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President: Mr. Rüdiger von WECHMAR
(Federal Republic of Germany).

AGENDA ITEM 3

Credentials of representatives to the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly (continued):

(b) Report of the Credentials Committee

FIRST REPORT OF THE CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE (A/35/484)

1. Mr. HULINSKÝ (Czechoslovakia) (*interpretation from Russian*): Once again, it is proposed that we should recognize a gang of murderers as possessing the right to represent the people of Kampuchea in the United Nations. That is both ridiculous and monstrous. Although one can hear, behind the scenes of the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly, voices saying that this is the last time that those who initiated this "decision" will be able to attempt to have it adopted, my delegation has no intention of taking part in this orchestrated farce.

2. If initially, immediately after the people of Kampuchea had overthrown the Pol Pot clique, some people could still count on the bewilderment of world public opinion and on misinformation, today the essence of the problem we are facing is quite obvious to all. To extend even for a single day the presence within our Organization of private persons from the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary group—which, in pursuing a policy of genocide against the people of their own country, annihilated more than 3 million Kampucheans—is totally absurd.

3. It is useless to attempt to justify this conduct by legalistic exercises or lectures on the laws of physics—which, incidentally, we did not hear from some of the speakers before me during the many years when the Imperialistic militarists were sowing death in the countries of Indo-China in their long-drawn-out aggressive war. Whether they like it or not, the decision proposed in the first report of the Credentials Committee can be viewed only as an inglorious support for the genocidal régime and a futile attempt to restore it in Kampuchea, an attempt that is unworthy of the United Nations, a desecration of the memory of the régime's

victims and an act of discrimination against the people of that country. Incidentally, is it not typical that only the Chinese Maoists have come forward openly in support of the Pol Pot clique?

4. In February this year an official visit was paid to Kampuchea by the President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, Gustáv Husák and a communiqué adopted in the course of that visit states, *inter alia*:

"The situation in Kampuchea remains unchanged. The People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea, which controls the whole territory of the State, is the sole authentic and legal representative of the Kampuchean people and the lawful seat of that country in the United Nations and other international organizations belongs to it alone."

5. On the basis of this position, the Czechoslovak delegation objects to the recommendation that the General Assembly should recognize the credentials of the representatives of the régime of darkness which was overthrown by the Kampuchean people.

6. My delegation once again from this rostrum today would like to make it absolutely clear that the lawful Government of Kampuchea is the People's Revolutionary Council of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, which exercises effective State power throughout the territory of its country and is pursuing in its external relations a policy of non-alignment, peace, friendship and international co-operation, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

7. As can be seen from the telegrams of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, Hun Sen, dated 10 and 13 September 1980, [A/35/454 and A/35/455], that Government alone has the right to act on behalf of the Kampuchean people in international affairs.

8. Mr. PETROVSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): Before expressing the views of our delegation on the agenda item under discussion, I should like, Mr. President, to associate myself with your words of condolence addressed to the Algerian delegation in connexion with the tragic natural disaster which afflicted the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria just a few days ago. The Soviet delegation would like to request the Permanent Representative of Algeria to the United Nations, Ambassador Mr. Bedjaoui, to convey our deepest sympathy to the families of those who died and to the people and Government of Algeria at the great human and material losses sustained because of the earthquake.

9. In connexion with the first report of the Credentials Committee submitted to the General Assembly, the Soviet delegation would like to make the following statement.

10. The Soviet delegation, reaffirming the position it set forth in the Credentials Committee, believes it to be necessary once again to state that it opposes the approval of the credentials of the "delegation of Democratic Kampuchea". We should like to stress that Kampuchea can be represented only by a delegation duly appointed by the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea.
11. Two years have gone by since the Kampuchean people, under the leadership of the National United Front for the Salvation of Kampuchea, put an end to the criminal régime of the puppet clique which had pursued a policy of mass annihilation of the population of the country and aggressive attacks on neighbouring States.
12. The whole world knows the facts of the bloody misdeeds of the Pol Pot gang, which is guilty of the genocide resulting in 3 million Kampuchean victims. Now, having been driven out of Kampuchea, the Pol Pot group is continuing its criminal activity outside the bounds of its country's territory.
13. With the formation of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, which has already been recognized by a large number of States, all power in the country has been fully transferred to the hands of the People's Revolutionary Council, the sole lawful Government of Kampuchea. The Kampuchean people has finally become the master of its own country and has set up its People's Government, which serves the interests and directs the development of the country along the path of independence, democracy and social progress.
14. It is well known by everyone that in the time that has elapsed since the overthrow of the Pol Pot régime, the People's Revolutionary Council of the People's Republic of Kampuchea with the active support of the widest circles of the population has established effective control over the whole territory of the country, stamped out famine, reopened schools, hospitals and pagodas, revived agricultural production and put factories back into operation. We have every ground to state that the changes which have taken place in Kampuchea are irreversible. The solidity and genuinely democratic character of the new Power are demonstrated also by the fact that the National United Front for the Salvation of Kampuchea and the People's Revolutionary Council have adopted the decision to hold general elections at the beginning of next year for the highest legislative organ of the country.
15. In the field of foreign policy, the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea has been consistently pursuing a policy of friendship and co-operation with all neighbouring countries and is firmly supporting peace and stability in South-East Asia and the strengthening of international peace and security in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.
16. The fact that the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea has for a long time been actively co-operating with the United Nations and other international organizations in restoring the economy and the social and cultural life in the country is also of considerable importance. Within the framework of this co-operation, dozens of representatives of international organizations, including the United Nations, are living and working in Kampuchea. It is worth drawing attention to that fact when one considers that when it was in power the Pol Pot faction, which is now, with all its strength and without any legal basis, striving to keep its seat at the United Nations, drove out of Kampuchea all representatives of the United Nations and other international organizations, thus demonstrating its lack of respect for those organizations.
17. In the light of all those facts, it becomes entirely clear that the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea is the sole lawful representative of the Kampuchean people and possesses the exclusive right to act on behalf of Kampuchea in the international arena, including at the United Nations.
18. The question of who should represent the interests of States at the United Nations is an important political problem, the solution to which entails serious consequences for, among other things, the prestige of our Organization. We cannot resign ourselves to the fact that from the rostrum of the United Nations people should be speaking who are hated and not recognized by the Kampuchean people. The preservation within the United Nations of a seat for people who represent no one and who, in addition, are being financed and aided from outside, serves only to undermine the authority of our Organization. We have to look the facts in the face and recognize that to vote for the approval of the credentials of the so-called "representatives of Democratic Kampuchea", no matter what arguments are adduced in their favour, is tantamount to supporting the criminal Pol Pot clique and can be viewed only as an intention to promote its return. Any other interpretation of such a vote is impossible.
19. The legitimate question arises: whose interests are served by the inadmissible situation where, in the United Nations, we still find people who represent no one but themselves? The answer is clear. This long-drawn-out anomaly plays into the hands only of imperialistic and hegemonistic quarters which are striving to hinder the normalization of the situation in the People's Republic of Kampuchea and to destabilize the situation in Indo-China and throughout South-East Asia. These quarters make unceasing attempts to galvanize the "policial corpse" thrown onto the scrap—heap of history—namely, the Pol Pot régime—and in doing so, they crudely flout the elementary norms of morality and international law.
20. In connexion with the first report of the Credentials Committee, the Soviet delegation cannot fail to draw attention to a double standard in the conduct of the Chinese People's Republic, whose Government was deprived for more than 20 years of representation within our Organization and which, with very justification, and with the support of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, fought for and eventually won its lawful seat in our Organization. Today, however, we see that country—having made a 180-degree turn on the question of representation at the United Nations and characteristically using in essence those very arguments which were used against the restoration of its own rights in the United Nations—coming out on the side of the criminal régime which has once and for all been repudiated by its people.

21. The duty of those who cherish the lofty goals and principles of the United Nations is to call a halt to the designs of the enemies of the Kampuchean people and put an end to the abnormal situation in the United Nations whereby the lawful rights of the People's Republic of Kampuchea are being ignored, including their right to participate in the work of our Organization. A decision of that kind on the problem, in keeping with the will of the Kampuchean people, would be precisely the most just and the best founded.
22. At the same time, as a first, and I would say a minimum, step towards such a solution, at this stage, in the view of the Soviet delegation, the General Assembly should adopt the amendment [A/35/L.5] to the report of the Credentials Committee submitted by a number of countries, which provides for non-recognition of the credentials of the representative of the Pol Pot clique. This is necessary in the interest of stability and peace in Kampuchea itself and throughout the region of South-East Asia and also in the interest of strengthening the authority of the United Nations.
23. Mr. FLORIN (German Democratic Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): Mr. President, my delegation would like to associate itself with your expression of profound condolence to the Algerian people in connexion with the tragic earthquake in the town of El Asnam.
24. Speaking today in the General Assembly, the delegation of the German Democratic Republic would like from this rostrum to congratulate the delegation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics most warmly on the successful conclusion of a space flight by Soviet astronauts Popov and Ryumin after their record stay in space.
25. Today the United Nations membership numbers 154. It is understandable that a certain amount of time is necessary for verifying the credentials of all delegations. Therefore at previous sessions decisions on this matter were adopted at a later stage, and that excluded the possibility of improper interpretations or of any element of undesirable discrimination among delegations. At this session of the Assembly there are some people who want to change the order of work which has stood the test of time, and we should like to ask this question: why should we offend delegations which have not had time to present their credentials by the beginning of the first meeting of the Credentials Committee?
26. As far as the representative of the people of Kampuchea in the United Nations is concerned, the German Democratic Republic believes that the seat of Kampuchea in the United Nations belongs to the People's Revolutionary Council of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, the sole lawful and rightful representative of the Kampuchean people. This is a moral and lawful consequence of the developments in Kampuchea since the overthrow of the criminal Pol Pot clique, which occurred 20 months ago. The People's Revolutionary Council enjoys the total support of the Kampuchean people; it is successfully conducting the struggle of that people to overcome their onerous inheritance of the past and for the restoration of the country; and, as was stressed by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea in his telegram of 10 September last to the Secretary-General of the United Nations:
- "In foreign policy, the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea advocates friendship and co-operation with neighbouring countries, peace and stability in South-East Asia, and international peace and security, in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations." [See A/35/454, annex.]
27. The fact that the representative of the Pol Pot régime is still present in the United Nations is indeed an affront to our Organization and a violation of the principles contained in the Charter, principles of peaceful and fruitful co-operation among States. The Pol Pot régime is guilty of genocide; it has, with unprecedented crudity, flouted and trampled underfoot the rights of the Kampuchean people and committed aggression against a neighbouring country. It was inspired to do that by certain circles in Peking. The relevant facts are known to everyone. Therefore that régime was overthrown by the people, and it has no right to act in the United Nations as representative of Kampuchea. Moreover, it is now an urgent necessity to eliminate this obstacle to the authentic representation of the Kampuchean people in the United Nations.
28. No problem affecting Kampuchea and peace in South-East Asia can be solved without the participation of representatives of the People's Revolutionary Council of the People's Republic of Kampuchea. My delegation, for this reason too, most earnestly urges that we should eliminate the illegal presence of the Pol Pot régime in the United Nations and ensure for the rightful representative of the people of Kampuchea, the People's Revolutionary Council of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, the opportunity to exercise its rights as a Member of the United Nations.
29. I have one final comment. Mankind can expect nothing positive from a policy which recognizes that the Pol Pot clique is guilty of genocide but, despite that fact, is ready to support those criminals.
30. Mr. GYAWALI (Nepal): On behalf of His Majesty's Government and the people of Nepal, I should like to express our sincere sympathy and condolences to the Government and people of Algeria concerning the devastation caused by the recent earthquake.
31. We welcome the first report of the Credentials Committee which accepts the credentials of the delegation of Democratic Kampuchea. We are confident that the General Assembly will approve the recommendation of that Committee. Acceptance of the credentials of Democratic Kampuchea is the reiteration of faith in two basic founding principles of the United Nations, namely, the inviolability of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of a State and the non-recognition of any situation created by the use of force. There can be no deviation from those principles.
32. Every State Member of the United Nations has a right to exist. The Charter has specifically provided that States should refrain from using force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State. It is the inherent right of the people of any

State to choose their own Government, to judge its performance and to change it if they want.

