affairs of Cambodia and who has crossed the vast ocean to carry out armed aggression against Indo-China, including Cambodia. And to date such aggression and interference have not ceased. In order truly to defend the principles of the United Nations Charter, no justice-upholding countries should sit idly by and tolerate the wilful intervention and aggression against a sovereign State, or allow a traitorous puppet clique imposed on the Cambodian people by foreign forces to continue illegally to usurp the seat of the Kingdom of Cambodia in the United Nations. Failure to redress such an unjust and unreasonable phenomenon would be tantamount to recognizing as legal imperialist aggression, subversion and intervention against a sovereign State. Is this not in total violation of the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter?

131. History is developing and the people are advancing. We firmly believe that, despite the obstacles and traps of one kind or another some people may place on the restoration of the lawful seat of the Kingdom of Cambodia in the United Nations, a just cause is, after all, irresistible. All attempts at obstructing the restoration of the lawful seat of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia in the United Nations are bound to fail completely in the end. The traitorous Lon Nol clique will certainly be thrown on the garbage heap of history by the Cambodian people and the people of the rest of the world, and the Cambodian people will certainly win complete victory. We hope that all justice-upholding countries will join us in supporting the immediate restoration of the lawful rights of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia in the United Nations and expel the representatives of the traitorous Lon Nol puppet clique from the seats they have usurped in the United Nations and all the related organizations.

The meeting rose at 1.05 p.m.