

DOCUMENTATION

*An Appeal for Kampuchean Independence**

The central issue in the Kampuchean problem is the survival of the Kampuchean nation and the restoration of its independence and sovereignty. The total withdrawal of foreign forces, the exercise of self-determination and national reconciliation are essential elements for the survival of an independent and sovereign Kampuchea. The continuing foreign occupation of Kampuchea and violation of Kampuchean sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity threaten regional and international peace and security.

The Foreign Ministers therefore call on the international community, particularly Vietnam and the five Permanent Members of the U.N. Security Council as well as other states concerned, to join them in intensifying efforts to achieve a just solution whereby Kampuchea can emerge once again as an independent and sovereign nation in fact as well as in law.

In order to restore Kampuchea's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, the Foreign Ministers further appeal to all countries concerned to refrain from all interference, direct or indirect, in the internal affairs of Kampuchea and to respect the neutral and non-aligned status of Kampuchea, which is essential to the legitimate security concerns of all countries in Southeast Asia.

Moreover, following the total withdrawal of foreign troops from Kampuchea, the Kampuchean people must be able to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination through internationally-supervised elections in which all Kampucheans shall participate and all political groups in Kampuchea should be encouraged to work towards the goal of national reconciliation.

In consonance with the ongoing international efforts, the Foreign Ministers reiterate their willingness to consult with all parties concerned regarding possible initial steps that could be taken in pursuit of a comprehensive political settlement of the Kampuchean problem. These steps could include the following:

— With regard to the declared intention of Vietnam to conduct partial troop withdrawals, such partial withdrawals should take place on a territorial basis, and could begin with withdrawal from the westernmost territory of Kampuchea along the Thai-Kampuchean border. These withdrawals should

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begin as soon as possible in phases within a definite period to be worked out as part of a comprehensive political settlement.

— In this context, a ceasefire should be observed in these areas, which should then be constituted as safe areas for uprooted Kampuchean civilians under UNHCR auspices. In addition, peace-keeping forces-observer groups should be introduced to ensure that the withdrawals have taken place and the ceasefire and safe areas are respected. International economic assistance programmes should be encouraged in these safe areas.

The Foreign Ministers, conscious of the plight of the Kampuchean people resulting from the ravages of war and mindful of the need for the economic reconstruction of Kampuchea and the rehabilitation of the social and cultural life of the Kampuchean people, hereby appeal to the international community to mobilise resources for a programme of assistance as part and parcel of the comprehensive political settlement of the Kampuchean problem.

An international conference for the reconstruction and rehabilitation of Kampuchea should be convened at an appropriate time.

SOURCE: *Straits Times*, 22 September 1983.

Speech by the Vietnamese Minister for Foreign Affairs, Nguyen Co Thach, at the reception given in honour of H.E. Mr Bill Hayden, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Australia, in Hanoi, on 29 June 1983

Your Excellency Mr Foreign Minister and Madam Bill Hayden, Distinguished Australian and Vietnamese friends:

The Vietnamese people have come to know Australia through the storms that have raged over Vietnam's soil for the past several decades. The Vietnamese know two contrasting Australias: the one that participated in the U.S. war of aggression in Viet Nam and in the recent past supported China's policy against the three Indochinese countries; and the other which has supported the Vietnamese people's struggle for independence, made a sizable contribution to ending the U.S. war of aggression in Viet Nam, and is now carrying out a policy of friendship towards Vietnam, thus actively contributing to the cause of peace and co-operation in Southeast Asia.

The Vietnamese people and the Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam are very happy to welcome Your Excellency, the worthy representative of the Australia which the Vietnamese highly respect, the Australia of peace, independence and friendship. Five years ago, we had prepared to receive you, but only today it is possible for you to realize your desire, thus meeting our own wish and expectation. The capacity in which you visit us has changed, but not your thoughts and feelings. You and your wife are, indeed, very dear friends of the Vietnamese people.

The Vietnamese people whose indomitable will has been tested by 15 million tons of U.S. bombs and whose dignity has never been debased by poverty and difficulties, highly appreciate your bravery, your will to independence and attachment to peace and friendship, despite pressures from both sides of the Pacific.

Southeast Asia is the only region in the world that has been devastated by the longest and most bloody wars. And the main victims have been and are the three Indochinese countries. At present, the reactionary forces try to realize their designs by stirring up antagonisms in Southeast Asia.

The three Indochinese countries, more than anyone else, long for independence and peace. That all three have attained independence is due to their solidarity and mutual assistance in the struggle against the common enemy, on the basis of respect for each other's independence and sovereignty. This is also due to their respect for the independence and sovereignty of other countries.

We are of the view that the peace and independence of the Southeast Asian countries can only be ensured if the policy of antagonism is brought to

an end, and a policy of peace, independence, friendship and co-operation is implemented among the countries in the region.

On this basis, we welcome, as the greatest contribution of Australia to the cause of peace and independence in Southeast Asia, the policy of peace, friendship and co-operation pursued by the Government of the Labour Party of Australia towards all countries in the region, irrespective of differences in their social systems. This policy of the Labour Party Government is an extremely important factor for peace and stability in Southeast Asia.