33. No other State has the right to judge the performance of any Government and to alter the destiny of the people by imposing a substitute Government by force of arms. So long as the people of Kampuchea of their own free will do not decide otherwise, the Government of Democratic Kampuchea continues to represent the country. By no external interference, under any pretext, can the inherent sovereign right of the people of Kampuchea be usurped. The practice of usurping the rights of a sovereign people will, if accepted, make all Members of the United Nations vulnerable to the use of force. Hence, by accepting the recommendation of the Credentials Committee, the General Assembly will be reiterating its commitment to the basic principles of the United Nations.

34. Mr. BILINSKI (Poland): Mr. President, on behalf of the delegation of Poland, I wish to join you and all other speakers in extending to the delegation of Algeria sincere condolences on the latest disastrous catastrophe in Algeria. We were deeply moved when we learnt about the extent of the earthquake, which took so many lives and caused enormous damage to the Algerian population.

35. The Polish delegation has asked to speak in order to put on record its serious reservations concerning the recommendation contained in the first report of the Credentials Committee [A/35/484]. Not without strong opposition on the part of some of its members, the Committee accepted the credentials of representatives of the régime of the so-called Democratic Kampuchea, which has arrogated power. Even members of the Committee who spoke in favour of the contested credentials readily voiced their detestation of the conduct of and crimes perpetrated by the Pol Pot clique in Kampuchea. In that latter regard, the delegation of Poland fully shares their assessment of the corrupt régime.

36. In order to be consistent, however, we cannot go along with the contention that those credentials should be accepted because "they were technically in order" [*ibid.*, para. 13] or "did not imply any judgement concerning the legitimacy of a particular Government" [*ibid.*; para. 15]. Were that the case, what would be the over-all use of presenting the credentials of representatives of Member States to every General Assembly?

37. In fact, if it were only a matter of their technical appearance, anybody could usurp the right to issue credentials that are technically in order on behalf of numerous States Members of the United Nations. It is easy to imagine the confusion and injustices that might henceforth prevail in our Organization. Likewise, if the acceptance of credentials does not imply any judgement concerning the legitimacy of a particular Government, why then does their unjustified acceptance by the Credentials Committee prevent the sole legal representative of Kampuchea, the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, from taking its rightful place in the United Nations, an Organization which even has its own representatives in that country's capital.

38. Poland's position on the issue under consideration has been clear and unequivocal from the very beginning.

39. The only authentic and legitimate representative of Kampuchea is its People's Revolutionary Council, which exercises full control and sovereignty over its territory. It has embarked upon a policy of peace and national reconstruction and the restoration of human dignity and basic rights to all the Kampuchean. In its external relations it is pursuing a policy of co-operation and good relations with all countries, in particular with its neighbours. It has gained wide recognition and respect for its vigorous efforts to get Kampuchea out of the disastrous situation brought about by the genocidal and inhuman clique of Pol Pot. It therefore goes without saying that the credentials of persons who represent nobody should be flatly rejected and the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, now officially recognized by a growing number of States, should take its rightful place in the United Nations.

40. These are the considerations that led the Polish delegation, along with other sponsors, to submit the amendment now before the Assembly [A/35/L.5]. Its adoption would certainly be for the good of the people of Kampuchea and serve the interests of peace, co-operation and security in South-East Asia.

41. Mr. DASHTSEREN (Mongolia): Mr. President, at the outset I should like to join you and other speakers in expressing deep sympathy and extending condolences to the people and Government of Algeria in connexion with the natural calamity that has befallen the people and land of Algeria.

42. My delegation cannot accept the report of the Credentials Committee in its present form because, paradoxically, it found in order papers issued to persons who pretend to represent the so-called Democratic Kampuchea, which exists only in the minds of some people as a counterpoise to the People's Republic of Kampuchea, whose legitimate Government, the People's Revolutionary Council, is the sole genuine representative of the Kampuchean people.

43. The time has come to put an end to the illegal presence of the representatives of the non-existent régime in the United Nations and to restore the Kampuchean seat to its true representatives.

44. As is well known, the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary genocidal régime, which, upon instructions and with the encouragement of its hegemonist masters, massacred in a most brutal manner over 3 million of its own people, was overthrown by the people long ago, while the leaders of that régime were sentenced to death by the People's Revolutionary Tribunal of Kampuchea. The various manoeuvres in imperialist, hegemonist and other quarters to preserve the Kampuchean seat in the United Nations for the Pol Pot men by any possible means are nothing but attempts to undermine the process of the restoration of Kampuchea.

45. The People's Revolutionary Council established by the people of Kampuchea as a result of their overthrowing of the hated genocidal régime is in full control of the country's territory and has embarked upon the peaceful reconstruction of the country.

46. As was pointed out in the telegram from the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea sent to the President of the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly and the Secretary-General of the United Nations:

"In the space of 20 months, the People's Revolutionary Council of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, which enjoys unanimous support from the Kampuchean people, has swept away all the haunts of Pol Pot and Ieng Sary within the country, stamped out famine, revived agricultural production..., reopened schools, hospitals and pagodas—in a word, has brought about the rebirth of Kampuchea in all spheres, economic, social and cultural, in conditions of order and almost complete security.

"In foreign policy, the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea advocates friendship and co-operation with neighbouring countries, peace and stability in South-East Asia, and international peace and security, in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations." [See A/35/454, annex.]

47. From the aforementioned it is quite evident that the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea is the sole authentic and lawful representative of the Kampuchean people. Its internal measures, as well as its external policy, are in full accordance with the genuine interests and aspirations of the long-suffering people of Kampuchea.

48. In the view of my delegation, the mandate of the Credentials Committee is not limited solely to a formal, technical task of classifying the credentials according to their form and reporting thereon or determining whether they bear the signatures of heads of State or Government or of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs. Such a task could have easily been entrusted to the Secretariat. One of the main tasks of the Credentials Committee, in our view, is to verify and report on whether the credentials are to be considered legal and valid. It is for these political and legal considerations that the General Assembly appoints nine members of the Credentials Committee on the proposal of the President. The political nature of the mandate of the Credentials Committee is evident from its composition.

49. The question of representation should be considered in the light of the purposes and principles of the Charter. In deciding the question of the representation of Kampuchea, the General Assembly would in fact be passing a serious judgement on whether the People's Revolutionary Council is able and willing to carry out the obligations of Kampuchea assumed under Article 2 of the Charter of the United Nations. It is quite evident that only the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea exercises control over the country's territory, enjoys not only the full support of the people but recognition by a large number of States and is capable of carrying out Kampuchea's international obligations.

50. Therefore, on the international arena, any person not appointed by the People's Revolutionary Council has no right to represent the Kampuchean people. In like manner, no problem affecting the internal or external affairs of Kampuchea can be resolved in any international bodies, including the General Assembly, without the participation of the duly appointed representatives of the People's Revolutionary Council of the People's Republic of Kampuchea. To ignore this reality and, even worse, to allow the continued illegal presence in the United Nations of some individuals

representing no one, who have, moreover, been found to be criminals and enemies of the people and thus justly sentenced to death *in absentia*, would amount to gross interference in the affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea and an insult to and flagrant violation of the sovereign rights of the Kampuchean people.

51. In view of the foregoing, my delegation, together with other like-minded delegations, has submitted an amendment to the draft resolution contained in the first report of the Credentials Committee and commends it for adoption.

52. Mr. RANDRIANANJA (Madagascar) (*interpretation from French*): We were dismayed to learn that the earthquake which devastated the town of El Asnam, in Algeria, caused the deaths of several thousand persons and produced many other victims. On behalf of the revolutionary power of Madagascar and the compassionate people of my country, we express our condolences to the Government and fraternal people of Algeria, to whom we are bound by many historical ties and by an affinity of ideals, interests and struggle.

53. We were reluctant to take part in this debate—not because of a lack of conviction or indifference to the People's Republic of Kampuchea, but because the States members of the non-aligned movement are divided on this question, as was demonstrated by the consensus reached at Havana, and because it was agreed that a common position would be determined when the proper bodies of the movement had considered the substance of the matter.

54. We feel we acted in accordance with our responsibility in advocating, at the sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Havana in September 1979, and at the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly the "vacant seat" solution, which we continue to believe is the only valid solution if we wish not to become bogged down in the confusion that is being fostered at will by certain circles. Since last year's debates the notions of credentials, legitimacy, legality, recognition, representation and Member State have been treated as interchangeable—although interdependent—ideas and, according to the viewpoint of each party, proposals are put forward which are not always in accordance with the facts or with the political role of the General Assembly.

55. There is even more real confusion, if one is willing to agree that it is difficult to find in the Charter, in the rules of procedure of the General Assembly and even in the jurisprudence of our Organization a coherent set of rules in accordance with which we can define in legal terms recognition of a State and representation of a State. Precedents are not lacking, but one gets the impression that every past case has been a special case, that the solutions adopted by the General Assembly varied from case to case and that there are no common rules of universal applicability. That is why we say that this is a political problem going beyond the narrow framework of a technical issue that should be disposed of before anything else is tackled.

56. Consideration of the report of the Credentials Committee prompts us to make the following comments.

57. First, rule 28 of the rules of procedure provides that the Committee "shall examine the credentials of representatives and report without delay". Nowhere is it stated that those credentials have to be accepted or approved, and we express reservations regarding paragraph 15 of document A/35/484, as the General Assembly is the only body empowered to approve the credentials of Member States.
58. Secondly, the work of the Credentials Committee has been performed in accordance with rule 27 of the rules of procedure. It has been stated many times that it is a physical examination of credentials, which is concerned only with the appearance and the form. The technical validity of credentials is but one aspect of the question, and it is regrettable that the practice of the Committee does not allow it to submit information to the General Assembly that would enable it to take informed political decisions. If that were done, it would remove the ambiguity that might lead to the belief that it is sufficient to submit credentials in the proper form to the Committee for them to be approved subsequently by the Assembly.
59. Thirdly, the Committee should have dealt with the documents presented by the People's Republic of Kampuchea under item 3 of our agenda. Two delegations have mentioned these documents, but the Committee itself seems to have ignored them. Hence we have no way of knowing whether those documents were found unacceptable, or for what reason they were not formally brought to the attention of the members of the Committee.
60. Fourthly, the credentials of the People's Republic of Kampuchea not having been examined, we should like to know whether consideration of the credentials of the representatives of so-called Democratic Kampuchea was carried out according to the rules and took account of the conflicting claims of the two parties. That does not seem to be the case, and we can only conclude that the acceptance of the credentials of so-called Democratic Kampuchea is marred by faulty procedure.
61. We dispute the circumstances in which the credentials of so-called Democratic Kampuchea were considered and then declared valid. The delegation of the Democratic Republic of Madagascar cannot, even in purely technical terms, accept them, and we will vote in favour of the proposed amendment contained in document A/35/L.5. In this regard, we must recall that as far as we are concerned the approval of the Pol Pot régime's credentials is contrary to our original position in favour of the vacant seat formula, which was endorsed by the non-aligned movement at Havana.
62. We have been told that that would mean depriving a State of its status as a Member and that we would be violating the provisions of the Charter. I should like to assure those who hold that view that, like them, we support the principle of State continuity, but recognition of the representation deriving from collective action by our Organization must be based on objective, not discretionary, criteria.
63. On more than one occasion in this debate the criterion of effective control has been advanced. Clearly, the Pol Pot régime does not fulfil that criterion. This fact may not suit certain policies or interests, and in all honesty we should recognize that the application of that criterion could constitute interference in the internal affairs of the Kampuchean people. But if such interference serves to make us face reality, truth and justice, is it not preferable to that other kind of interference which consists in not recognizing that the Kampuchean people has already made its choice? Indeed, it is not for us, at least in these deliberations, to take a stand on the conditions in which political power in Kampuchea was assumed.
64. We have all tried to advance more or less technical and legal arguments. Experience, however, has taught us that it is not by rationalization that we have settled the question of the representation of a State, but that we have had to bow to the will of peoples, events and the course of history. It is high time that we left the realm of unreality and put an end to a fiction.
65. Mr. NISIBORI (Japan): First of all, on behalf of the Japanese Government and people, I should like to extend profound condolences to the Government and people of Algeria in connexion with the recent tragic disaster, which has caused heavy casualties and damage. Coming as I do from a country very often visited by earthquakes, I feel truly deep and heartfelt sympathy, in particular with the bereaved families of the victims in Algeria.
66. The first report of the Credentials Committee [A/35/484], as introduced by the representative of Costa Rica, recommends to the General Assembly that the credentials of the representatives of the Member States concerned be accepted.
67. My delegation has consistently maintained the position that the competence of the Credentials Committee is limited to ascertaining whether the credentials submitted by delegations comply with rule 27 of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly. In this regard, the first report of the Credentials Committee has my delegation's full support.
68. However, the amendment to the draft resolution submitted by some Members in document A/35/L.5 singles out and repudiates the credentials of one delegation—namely, that of Democratic Kampuchea. My delegation has no doubt about the validity of the credentials of the representative of Democratic Kampuchea, which were issued by a legitimate Government and submitted to the Secretary-General in due form, as is clearly stated in the Secretary-General's memorandum of 19 September 1980. In our view, the delegation of Democratic Kampuchea is the only legitimate representative of that country in the United Nations.
69. It is self-evident that, by proposing the amendment, its sponsors intend to unseat the representative of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea in the United Nations, with the eventual aim of seating a representative of the so-called People's Republic of Kampuchea. Although the legal effects of the adoption of the amendment would be debatable, in my delegation's view, what should be considered in voting on the amendment is that its adoption could be tantamount to accepting the so-called vacant seat formula, which is unprecedented in United Nations history and is unacceptable, at least to my delegation. My delegation therefore cannot accept the amendment

because that would result in undermining the credentials of the representatives of Democratic Kampuchea. The validity of credentials must be objectively and impartially ascertained on technical and legal grounds alone, without consideration of a Government's political orientation or policies.

70. In that connexion, my delegation feels it important to emphasize that Japan's endorsement of the credentials of Democratic Kampuchea on the technical grounds to which I have just referred in no way implies any degree of support or approval of the actions taken by the Government of Democratic Kampuchea in the past. Nevertheless, no matter how deplorable the record of that régime may have been, any attempt to overthrow that régime through the intervention of foreign military forces is totally unjustifiable. Furthermore, my delegation calls to the attention of Member States the fact that the repudiation of Democratic Kampuchea's representation in the United Nations would involve the eventual recognition by the international community of the situation in Kampuchea created by the military intervention of foreign forces in that country.

71. The credentials of Democratic Kampuchea were accepted by a majority of Member States at the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly. During the last 12 months, the political situation in Kampuchea has not changed at all—Vietnamese troops remain stationed in that country in defiance of resolution 34/22, which, *inter alia*, called for the immediate withdrawal of foreign forces. Under those circumstances, my delegation sees no reason why the General Assembly should change its position by not accepting the credentials of Democratic Kampuchea for the current session.

72. In the next few days, the General Assembly will be taking up once again the agenda item on the situation in Kampuchea. At that time, my delegation will explain its views in greater detail, taking fully into account the elements contained in resolution 34/22 and in the draft resolution contained in document A/35/L.2, in the hope of finding, in co-operation with other peace-loving nations in the world, a political solution to this grave problem.

73. Mr. RÁCZ (Hungary) (*interpretation from French*): To judge from the main thrust of the report by the Credentials Committee and from the statements we have heard, this is not a purely technical question. It is a problem that affects the smooth functioning of our Organization and how we are to be judged by world public opinion. In a word, we are once again in a situation that will directly test the authority and the image of the United Nations.

74. I should like to inform the General Assembly of the objections that we have regarding the report. They concern the powers of the so-called delegation of Democratic Kampuchea. We, and a large number of other countries, have on many occasions said that those who claim that they are the representatives of Kampuchea and its people are in fact only usurpers, envoys of the remaining members of the Pol Pot clique. And we are all familiar with the abominable crimes committed by that clique against the unfortunate Khmer people.

75. Hence, my delegation is able to subscribe to the report of the Credentials Committee, with the exception of the mandate of the Democratic Kampuchea régime, which exists only on paper. We share the concerns that have been expressed by the representatives of a number of countries and we recommend that our Assembly act accordingly.

76. We should like to draw the attention of the Assembly to document A/35/L.5, which we have sponsored. It briefly reflects our position. We commend it to the Assembly for adoption. That decision would bring justice to the Khmer people, would dissipate all doubts and would pave the way for that country's legal Government to return to its seat in the Assembly, the only Government capable of discharging its international responsibilities under the Charter of the United Nations, namely the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

77. We should like to repeat, forcefully, that it is unpardonable to consider this matter purely as a legal or procedural issue. It is a singularly political problem; it has to do with either recognizing political reality in Kampuchea—its successes, but also its inevitable difficulties—or giving international recognition to the sordid myth of Democratic Kampuchea, whose envoys in truth represent no one.

78. Today we have heard statements from those who, while recommending that we accept the representatives of Democratic Kampuchea in our midst, have felt—and not without reason—that they should disassociate themselves from the crimes of the Pol Pot régime. What is the good of referring to positions previously taken against violations of human rights in Kampuchea if the very people who have taken that stand are today trying to defend—and thereby to justify—the positions of the Pol Pot group? To attempt to establish some sort of moral capital on the basis of the past is in vain. We cannot change the fact that giving the Pol Pot régime the stamp of Assembly approval would be tantamount to reconfirming the status of those who have murdered millions of innocent Kampuchians, and that, to say the very least, would not be in keeping with the spirit and letter of the Charter of the United Nations. We do not believe that anyone could convincingly dispute the basic assertion I have just made, even if such a person were to have recourse to all the subtleties of formal logic.

79. Mr. LIPATOV (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): First of all, my delegation wishes to associate itself with the deep and sincere condolences expressed from this rostrum to the Algerian people following the tremendous loss of human life and the material damage caused by the earthquake.

80. In connexion with the discussion of the report of the Credentials Committee, the General Assembly has once again had its attention focused on the question of the representation of Kampuchea in the United Nations. The General Assembly is witnessing, as it did last year, an attempt to impose upon it a decision approving the credentials of the representatives of the criminal Pol Pot régime. Efforts are under way to preserve a situation that is totally unjustified either from the point of view of universally acknowledged norms of international law or from the standpoint of

simple common sense—a situation where in Kampuchea, for some years now, a lawful Government has been operating, while the seat of that country in the United Nations is occupied by the perpetrators of violence and murder—the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique driven out by the Kampuchean people.

81. The genuine facts show that the year that has passed since the thirty-fourth session has been an important period for the formation of the People's Republic of Kampuchea. The authority of its Government, the People's Revolutionary Council, which enjoys widespread support among the population, grew and strengthened. In spite of the tremendous difficulties caused by the onerous consequences of many years of aggression by the United States and rule by the Maoist clique, the Kampuchean people, step by step and unswervingly, have been achieving success in restoring the economy and organizing peaceful life. The normalization of the situation in the country is being promoted by the assistance given by some countries and by a number of international organizations.

82. Along with the efforts at stabilizing internal political life, we can see a growth in the international authority of the People's Republic of Kampuchea. Its People's Revolutionary Council, which is pursuing a foreign policy of independence, peace, friendship and mutual understanding, has already been recognized by many countries and liberation movements. The Kampuchean people and its Government are striving to establish relations of durable friendship and co-operation with all countries in South-East Asia on the basis of the principles of respect for sovereignty, non-intervention in internal affairs and the resolution of disputes by peaceful means.

83. Only the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea is entitled to represent the People's Republic of Kampuchea in international affairs. The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic whole-heartedly supports the point made in the telegram of 10 September from the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, Mr. Hun Sen, which states:

"No problem affecting Kampuchea can be resolved in any international body, the United Nations General Assembly included, without the participation of duly appointed representatives of the People's Revolutionary Council of the People's Republic of Kampuchea." [See A/35/454, annex.]

84. We can by no means consider well founded the position of those delegations which, in words at least, condemn the policy of genocide and unprecedented atrocities committed by the pathological sadists and murderers which is what the Pol Pot régime was for its people, while on the other hand they refuse the lawful representative of the Kampuchean people, which threw off the yoke of their tyrants, the right to participate in the work of the United Nations.

85. The Ukrainian delegation is a sponsor of the amendment under consideration and vigorously objects to the recommendations in the first report of the Credentials Committee to accept the credentials of the Pol Pot régime. Such decisions by the General Assembly can only undermine the international authority and prestige of our Organization.

86. Mr. NAIK (Pakistan): Mr. President, we wish to associate ourselves with you in expressing deep grief and sorrow at the tragedy of the devastating El Asnam earthquake in which thousands of our Algerian brothers have lost their lives. We wish to convey our deep condolences and profound sympathy to the brotherly people of Algeria and pray that they may bear the grave loss suffered in this catastrophe with courage and fortitude. We also wish to express our solidarity with them in this hour of national tragedy.

87. The delegation of Pakistan takes this opportunity to offer its comments on the first report of the Credentials Committee [A/35/484] as well as the amendment to the report, [A/35/L.5].

88. It has been the firm position of principle of the Government of Pakistan that external military intervention to overthrow the lawful Government of a country constitutes a grave violation of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the norms of international law governing the rights and duties of States. These principles include respect for sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of other States and the principle of the non-use of force in international relations.

89. We approach the question of the credentials of the delegations of Kampuchea and Afghanistan from that policy of principle. We can neither recognize nor acquiesce in the legitimization of situations which are the outcome of foreign military intervention. Such intervention cannot be justified in any circumstances or on any grounds, moral or political.

90. With regard to Kampuchea, while Pakistan deplores the brutalities committed by the Pol Pot Administration against its own people, we are of the view that considerations of human rights cannot be invoked to justify a foreign military intervention. Accordingly we uphold the right of the delegation of Democratic Kampuchea to continue to represent Kampuchea in this body. Moreover, because of the continuing presence of foreign troops in Kampuchea, we do not find it possible to support the amendment contained in document A/35/L.5, which seeks to confer legitimacy on a consequence of foreign military intervention.