We are convinced that Your Excellency and Mrs Hayden's visit to Vietnam will open up a new stage in the relations between our two countries and greatly contribute to the cause of peace in Southeast Asia.

In this very cordial and friendly atmosphere, may I ask you to join me in a toast to:

- The ever growing consolidation and development of the fine relations of friendship and co-operation between Viet Nam and Australia!
- The health of H.E. Prime Minister B. Hawke!
- The health of H.E. Mr Foreign Minister and Madam Bill Hayden!
- To the health of all of you, distinguished Australian and Vietnamese friends who are present here tonight!

*Mr Hayden's Speech in Reply to Foreign Minister Nguyen Co Thach**

I am just worried that it may take you five years from now when I raise questions with you today, to reply to them. I hope you work more efficiently than our system does. But I am very pleased to join you. I am only the third Minister from Australia to visit Hanoi. The others were Dr Jim Cairns and Lionel Bowen. They both came here in 1973. I mention very quickly the very warm regard that I have had, and continue to have, for Dr Jim Cairns. You may recall he was active in opposition in Australia, and America, to the American involvement in the conflict in Vietnam and wrote many books on the subject. He was a very important figure in that period. I think it is also significant to recall that all visits, albeit only two, and now the third one to Hanoi have been done by Ministers of a Labor Government. There are a number of things I would like to mention to you in relation to this visit, in relation to our past. The first thing is that within the Labor Party there is a very deep concern about Vietnam, about its future, not an uncritical one. I am sure you wouldn't want it that way. But nonetheless a very genuine one because of our commitment in the 1950's very later, as the war in Vietnam started to develop. In the 1960's it became quite obvious that it was a major superpower conflict involved in this region. We did not flinch once and decided that it was an issue of great moral concern criticising the involvement of Western influences in that war. For my part of course, there is a very special relationship. I like to pride myself that I was one of the first three in the National Parliament of Australia in the very very early 1960's in expressing that opposition. So in that sense Vietnam, Australia's association with Vietnam, occupies a special place. But I would be less than mature and balanced if I didn't also acknowledge that as a Government we discharge responsibilities to our allies, and we have a treaty association with the United States of America. We have a very close association with the Peoples' Republic of China.

In the early 1970's, even before we became the Government in Australia, our then leader Gough Whitlam, went into China, when it was unpopular, breaking up a log-jam in recognition for China in establishing something which in our view should have been established a long time before. We have never believed that there is a productive outcome for policies in foreign relations to isolate and punish particular countries of the world. We have extended in the case of China. We extend that in the case of Vietnam, Kampuchea, all of the other countries of the world. It is not to say that certain processes shouldn't be gone through. And as a Democratic Socialist Party we

*ED: Speech reproduced verbatim.

have a more expansive view of our obligations to the nation states of the world than perhaps applies with Conservative Governments. We have a very special relationship with the ASEAN countries. They are close to us in terms of trade. We are increasingly involved in their development and we see ourselves as part of the South-East Asian region of the world. We may be on the ridge of it. Nevertheless what happens in this part of the world is important to us. And accordingly — although some might wish to present us as outsiders in recent developments taking place in this part of the world which have profound consequences especially for future generations of Australians — we feel, we have an obligation to make some sort of contribution. So, my visit today is an expression of that genuine concern that we have. We want to see established progressively, as quickly as is practically and properly so, a mature and balanced bilateral relationship with Vietnam, and indeed to develop that relationship which we have with the countries of the Indochina peninsula. But most of all my colleagues and I have come here in the cause of peace. We have a very healthy respect for the limitations of the contribution we can make. At the same time we believe we have an obligation to try to make contribution. I have consistently said that the prospects for us making some sort of substantial impact on this impasse which exists in this area are, if not limited, probably worse than that, non-existent. But we have an obligation. So I have been encouraged as a result of my discussions over the last two days with ASEAN countries. It seems to me that there is a possibility, slender, but existing, for some progress to be made. It is important however that if progress is to be made that it is recognised that concessions on accommodation, however we describe it, is not just a responsibility for one party. It is a responsibility for Vietnam, for Kampuchea. It is a responsibility for all parties. The final result we want to see is stability, peace, harmony and cooperation in our area. It has been the basis of our approach today. It will be the basis of our discussions tomorrow. I trust that no matter how small, we will make some progress from this meeting. Finally, for me it is a very important experience to be here. It is a sentimental experience, and it is an emotional experience. As you rightly recall my interest in Vietnam extends over two decades. Parliamentary record shows beyond any dispute the views that I have expressed in support of the Vietnamese peoples' right to have an independent country of their own, to develop their own sense of nationalism and carve out their own destiny. Within proper parameters I will do all I can to promote that objective.

Thank you for your hospitality tonight. May I propose a toast to the President of Vietnam, the Prime Minister of Vietnam and the people of Vietnam.