91. In consistence with the same position of principle, the delegation of Pakistan wishes to place on record its reservations concerning the credentials of the representatives of the Kabul authorities in the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly. Pakistan has maintained this position at the sixth emergency special session last January and also on subsequent occasions. It may be recalled that in its resolution ES-6/2, the General Assembly declared that the foreign armed intervention in Afghanistan was a clear violation of the Charter of the United Nations and called for the immediate unconditional and total withdrawal of the foreign troops from Afghanistan in order to enable its people to determine their own form of government and choose their economic, political and social systems free from outside intervention, subversion, coercion or constraint of any kind whatsoever. I therefore take this opportunity to reiterate that my delegation's non-objection to the participation of the Kabul delegation in the work of the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly should not be construed as con-

stituting recognition of the régime in Kabul or the acceptance of the continued foreign armed intervention in Afghanistan.

92. Mr. KASEMSRI (Thailand): First of all, on behalf of my delegation, I should like to join previous speakers in extending to the Government and people of Algeria as well as the bereaved families profound condolences on their tragic losses caused by the recent earthquake in Algeria.

Mr. Albornoz (Ecuador), Vice-President, took the Chair.

93. Once again Viet Nam, together with its friends, is trying to accomplish by means of a diplomatic manoeuvre what its 200,000 troops in Kampuchea have been unable to do—to remove the legitimate representation of Kampuchea from the world body and to silence all opposition to its blatant aggression against and illegal occupation of a Member State of the United Nations. Such is the underlying purpose of document A/35/L.5, and as such Viet Nam's manoeuvre must be totally rejected.

94. The circumstances in which A/35/L.5 is presented amount to the reopening of an issue which has received adequate consideration and resolution, without a vote in the Credentials Committee. In fact, only two delegations expressed their reservations, but they did not oppose the adoption of the Committee's first report, as contained in document A/35/484.

95. That report states that the Committee has found all credentials to be in order and recommends that the General Assembly accept all credentials, including those of Democratic Kampuchea. This is in keeping with the Committee's function and in accord with the General Assembly's rules of procedure, especially rule 27. It is a matter for regret, therefore, that the sponsors of A/35/L.5, which include a member of the Credentials Committee, deemed it appropriate to reopen the issue and to bring into it matters of substance which would be more properly discussed when the item on the situation in Kampuchea comes before the Assembly later this week.

96. While this debate drags on, it may be asked, what is the present fate of the Kampuchean people? It is now the Vietnamese forces that have unleashed the horrors of war, foreign occupation and subjugation, hunger and famine on the long-suffering people of Kampuchea. It is the Vietnamese divisions that march through war-ravaged Kampuchea to stage provocations and threaten Thailand's security. Although the Pol Pot forces attacked Thai villages and killed many Thai villagers three years ago, it was the Vietnamese forces in Kampuchea that attacked Thai villages and slaughtered many innocent civilians and refugees as recently as 23 and 24 June of this year.

97. How can Viet Nam justify such inhumane actions as their military sweep of the helpless Kampuchean refugees and the latter's expulsion from their homelands? What reasonable justification can Viet Nam claim to have for its relentless efforts to cut off food and medicines for those unfortunate people and to deny them at the same time their right to return to their homeland? Can Viet Nam so callously disregard the many international and non-governmental humanitarian organizations and their personnel, who have risked their own lives to undertake and supervise

the cross-border relief operations? Viet Nam's actions and attitudes can lead to only one conclusion, that Viet Nam attaches greater importance to its military and political strategy in Kampuchea than to humanitarian relief of the unmitigated suffering of the Kampuchean people.

98. Listening to the arguments presented by the Vietnamese representative and his supporters makes us wonder whether Viet Nam has the right to embark on any civilizing mission in Kampuchea, when the sad plight of the Vietnamese boat people is so sharply etched on our hearts and minds.

99. It should be recalled that Viet Nam was one of the first countries to give formal recognition to the Government of Democratic Kampuchea, then its ally and comrade-in-arms in the struggle for the communization of Indo-China. Once that success had been achieved and when the Kampuchean nation began to resist in earnest the Vietnamization of Kampuchea, Viet Nam launched its invasion of and imposed a military occupation on the recalcitrant neighbour, in flagrant violation of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and international law.

100. We the Members of the United Nations have voluntarily agreed to uphold the principles of the Charter and to respect the rights of other States. The most important among those principles include non-intervention and non-interference in the internal affairs of another State and non-use of force and the peaceful settlement of disputes in international relations. Among the legitimate rights of States are the right to sovereign independence and territorial integrity and the right of the peoples to self-determination.

101. Viet Nam's invasion and military occupation of Kampuchea have violated these generally recognized principles and fundamental rights. Its continued violation of such rights and principles, despite their reaffirmation by the General Assembly in its resolution 34/22, must not result for Vietnam or its puppets in any legitimate claim whatsoever. On the contrary, any claim to legitimacy in such circumstances is inadmissible and must be completely rejected.

102. Since the amendment in A/35/L.5 represents a thinly disguised manoeuvre to bring about the legitimization of inadmissible claims, it must be totally rejected. In so far as that amendment, if adopted, would give a superior claim to the puppet régime foisted on Kampuchea by foreign forces, it must be rejected outright. To vote for it would be contrary to General Assembly resolution 34/22 and would undermine the current efforts to achieve a peaceful settlement of the Kampuchean conflict that will ensure the sovereignty and independence of Kampuchea, which the large majority of States regard as essential for durable peace and stability in South-East Asia. We must therefore resolutely reject the amendment in A/35/L.5.

103. To vote for that amendment would amount to condoning the aggression against and illegal occupation of a small country by a more powerful neighbour, thereby endangering the security and well-being of all States. We must therefore vote strongly against the amendment A/35/L.5. The vote for it would be to deprive the Kampuchean people of their inalienable right to self-determination and to compromise the sovereignty,

independence and territorial integrity of a State Member of the United Nations. We must therefore resoundingly defeat amendment A/35/L.5 and then vote in favour of the recommendation of the Credentials Committee in document A/35/484, without amendment.

104. Mr. KAMIL (Indonesia): I wish to join previous speakers in expressing deep sorrow and sadness, on behalf of the delegation of Indonesia, to the brotherly people of Algeria, for the tragic disaster which has struck the Algerian city of El Asnam and caused the loss of so many human lives. My delegation would like to take this opportunity to convey to the Algerian delegation and, through it, to the brotherly people of Algeria and its Government, our deepest sympathy.

105. The question of the credentials of the representatives of Democratic Kampuchea to the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly is similar to the question which came up for consideration for the very first time during last year's session, when the Credentials Committee accepted the credentials of and recognized Democratic Kampuchea.

106. We have now before us the first report of the Credentials Committee of this session of the General Assembly [A/35/484].

107. Last year the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly in its wisdom and after lengthy debate decided favourably on the credentials of the representatives of Democratic Kampuchea. In that debate my delegation approved the report of the Credentials Committee on two basic grounds: first, we recognize Democratic Kampuchea as the legal Government of that country; secondly, the so-called People's Republic of Kampuchea came into being in Phnom Penh as a result of foreign military intervention, which is what maintains and sustains that illegal régime today.

108. My delegation is of the view that any change of régime in Kampuchea should be the result of, and only of, the implementation of resolution 34/22 on Kampuchea and the outcome of the exercise by the people of Kampuchea of their right to self-determination. However, that resolution, adopted last year by the General Assembly by an overwhelming majority, has not been implemented at all.

109. In view of these considerations and also for reasons already explained by representatives of other Asian countries who have spoken before me, my delegation continues to support the credentials of the representatives of Democratic Kampuchea for this session of the General Assembly. Consequently my delegation will reject the amendment contained in document A/35/L.5 and will accordingly vote against it.

110. Mr. DE FIGUEIREDO (Angola): I should like to convey to the Government and the people of Algeria the deep sympathy and solidarity of the Government of the People's Republic of Angola for the tragic loss of life and for the destruction caused by the earthquake in El Asnam. A catastrophe of that magnitude affects the entire nation. As firm friends of the Algerian people, the people of Angola mourn those who have lost their lives and wish the Algerian nation a speedy recovery from the effects of the earthquake.

111. Every year and at every United Nations conference we go through the sometimes tedious business of registering our right to represent this or that Govern-

ment or country. That is in keeping with diplomatic protocol. Credentials bestow legitimacy on the representative and on the work that is being attended to. But who or what is the source of that legitimacy? It is the Government of the country being represented. And which is the Government that takes upon itself the issuing of credentials to its representatives? It is the Government that is in power in the country, that functions as its executive authority, that works as its legislative body. It is the Government whose armed forces defend its territory and patrol its skies. It is the Government that is the executive expression of the people of that country. To put it technically, it is the Government that operates out of the designated capital of the country, that carries on its day-to-day operations and exercises all the functions of statecraft.

112. Today, in the designated Kampuchean capital of Phnom Penh, there sits a legitimate Government of Kampuchea, the representative of the Kampuchean people. And today, in this hall of the General Assembly, sit the representatives of a clique rejected by the Kampuchean people, hence rejected by their history. It is shameful and contrary to diplomatic protocol that unauthorized personnel should occupy the seat that signifies the sovereign status of Kampuchea. The Pol Pot clique was ousted from Kampuchea and chased out by the will and fury of its erstwhile victims. Their operating today from hide-outs in jungles in a neighbouring country certainly does not entitle them to claim the status of a government. Meanwhile, the real and legitimate Government of Kampuchea works in the capital and waits to be admitted to this hall.

113. Who runs the schools and hospitals of Kampuchea? Who administers the cities, the provinces and the countryside? Who receives foreign heads of State and their emissaries? Who mints the currency? Who controls the economy and finances of Kampuchea? Who commands its armed forces? Who salutes the flag that flies in the capital? The Government that does all this is the legitimate Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea and it is the representatives of that Government that should sit in the General Assembly at the present session.

114. We have heard a number of delegations state in this hall that they did not condone the genocide and other barbaric acts perpetrated by the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique. And yet they continue to support the presence here of representatives of a group no longer representing Kampuchea. That is not merely condoning, but even tacitly encouraging, and contrary to international law and conventions.

115. If such double standards continue they will set a dangerous precedent. Any individual could walk in here and claim to be the legitimate representative of his country. There would be chaos and the work of the United Nations would have as much meaning as a circus or a boxing match.

116. As a member of the Credentials Committee I have already and most forcefully made known in the Credentials Committee the views of my Government and delegation. For the record I should like to repeat them: my delegation does not accept the credentials of the personnel seated in the General Assembly and claiming to represent Kampuchea.

117. If we were to accept the reactionary arguments of some countries, then one might as well do away with those norms of diplomatic convention that guide international affairs.

118. Indeed, history has a way of vindicating justice. I do not doubt that one day the true and legitimate Kampuchean delegation will be seated here in the United Nations. Until that time, if the forces of imperialism insist on supporting the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique, then this matter will be one more on the long list that divides us. It is tragic that some countries see danger where none exists and fail to see the real enemy until it is too late.

119. Mr. SARRE (Senegal) (*interpretation from French*): The delegation of Senegal would like first of all to express anew its sincere condolences to the Algerian delegation following the earthquake which has plunged the fraternal people of Algeria into mourning.

120. In the course of our last session, the delegation of Senegal voted in favour of accepting the credentials of the delegation of Democratic Kampuchea, whose country continues to be the victim of foreign military invasion and occupation. This year again, the delegation of Senegal will be voting in favour of the recommendations of the Credentials Committee which are contained in document A/35/484. These recommendations are not only in keeping with rule 27 of the rules of procedure, they also reflect the feelings of the majority of the international community towards the legal Government of Democratic Kampuchea. These recommendations also express the general reprobation of the majority of the international community regarding the use of foreign intervention with the aim of imposing one's will on a sovereign State.

121. The delegation of Senegal is of the view that the General Assembly should not endorse the consequences of foreign armed intervention which has forced the legal Government of Kampuchea to evacuate its capital. This armed intervention is not only contrary to the purposes and principles of the Charter, but, if condoned, could well set a dangerous precedent. Such a precedent could contribute to the growth of insecurity in the world and in particular in the small countries.

122. Furthermore, the delegation of Senegal does not believe that removing the legitimate Government of Kampuchea from our Organization would be in the interest of a peaceful settlement of the present conflict in Kampuchea. Such an act would not promote a negotiated settlement which, it must be recognized, requires the full and entire participation of the legitimate authorities of Democratic Kampuchea.

123. For these reasons and because those who still occupy Kampuchea have so far not made even the slightest gesture towards withdrawing their troops, my delegation will vote against the amendment contained in document A/35/L.5. Such an amendment goes against the resolutions of the General Assembly on Kampuchea. Moreover, it promotes neither the elimination of the consequences of foreign aggression, nor a just settlement of the conflict which would make it possible for the people of Kampuchea freely to choose their own Government and pursue the policies of their choice.

124. Mr. KAMANDA WA KAMANDA (Zaire) (*interpretation from French*): The delegation of Zaire would like at the outset to join you and other speakers, Mr. President, in extending our sincere condolences to the brotherly Government and people of Algeria and to the families which have been affected following the unjust and cruel fate which has befallen their people. We would like to assure the Government and people of Algeria of our full solidarity during this difficult time.

125. At the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly, everyone had an opportunity to set forth his views and put forward arguments regarding the theory of authority. By adopting resolution 34/22, the General Assembly took a stand on the matter and recognized the validity of the credentials of Democratic Kampuchea.

126. The delegation of Zaire has carefully considered the first report of the Credentials Committee [A/35/484]. The draft resolution regarding the credentials of the representatives and the recommendations of the Committee to the General Assembly were, we are told, adopted by the Committee without having been put to the vote. That means, then, that there was a broad consensus in the Credentials Committee in favour of recognizing the validity of the credentials of all countries represented here, including Democratic Kampuchea, the more so since all the members of the Committee who had any comments to make had the opportunity to make such comments. The recommendation seems especially appropriate because, since the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly, nothing new has been brought forward to call into question the validity of the credentials of the States represented here. In the time from the sixth emergency special session to the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly, including the seventh emergency special session and the eleventh special session, the international community has continued to recognize the validity of the credentials of all States present at the thirty-fourth session, including Democratic Kampuchea, as well as the credentials of new-admitted countries.

127. Where was the régime of People's Kampuchea at the time of these sessions of the General Assembly? Why did it disappear during that period? And why has it suddenly appeared again today? Was it not aware of the strength of the position of Democratic Kampuchea under international law?

128. The delegation of Zaire believes that, in comparison with the report of the Credentials Committee to the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly,¹ whose recommendation, as everyone knows, was adopted by the majority of members following a vote, the present report marks an extremely positive development. Matters could not have been clearer and Committee members did not consider it necessary to proceed to a vote and the report is quite clear on this subject. It says that no delegation expressed any opposition.

129. The delegation of Zaire therefore supports the recommendation of the Credentials Committee which appears in paragraph 18 of document A/35/484.

¹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-fourth Session, Annexes, agenda item 3, document A/34/500.*

130. The credentials of the delegation of Democratic Kampuchea were issued in accordance with rule 27 of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly and since, in the eyes of the international community and in conformity with General Assembly resolution 34/22, the Government which issued them is the legitimate Government of Kampuchea, the fact of its having been overthrown by foreign troops of invasion and occupation does not strip it of that legitimacy nor of its other attributes.

131. The delegation of Zaire has noted with surprise the amendment in document A/35/L.5 which certainly goes against the report of the Credentials Committee. That amendment suggests that we approve the first report of the Committee, except with regard to the credentials of the representatives of Democratic Kampuchea. Representatives will see that that amendment suggests that the General Assembly take a stand contrary to the spirit and letter of its resolution 34/22 of 14 November 1979. Indeed, rejection of the credentials of the representatives of Democratic Kampuchea, a legitimate Government overthrown and driven from power by foreign troops of invasion and occupation, is an attempt, if not directly at least indirectly, to win endorsement for the Phnom Penh régime set up by the foreign troops of invasion and occupation, against the will of and without prior consultation with the people and scorning the principles of international law which govern relations among States.

132. The delegation of Zaire has always felt that legitimacy is to be determined by the people and cannot be granted by the United Nations to a government imposed on a people by foreign troops of invasion and occupation.

133. We have all been moved by statements about violations of human rights by the Pol Pot régime, but that is not the point at all. The point is whether a government has the right, for any reason, to invade another State, overthrow the legally established government and by force set up a government subservient to it. In Zaire, we say "no" to such a proposition, and it is fortunate indeed that many Members of the United Nations also reply "no".

134. That is a dangerous trend that must be stopped, a trend towards the politicization of human rights for purposes of destabilization. The day when those who have recently discovered their vocation as defenders of human rights send their troops in against the white minority régime of Pretoria, will be the day when they convince us that they do not intend to use human rights as a permit to intervene in the affairs of other States or to violate the principles of non-resort to force or the peaceful settlement of disputes, which are enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations.

135. As everyone knows, many countries—there really is a great number of them, and justly so—which defend the credentials of the representatives of Democratic Kampuchea have not had any special relations with the Pol Pot régime, at least that is true of the Republic of Zaire. For our part, we are interested in maintaining the foundations of peace, international security and confidence in international relations. We want to defend the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

136. Did the victorious Powers of the Second World War launch their armies against Hitler and the Nazis because they were exterminating Jews or because they wished to impose their domination and Aryan supremacy on other nations? Article 2 of the Charter of the United Nations forbids interference in the internal affairs of other States and the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations. Do human rights relieve certain States Members of the United Nations of their responsibilities under Article 2 of the Charter? The reasons that are being put forward today in favour of recognition of the régime installed by the troops of invasion and occupation in Kampuchea are not all the same as those advanced during the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly.

137. That alone proves the emptiness of those claims. It seems that some countries are getting into the habit, increasingly, of justifying their aggressions and invasions by declaring that they were either called to help the people concerned to defend their right to self-determination or had signed a treaty of friendship with the régime which they had set up through the use of force. Has the United Nations ever recognized a national liberation movement of Kampuchea led by Heng Samrin, so as to enable him today to claim legitimacy by virtue of the right to self-determination? What State represented here can say that it has no problems and what is going to happen in the world, what will the future of international relations be if we all allow ourselves to act similarly vis-à-vis our neighbours? Does the signing of a treaty of friendship and co-operation with a régime that they have set up relieve the aggressive invading troops of occupation in Kampuchea of any responsibility for their actions?

138. If the course to anarchy is opened in this way, some countries which lack the means to do so today will surely permit themselves such liberties tomorrow when they are in a position to do so, because we can all of us find interests to be defended or safeguarded.

139. This world of anarchy and this return to the law of the jungle which is proposed by some with astounding irresponsibility regarding our common obligations to peace, survival of the world in harmony and peaceful coexistence among peoples with different economic and political systems, are notions that we in Zaire categorically reject. Quite obviously the General Assembly, out of respect for the principles on which the United Nations is based and the many resolutions and declarations adopted for the promotion of peace and international security, cannot condone the invasion of and aggression against Kampuchea by accepting the amendment in document A/35/L.5. It is in that spirit that we will reject this amendment and vote against it.

140. Mr. LING Qing (China) (*translation from Chinese*): First of all, I should like, in the name of the Chinese delegation, to express profound sympathy to the Algerian Government and people for the tremendous damage they have suffered because of the recent earthquake and to extend sincere condolences and regards to the afflicted families.

141. The Chinese delegation endorses the first report of the Credentials Committee and firmly maintains

that the General Assembly should confirm the validity of the credentials of the representatives of Democratic Kampuchea.

142. Democratic Kampuchea is a State Member of the United Nations. The credentials of its representatives have been submitted in accordance with the relevant rules of the United Nations. They are in good order and completely valid. This has been confirmed by all the previous sessions of the General Assembly. They were accepted again at the sixth emergency special session as well as at the seventh emergency special session and the eleventh special session which were concluded not long ago. The Credentials Committee of the current session has rightly decided to accept the credentials of the delegation of Democratic Kampuchea and has accordingly submitted its report to the General Assembly. In conformity with the relevant provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and the rules of procedure of the General Assembly, the Assembly should consider favourably and approve the report of the Credentials Committee.

143. Democratic Kampuchea is an independent, neutral and non-aligned sovereign State. The Government of Democratic Kampuchea is the sole legal government of Kampuchea. The so-called Heng Samrin régime is a mere puppet installed by Viet Nam after its invasion of Kampuchea. That régime can in no way represent the Kampuchean people but is a typical agent of the Vietnamese authorities. If the valid credentials of Democratic Kampuchea were to be rejected, would it not constitute a dangerous precedent, in which the United Nations would abet and connive at any State launching armed attacks and aggression against a small and weak neighbouring State on any flimsy pretext and then imposing upon that State a régime installed at the aggressor's bayonet point? What guarantee would there be for the independence and sovereignty of weak and small countries?

144. One of the fundamental principles of international law is the defence of the national independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of all States against outside aggression and interference. Viet Nam's armed aggression against Kampuchea constitutes a most serious breach of international law. *Ex injuria jus non oritur* is an inescapable principle of international law. In challenging the valid credentials of the representatives of Democratic Kampuchea, the Vietnamese authorities want the international community to open the door to all acts of interference, subversion and aggression. In so doing, they are flagrantly trampling upon the norms guiding international relations.

145. At its thirty-fourth session last year, the General Assembly adopted by an overwhelming majority a correct resolution calling for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Viet Nam's aggressor forces from Kampuchea. However, over the past year the Vietnamese authorities, refusing to implement the United Nations resolution on Kampuchea, have not only continued their military occupation of Kampuchea, but wantonly invaded Thailand, seriously undermining peace and stability in South-East Asia. At present, drawing lessons from its past experience, the Government of Democratic Kampuchea has readjusted its policies and is leading the patriotic armed forces and people in the resistance struggle against the Vietnamese aggressors, and their strength is constantly

growing. Their just struggle has made important contributions not only to their own national survival and independence, but also to the maintenance of peace and security in South-East Asia. Therefore, in defending the legitimate rights of Democratic Kampuchea in the United Nations, the aim is not only to uphold the basic principles of the Charter of the United Nations and international law, but also to safeguard peace and stability in South-East Asia.

146. The Vietnamese authorities have put forward some preposterous arguments in their renewed attempt to nullify the credentials of the representatives of Democratic Kampuchea. They say that the seat of Kampuchea in the United Nations should be given to the Heng Samrin régime because it has "controlled the territory of the whole country". The fact is that the Government of Democratic Kampuchea is leading the Kampuchean army and civilians in waging effectively a heroic war of resistance against the Vietnamese aggressors in vast areas within Kampuchea. The so-called Heng Samrin régime is far from controlling the whole Kampuchean territory. And it is not the Heng Samrin régime, but the 200,000 and more Soviet-armed Vietnamese aggressor troops, who are temporarily occupying Kampuchean cities. Without the prop of the Vietnamese aggressor troops, the Heng Samrin puppet régime could not survive a single day. According to Viet Nam's logic, would it not be "legitimate" for Hitler to have occupied and controlled for a time the capitals and portions of the territories of some European countries and for Israel to keep large tracts of Arab territories under its occupation today?

147. The Vietnamese representative has openly advocated leaving the seat of Kampuchea vacant. His purpose is simply to pave the way for introducing the puppet Heng Samrin into the United Nations and thus to legalize Viet Nam's aggression against Kampuchea. If such a view were accepted, would it not be tantamount to offering Kampuchea to the Vietnamese aggressors as a reward for their armed invasion of another Member State in violation of the Charter of the United Nations?

148. In order to nullify the valid credentials of Democratic Kampuchea and cover up its own features of aggression, Viet Nam has also invented the myth that "China is using Democratic Kampuchea for expansion". As everyone knows, China has not a single soldier on the soil of Kampuchea, nor does it have any territorial claims against any other State, whereas Viet Nam is stationing more than 200,000 aggressor troops in Kampuchea and is menacing the security of its neighbours. If Viet Nam really had no ambition to control Kampuchea and to commit further expansion in South-East Asia, why has Viet Nam thus far refused to withdraw all its aggressor troops from Kampuchea so as to allow the Kampuchean people to decide their own destiny by themselves?

149. In view of the foregoing, the Chinese delegation categorically rejects the amendment submitted by the Vietnamese delegation on the credentials of the representatives of Democratic Kampuchea and firmly maintains that the General Assembly should approve the report of the Credentials Committee as it stands.

150. It must also be pointed out that the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the Vietnamese aggres-

sion against Kampuchea are part and parcel of the Soviet strategy of a southward drive. Both are naked aggression against independent sovereign States in gross violation of the Charter of the United Nations and the norms guiding international relations, posing a serious threat to international peace and security. We deem it necessary to reiterate: the military occupation of Afghanistan by the Soviet Union is unacceptable and the fact that Mr. Dost of Afghanistan has been permitted to participate in the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly should in no way be interpreted as acquiescence in the situation created by the Soviet armed intervention in Afghanistan.

151. Mr. YUSUF (Bangladesh): At the outset, I should like to join the President of the General Assembly, on behalf of the Government and people of Bangladesh, in expressing our heartfelt sympathy and extending our condolences to the Government and fraternal people of Algeria on the tragic loss of life and property resulting from the devastating earthquake that struck parts of Algeria recently.

152. In the view of the Bangladesh delegation, the Government of Democratic Kampuchea is a legitimate Member of the United Nations. The credentials of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea to the General Assembly, as contained in document A/35/484, are therefore in order. We believe that the Government of Democratic Kampuchea is the legal and lawful government of the country, which is under the occupation of foreign troops. We also maintain that all foreign troops in Democratic Kampuchea should immediately withdraw in order to allow the people of Kampuchea freely to decide their own destiny.

153. Bangladesh has always opposed armed intervention or the use or threat of use of force to settle any dispute. It is in this context that we have urged upon all concerned to withdraw all foreign troops from Democratic Kampuchea so that its people can determine their own destiny without interference of any kind whatsoever, external or otherwise. This principled stand by Bangladesh is in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and the principles and objectives of the non-aligned movement.

154. Mr. KOSTOV (Bulgaria): Mr. President, allow me first of all to join you and previous speakers in expressing to the people and Government of Algeria our most sincere sympathy and condolences on the tragic earthquake which caused the loss of so many human lives.

155. My delegation has carefully studied the report of the Credentials Committee now before us [A/35/484]. I cannot but express the regret we feel at the fact that the Credentials Committee, when considering the communications for accreditation, failed to examine properly, with the objectivity and impartiality required, the credentials of the representatives of one Member State, namely, the People's Republic of Kampuchea. Hence, that prejudiced approach has tainted the Credentials Committee's recommendation to the General Assembly contained in paragraph 18 of the report. My delegation cannot accept this recommendation, since the Committee, in Kampuchea's case, was not able to consider in depth the communication dated 10 September 1980 from the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea [A/35/454]. Faced

with a case of contested representation, instead of weighing the different communications as ought to be done in a case like this, the Credentials Committee, pressured by certain delegations, which, regrettably, happened to make a majority, has recognized as valid the credentials of certain individuals who are circulating on the premises of the United Nations, with the expenses for their activities coming from a well-known major Power.

156. It is this development that prompts my delegation to express its unqualified and unreserved support for the amendment contained in document A/35/L.5, so ably introduced by the representative of the Lao People's Democratic Republic, Ambassador Sourinho [34th meeting], which is meant to rectify this untenable situation. My delegation wishes to join the sponsors of this amendment.

157. The issue we are now faced with is a very clear and simple one, providing we abide by normal human logic and the principles and norms of international law. First of all, it is well known that States, not Governments, are Members of the United Nations. It is a fundamental requirement that everyone who claims the right to a seat in the United Nations must establish a clear mandate emanating from the Member State. In our case, the Member State is Kampuchea, which has defined territorial borders, population, capital and Government, that is, all the attributes of the notion of a State, and whose full name, as is also well known, following the 1979 revolution, is the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

158. Secondly, each and every Member State, as stipulated in Article 4 of the Charter of the United Nations, is required not only to accept the obligations contained in the Charter and to be willing to carry out these obligations but also to be able to do so. Therefore the question posed to us now is which Government is in a position to employ the resources of the Member State, that is, the People's Republic of Kampuchea, and direct the people of that country in the fulfilment of the obligations of membership. The answer to that question is clear. There is no way for the genocidal clique of Pol Pot to be the Government in question, a clique whose remnants, supported and assisted by imperialist and hegemonistic forces, are doing their utmost to fuel the hotbeds of tension in South-East Asia. Those remnants cannot speak on behalf of the Kampuchean people, much less authorize anyone to represent them at the United Nations; for it is a long-established rule that nobody can delegate powers which he does not himself possess. The truth is that this criminal régime has been overthrown, divested of authority and chased out of the country by the Kampuchean people, and no one can deny that the Government exercising effective administration over the country and able to implement the Charter obligations is the Government in Phnom Penh, that is, the People's Revolutionary Council. Furthermore, the régime of Pol Pot and Ieng Sary did not simply violate human rights or have a bad record in that respect as some of the previous speakers would have it; it has committed one of the most monstrous crimes against humanity, namely genocide, a crime that is outlawed by international law.

159. For 20 months now the Government of the People's Revolutionary Council, a Government

enjoying the confidence and support of the entire Kampuchean people, has been exerting the utmost efforts to restore the destroyed economy, overcome famine, augment agricultural output, reunite separated families and ensure medical services—in short, to make the economic, social and cultural life of the country breathe with renewed vigour. Local centres of the people's power have been set up throughout the whole country. A new Constitution of the People's Republic of Kampuchea has been published and submitted to nation-wide consideration.

160. The foreign policy of the People's Republic of Kampuchea is oriented towards the development and promotion of co-operation with all countries, particularly with its neighbours, on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence, non-alignment, independence, peace and friendship among nations, in keeping with the Charter of the United Nations. These facts testify to the fact that the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea exercises effective power over the country's territory and meets all the criteria established by international law.

161. The adoption of the amendment contained in document A/35/L.5 will not solve completely the question of Kampuchea's representation in the United Nations but it will have a salutary effect, being the first and necessary step to resolve this problem. I hope the Assembly will support the amendment. To do otherwise would mean to support the overthrown Pol Pot clique, the major impediment to establishing a basis for the maintenance of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia, which is the ultimate goal of the United Nations.

162. Mr. FRANCIS (New Zealand): May I say how shocked New Zealanders were to hear of the ghastly tragedy in Algeria. As people who also live in a country subjected to earthquakes, we know something of the destruction and suffering those disasters cause. May I ask the Algerian delegation to convey to the people of Algeria the very deep sympathy of the New Zealand people.

163. The duty of the Credentials Committee is to consider the credentials submitted to it in order to determine whether they are in due form. New Zealand considers that the Committee has done that job and done it well. The Committee, it has been correctly observed, is not a tribunal; it is not its function to make judgements about the policies of a government. For its part, the New Zealand Government does not condone the policies of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea. Those policies have been brutal and repressive; they have grossly violated human rights. But that is not what the credentials issue is about.

164. New Zealand will vote in favour of acceptance of the report of the Credentials Committee.

165. We consider that the amendment in document A/35/L.5 is not helpful to the efforts now being made, in particular by the Association of South-East Asian Nations [ASEAN] countries, to promote a settlement in Kampuchea. Such a settlement is essential if conditions are to be created in which the people of Kampuchea will be able to choose a government freely and without external interference, in accordance with the principles of the Charter. New Zealand will accordingly vote against the proposed amendment.

166. Ms. GONTHIER (Seychelles): Before I begin, I should like to express my country's deepest sympathy to the President, Government and people of Algeria for the tragedy they are experiencing.

167. As I turn from the pains of a natural disaster, let me remind representatives of the human disaster in Kampuchea before its liberation.

168. The Republic of Seychelles has recognized the People's Revolutionary Government of Kampuchea as the sole legitimate and real representative of the people. The reasons are quite simple: today anyone with a minimum of intellectual integrity does not contest the fact that Pol Pot's régime was savage and murderous. Everybody agrees that around 3 million people were brutally murdered under his régime. Those who were not victims were slowly dying of hunger and terror. No one disputes the fact that the people breathe again following their liberation. Newspapers and magazines which cannot be considered leftist talk about the alleviation of the misery to which the people were subjected. International opinion is relieved to see that the brutal régime has been put to an end.

169. If the people of Kampuchea feel that they are adequately represented, and world opinion recognizes that the Revolutionary Council has been playing a positive role in saving the people and rebuilding the country, in whose name and for what does this Organization—which is supposed to be above bloc and partisan interests—refuse to seat the People's Revolutionary Government of Kampuchea?

170. From this Assembly the legitimate representatives of the people of Kampuchea are excluded. We believe that one cannot, as so many representatives have done from this rostrum, invoke the presence of Vietnamese troops in Kampuchea to justify the exclusion of the People's Republic of Kampuchea from our Organization without, on the one hand, interfering in the internal affairs of those two States and, on the other hand, reopening the frontiers of Kampuchea to Pol Pot and his army of butchers.

171. That is why the Republic of Seychelles believes that the People's Revolutionary Government of Kampuchea must be allowed to take the seat which belongs to it in this Organization, to the exclusion of the representatives of the Pol Pot régime, who in no circumstances should benefit from the tolerance or complicity of our Organization. We therefore do not accept the report of the Credentials Committee in its present form and have sponsored an amendment.

172. In conclusion: the Republic of Seychelles is a non-aligned country. Our policy in foreign affairs is above bloc interests. We strongly take issue with those who today accuse our country of being a communist one and in the USSR camp. I politely and respectfully suggest that representatives deal in facts and not manufacture falsehoods to substantiate their claims.

173. Mr. ROA KOURÍ (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Let me first extend to the Permanent Representative of Algeria my delegation's deepest condolences on the terrible catastrophe which has afflicted his country in El Asnam. We share the grief and suffering of our Algerian brothers and would request their delegation to convey our feelings of sorrow and

profound condolence to their Government and to the families of the victims.

174. Since last year, the General Assembly has been faced with an attempt at miracle-working, an attempt to have us accept as an actual fact a political fiction of the worst type: the recognition of the credentials of a non-existent régime, the so-called Democratic Republic of Kampuchea.

175. Everyone knows that it is merely a Chinese invention, but in spite of the fact that the magicians of Cathay wield the age-old power to transform fantasy into fact, this time we cannot allow the representatives of the barbaric Pol Pot to be foisted on us as a meek and lily-white rabbit pulled out of the hat of international law.

176. Even those who, invoking a strange logic obviously at odds with the truth, support the presence in the General Assembly of the usurpers of the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of Kampuchea feel compelled to repudiate the crimes of Pol Pot.

177. Of course, that conduct—rejecting Pol Pot but supporting the abominable participation of his representatives in the United Nations—seems to us to be strangely inconsistent, and indeed practically schizophrenic. It is in no way different from the absurd position maintained for 20 years by the imperialist Powers and their allies with regard to the restoration of the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China.

178. Ironically, the occult conductor of the orchestra which is executing this new political aberration is the representative of a Government which was discriminated against for 20 years. Perhaps this is the price of having confused Marxism with Confucianism and the social revolution with the stereotypes of the little red book of the "great helmsman".

179. However that may be, my delegation cannot become an accomplice in similar infringements of the rights of independent sovereign States.

180. Nor can we confuse the purely technical procedure—we would even say bureaucratic procedure—followed by the Credentials Committee with the substantive problem, which that procedure ignores: the fact that the credentials of the delegation of Pol Pot were not sent by a Government in power and do not apply to any State; nor can its spokesmen claim authority over even a millimetre of Kampuchean territory. In any case, the Committee could have verified the fact that the blood of the Kampuchean people spilled by Pol Pot had obviously stained the bits of paper which are presented to us as the credentials of a Member State.

181. My delegation could not, without betraying its principles, accept as representatives of the People's Republic of Kampuchea the implacable butchers of the Kampuchean people: first, because it recognizes the only legitimate Government of that country, headed by Comrade Heng Samrin, and, secondly, because it has never joined and will never join those who have always been sworn enemies of the revolution in Indo-China. The imperialists, who waged a war of destruction unprecedented in its dimensions in the countries of Indo-China and encouraged the systematic destruction of all forms of life in that area, are today

hand in glove with the new mandarins in Peking and their friends in South-East Asia—with whom they joined forces in the past for the aggression launched against Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea—in supporting the right of those who commit genocide to sit not in the dock but in the supreme organ of the world Organization.

182. "Tell me who your friends are and I will tell you who you are" says an old Spanish proverb. No one can be deceived as to who the supporters of Pol Pot are and what are their true motives.

183. It may be that some will insist on permitting the representatives of Pol Pot to continue to usurp the rights of the Kampuchean people in this Assembly through an anti-historical and unjustified decision. This is not the first time, as the Assembly knows, that a fiction has survived for a certain time in this Organization. But the important thing is that the Pol Pot clique has once and for all been swept out of Kampuchea and it cannot re-establish its reign of terror over that long-suffering people.

184. Consequently, my delegation hopes that responsible Members of the United Nations will categorically and emphatically reject the presence of the Pol Pot representatives in the United Nations.

Mr. von Wechmar (Federal Republic of Germany) resumed the Chair.

185. Mr. AL-HAMZAH (Democratic Yemen) (*interpretation from Arabic*): First of all, I should like to express our deep sympathy to our brothers in Algeria in connexion with the tragedy which the Algerian people have suffered as a result of the recent earthquake, which has caused such great damage in material and human terms. We reaffirm our brotherly solidarity with the people of Algeria, and ask the Algerian delegation to convey our sympathy and our condolences to the families of the deceased.

186. The procedural issue with which we are now confronted in the General Assembly has an important political aspect. We support the amendment [A/35/L.5] which has been submitted with regard to certain facts that cannot be denied. We, like many other countries, consider that the representatives who are among us have no legitimate backing or recognition from the Kampuchean people. The true representatives of our friends the people of Kampuchea are those in power in Kampuchea, since the existing régime is the only true representative of the interests of the entire Kampuchean people. I refer to the legitimate Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, led by the People's Revolutionary Council, which is recognized by my country and with which we enjoy friendly relations. These representatives should be in our midst so that we may listen to their views. It is indeed regrettable that, so far, the seat of Kampuchea has been occupied by the representatives of the Pol Pot régime, which has imposed a dictatorship and terrorism on the people, genocide being a predominant feature of its policy. That is an unjust situation and that group should be denied the right to represent the Kampuchean people. That would be in accordance with the will of the Kampuchean people, who overthrew the Pol Pot régime and established the current progressive régime. While expressing our support for the amendment which has been submitted, we should

like to reaffirm our support for the right of the Kampuchean people to have only their legitimate representatives participate in the work of the United Nations.

187. Some have opposed this fact in their statements and some have advanced vague and even contradictory justifications. For the most part, this can be considered to be interference in the internal affairs of the Kampuchean people. No one outside Kampuchea is entitled to impose his wishes on a Government which is supported by the people. The establishment of a democratic régime is a task for the Kampuchean people and they are carrying it out. No one has the right to question the legitimacy of the Government, which enjoys wide recognition among the people.

188. Such opposition cannot alter the facts and the day will come when we shall hear the voice of the overwhelming majority of the people of Kampuchea, and that is something that cannot be denied. We should not continue to listen to a group of people who represent only themselves and the interests of the imperialists.

189. The imperialists and their agents have tried to prevent the legitimate Government being represented here in order to impose their aggressive policies, make Indo-China a hotbed of tension and prevent it from becoming an area of stability. Stability and peace cannot be secured in the region without the active and full participation of the Government of the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea. This can be achieved only by allowing its representatives to participate in our work and by denying to representatives of the Pol Pot régime entrance into this hall.

190. In conclusion, our Government expresses its support for the amendment in document A/35/L.5.

191. Mr. GURINOVICH (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): The delegation of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic too would like to express its profound and sincere condolences to the delegation of the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria in connexion with the natural disaster which has afflicted the friendly Algerian people, a major earthquake which has caused many casualties and a great deal of material damage. We ask the Algerian delegation to convey our condolences to the Government and people of Algeria and to the bereaved families.

192. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR, like the delegations of many other States Members of the United Nations, wishes to see the immediate solution of the problem of the just representation of Kampuchea in the United Nations, with full account being taken of the will of the Kampuchean people, who in January 1979 overthrew the bloody pro-Peking genocidal régime.

193. Kampuchea can be represented in the United Nations only by the sole legitimate representative of its people, the People's Revolutionary Council of the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

194. The Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, on the basis of the over-all support of the people and taking into account its vital needs, is taking energetic and effective steps at the present time throughout the country to restore economic and social

life. Its foreign policy is one of peace and stability in South-East Asia and of friendship and co-operation with neighbouring countries, in keeping with the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter.

195. We fail to understand why the Credentials Committee, whose task it is to consider, efficiently and in strict compliance with the provisions of the United Nations Charter and other international legal documents, the juridical validity of the credentials presented to it, in this case, because of the tendentious position of certain of its members, did not discharge the functions entrusted to it and made an absurd recommendation which is contrary to existing realities, and we regret this.

196. The content of the report of the Credentials Committee [A/35/484] makes the sound basis of our conclusion sufficiently clear. Of the nine members of the Committee only three, not counting the Pol Pot protector from China, favoured recognition of the credentials of the Pol Pot faction, and two of those condemned the terrorism of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique against the people of Kampuchea. However, the representatives of the Chinese hegemonists did not find it possible to condemn that, and they claim to be able to teach lessons about aggression against other States. We heard some things said in the Credentials Committee, and repeated by individual delegations even in the plenary Assembly, which sounded blasphemous. These were so-called "arguments" in favour of the recognition of those fictitious credentials. These delegations, apparently dazzled by the indecipherable signature and the invalid seal, began to talk about the technical aspect of the so-called "correctness" of these documents. Others have made reference to what happened before, as if the commission of a flagrant error in the past provides grounds which justify its repetition. However paradoxical it may be, none of those speakers mentioned the fact that the delegation of the non-existent so-called "Democratic Kampuchea" is headed by a criminal, condemned to death by the People's Revolutionary Tribunal of Kampuchea and subject to extradition to Kampuchea for having committed the crime of genocide, in accordance with the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide [*resolution 260 A (III), annex*].

197. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR believes that it is the duty of the Assembly to take into account the preservation of the authority of the United Nations and to reject the recommendation of the Credentials Committee on the representation of Kampuchea at the thirty-fifth session. The Assembly has at its disposal for that purpose a sufficient number of clear and irrefutable facts, which have been mentioned already by the spokesmen of many delegations.

198. We cannot accept as normal reference in official United Nations documents to the name of a State which almost two years ago now ceased to exist, in accordance with the will of the Kampuchean people. Another totally inadmissible situation is the practically unlimited use, by the criminals who represent no one, of the former title of the State for the dissemination, through United Nations channels and at the Organization's expense, of lies, slander and billingsgate against sovereign States and also of cynical talk about the

“successes” achieved by their accomplices in terrorist acts against the people of Kampuchea.

199. We should like, from this rostrum, to ask those who are continuing to support, directly or indirectly, the illegal and inadmissible presence here of the representatives of the Pol Pot-feng Sary clique, which represents no one—indeed, no one even knows where its members are—what their present activities could possibly have in common with the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

200. At the present time there can be no doubt that the slander which has been disseminated from this rostrum against the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and any verbal justification of the Credentials Committee's recommendation on the representation of Kampuchea, not to mention approval of it, are tantamount to encouraging the continuing crimes of the rump of the Pol Pot clique, do moral and material damage to the interests of the Kampuchean people, of peace and of the United Nations and help to maintain the existence of a threat to peace and stability in South-East Asia.

201. On the basis of these considerations, the delegation of the Byelorussian SSR became a sponsor of the proposed amendment [A/35/L.5] to the draft resolution recommended by the Credentials Committee, the effect of which amendment would be that the credentials of the Pol Pot clique would not be recognized. The adoption of this amendment, we are profoundly convinced, would promote a soundly based and just solution to the problem of the representation of Kampuchea in the United Nations, and the sooner that is solved the less will be the damage done to the prestige of the United Nations.

202. Mr. ROMULO (Philippines): My delegation wishes to join our colleagues in the Assembly in extending the deepest sympathy to the Government and people of Algeria in the terrible catastrophe which has befallen their country. Coming from a country subject to frequent earthquakes, as is the Philippines, we fully understand and share in the sufferings of the Algerian people. We are prepared to support measures adopted by the international Organization to help alleviate the problems of the Algerian people in their hour of need.

203. For the second year running an attempt is being made to challenge the legitimacy of the delegation of a Member State and its right to represent that State in the General Assembly on the ground that it has lost its right to that seat. Were it not for the passage of resolution 34/22 in the General Assembly last year, that attempt would appear to be normal. But, because that resolution is ignored by the parties concerned, the attempt is a blatant exhibition of the disdain and contempt with which some Member States of the United Nations look on the decisions of this body.

204. That attempt should be sufficient proof that those Member States regard resolution 34/22 as illegal. Therefore, by the same token, the attempt to unseat Democratic Kampuchea is illegal.

205. It is evident that the credentials of that Member State are in order, as they were a year ago. Nothing has changed since then to warrant a change in our decision last year to sustain the right of Democratic Kampuchea to its seat at the thirty-fourth session,

the sixth and seventh emergency special sessions and the eleventh special session of the General Assembly. No cogent and legal case has been made against the correctness of its credentials. No valid argument has been put forward to justify such a drastic move as the unseating of the legitimate representatives of a Member State by the international community.

206. This is precisely because the root cause of the present difficulties in that country, which the resolution was designed to resolve, still exists. Democratic Kampuchea is still illegally occupied by foreign troops; its people are still unable fully to express their will.

207. We maintain that, unless the people of Kampuchea are enabled, by some international agreement freely to express their will and their desires on the matter of whether to maintain the governance of Democratic Kampuchea or to change it—we have no legal or moral right to change that people's representation in the United Nations. We all know that delegations come and go; with every change we presume an internal event in the expression of a people's will. Change caused by external aggression is anathema to all of us, for it not only would be against the principles of the Charter of the United Nations but would set back the clock to the dreadful days of imperialism and colonialism.

208. A moral argument has been put forward by the proponents of the change with respect to Democratic Kampuchea. Let us just for the moment admit the gravity of this accusation, that the régime of Pol Pot is guilty of the most heinous crimes against its own people.

209. Notwithstanding that, in the 35 years of the history of the United Nations, never have the credentials of a Member State been nullified because its Government was found guilty of violations of human rights. Were that argument to stand, how many delegations would be here today to uphold that lofty principle? Is there any provision in the Charter of the United Nations that would link membership in this body with the performance of a Government in relation to its people?

210. Perhaps, it might be said, this is a defect in the Charter which needs correction at some future date. The Philippine delegation has, in fact, been advocating some changes in the Charter, but at the moment I do not see anyone rushing forward to amend the Charter in this connexion. Until it is amended, I do not see how we can expel a delegation on the ground that the Government it represents is not very good to its people.

211. Nevertheless, there is indeed a moral issue at stake here, one that is definitively spelt out in the Charter. It is the issue of morality in relations among States. The principal issue here is aggression, aggression against a State and a people by another State. It is an issue on which the United Nations has declared itself fully competent to pass judgement and to take decisions so as to resolve it. We are here concerned with a basic principle of international morality and international law, that of non-interference and non-intervention in the affairs of a State by another State and respect for its sovereignty and territorial integrity. It is the open violation of this principle in the case of Democratic Kampuchea that caused the passage of

resolution 34/22 and brought us to this debate today and that continues to threaten the peace, stability and freedom of the entire region of South-East Asia.

212. Let there be no equivocation about the gravity of this moral issue. No nation today can commit aggression against another without other nations becoming embroiled, either wilfully or inadvertently. This happens everywhere today—in Asia, in the Middle East and in Africa.

213. In the present case, not only two neighbouring States are involved but other neighbouring countries as well: all the members of ASEAN—five countries of Asia representing 250 million people—China and the super-Powers. There are ominous signs that the aggression against Kampuchea is not an isolated event but, as some say, the beginning stage of a larger conspiracy which would replace an older imperialism by a new version in which small and weak nations might be forced to play the role of pawns, proxies and, ultimately, victims of international power politics.

214. In its larger dimensions the problem must therefore be treated as primarily political. This is not to deny that there are humanitarian aspects to it or to denigrate their importance. But there will be another occasion when we can address ourselves fully to the humanitarian issue, just as we have done in the past. If the humanitarian is inextricably linked to the political, it is also true that the humanitarian problems of Kampuchea are not likely to be alleviated until the political issue is satisfactorily resolved.

215. By their arguments, those who insist on the Heng Samrin régime as the “legitimate” Government of Kampuchea seek to justify intervention and interference in the affairs of other States on humanitarian grounds. Their main argument is that the Government formerly headed by Pol Pot was inhuman and genocidal. On this ground they maintain that non-interference would be shameful and a betrayal. They therefore have the right to interfere in the affairs of Kampuchea, forcibly eject its Government by the use of foreign troops and install a puppet régime in its place. Such a régime, they maintain, becomes legitimate by that act.

216. That we cannot accept. As a small and weak country that has experienced many invasions in its history and has had the experience of puppet régimes foisted upon us by the invaders, we cannot countenance a repetition of history. Even if such puppet régimes adopt the mask of benevolence, they are not legitimate until the people themselves, acting of their own volition, accept them. That has not yet happened in the case of the Heng Samrin régime. We urge that the people of Kampuchea be given a chance to express their decision, freely and without the intimidating presence of 200,000 alien troops, to accept that régime or, if they wish, another of their own choice.

217. The moral argument, therefore, does not hold water. The excesses of the Pol Pot régime were well known throughout the world. Viet Nam could not have failed to know about them. But precisely at that moment Viet Nam was congratulating the Pol Pot régime for its “big success” and its “fine achievements”. Three months before Viet Nam invaded Kampuchea, on 15 September 1978, three socialist States, the Soviet Union included, on Human Rights

at Geneva, voted in the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities against a resolution calling for an inquiry into human rights violations in Kampuchea. What then were the fine achievements of the Pol Pot régime? Why were the socialist States not concerned with the human rights violations in Kampuchea? And then, soon after, why did Viet Nam see fit to send troops across the border into Kampuchea? Was it because of those human rights violations? Evidently not, because Viet Nam was installed in the Human Rights Commission by three members, including the Soviet Union.

218. It appears that the Pol Pot régime fell into disfavour with Viet Nam because it would not sign a treaty with Viet Nam which would have permitted the presence of Vietnamese troops inside Kampuchea. That became clear when, on 18 February 1979, after the invasion, the Heng Samrin régime signed a treaty of peace, friendship and co-operation with Viet Nam that permitted it to keep its forces inside Kampuchea. And there they remain today: 200,000 Vietnamese troops.

219. An argument used here today to justify aggression by Viet Nam was that the Vietnamese were “invited” by the Kampuchean people to intervene and overthrow the Pol Pot régime and thereby to let in 200,000 Vietnamese troops. As we all know, as in another celebrated case also in Asia, Pol Pot himself, as head of the only Government then in place, could hardly have been the one to “invite” the Vietnamese to come in and overthrow him. The Vietnamese invasion began on 25 December 1978. It was not until January 1980 that Heng Samrin was presented to the world as the “liberator” of Kampuchea and the head of the “legal” Government of Kampuchea.

220. If we were to give credence to that argument, if we were to concede that a country is justified in intruding into another and unseating its Government by claiming that it was called in to do so by the people of that country, then no country, no régime represented in this Assembly, is safe.

221. Another argument used here was that the invasion of Kampuchea was necessary in order to save South-East Asia from the so-called Chinese threat. That is equally tendentious. As an observer from a Member State of ASEAN puts it: “The way the Vietnamese are going about saving South-East Asia from the Chinese threat justifiably alarms us”. When, in June 1980, the Vietnamese forces entered Thailand and wreaked death and destruction within that country, that same observer commented: “The Vietnamese are intent on fighting the Chinese threat anywhere except on Chinese soil”.

222. Let us recall that it was Viet Nam itself that most vigorously objected, at the time of the Viet Nam war, against the argument that that war was being fought to save South-East Asia from a Chinese and a Soviet threat, charging that it was merely a cover for an imperialist design. During that war Viet Nam maintained strong fraternal ties with China, receiving much aid from it and expressing eternal gratitude for that aid. Today what does Viet Nam say? “A billion Chinese will be on our doorstep for eternity.” The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Viet Nam, on 30 May 1980, linked the presence of Vietnamese troops in

Kampuchea with the so-called Chinese threat and, since China and Viet Nam will be neighbours for eternity, that means the Vietnamese troops will be in Kampuchea for eternity.

223. As for the argument that I heard here today, that we, the countries concerned, the countries of ASEAN and of Asia, wish to foist the genocidal régime of Pol Pot once again on the Kampuchean people, let us be clear as to the historical record. It is supremely ironic to say that we wished the Pol Pot régime on the Kampuchean people. That is simply absurd. Those who now make the charge are also those who accused us of aggression when we were trying to assist in saving régimes in Indo-China from being overwhelmed, as indeed they were, by the new tide of imperialism that in reality now threatens us anew.

224. Let us be clear: we had no desire to foist Pol Pot on the Kampuchean people; nor do we have any desire today to foist Pol Pot on the Kampuchean people. But that, to us, is irrelevant and peripheral to the issue at hand. It is the desires of the Kampuchean people that are paramount for us and for the entire international community. Should the Kampuchean people, acting freely and without external constraints, choose Pol Pot, Heng Samrin or any other leader, then we shall abide by that decision and assist that Government and through it the Kampuchean people to rebuild their lives and their country.

225. Let us be very clear on this question. We have no desire to perpetuate for even one day the travails and the gradual extermination of the Kampuchean people by holding out on the issue of which is the legitimate Government of that people. If there should be the slightest possibility of resolving that issue to the satisfaction of the Kampuchean people, we, the countries of ASEAN, and those who feel as strongly about the matter as we do would assist in the effort to reach a solution to the fullest possible extent. As to the humanitarian aspects, which continue to loom large, surely there are many ways to approach that problem. The international community, indeed, has not spared any effort to address it even before a political answer is found, because people continue to starve and to get killed. But we are convinced that the humanitarian problem will recur and defy solution for as long as the political solution offered by the United Nations continues to meet with defiance and hostility on the part of the parties most closely concerned. As a host country to refugees from that tragic region, we are sceptical about the political "solution" offered in place of the United Nations resolution and the prospects in store for the Kampuchean people under that solution.

226. Above all, we are not prepared to sacrifice the principles of non-intervention and respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of nations in favour of a dubious and pious reference to the human rights of the Kampuchean people. For if we do so now, who knows but that we may set in train a fatal sequence of events that will see us some day, the small and weak nations of the world, not even having the right to exist except under conditions of bondage and servility. To abandon this struggle now would be a shame and a betrayal of those who, in joining the United Nations, look to this body to live

up to its ideals of freedom, equality, and independence consistently, forcefully and without compromise.

227. We have before us the sorry spectacle of an impoverished and war-ravaged country, its people starving, diseased and stricken by a calamity brought on by forces and ideologies from abroad, unable to speak for themselves, because, to compound their misery and subjugation, there are upwards of 200,000 alien troops among them. We see before us a flagrant violation of human rights and of the Charter of the United Nations, a defiance of its decision arrived at last year to uphold that Charter and to rescue the Kampuchean people from their depths of despair. In the name of decency, in the name of civilization itself, let us all stand fast in our resolve not to allow the tragedy of the Kampuchean people to deepen. Let us defend in these halls the right of that people to live and die in peace, freedom and dignity.

228. In the last analysis, the real issue is the Charter of the United Nations. There is no other issue. A technical point has, when we examine it more clearly, turned into a premeditated assault on the principles of the Charter and, therefore, on the very foundation of the world Organization. The struggle is between naked physical force and the Charter—our Charter; between tanks, planes, devilish weapons of extermination of peoples by slow starvation and the principles which give life and infuse vitality into the United Nations.

229. I submit that in defending the right of Democratic Kampuchea to its seat in this world Organization, we seek to defend the United Nations from those whose cynical acts point in only one direction: to the destruction of the Charter.

230. The PRESIDENT: We have heard the last speaker in the debate. Statements will now be limited to explanations of vote. May I remind Members that in accordance with decision 34/401, explanations of vote should be limited to 10 minutes and should be made by delegations from their seats.

231. Mr. ANDERSON (Australia): Before making an explanation of vote before the vote, I should like to express the deep sympathy and condolences of the Government and people of Australia with the Government and people of Algeria and with the bereaved families in the recent natural disaster at El Asnam.

232. The principal function of the Credentials Committee is to consider whether the credentials of representatives have been submitted in proper form and signed appropriately in accordance with the provisions of rule 27 of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly.

233. The task of the Credentials Committee is, therefore, a strictly procedural one. In these circumstances, it would have been neither proper nor appropriate for the Committee to have taken account of political considerations in preparing its report. No evidence—I repeat, no evidence—has been brought forward to suggest that the credentials submitted by Democratic Kampuchea are other than in due and proper form. My delegation therefore considers that, consistently with established United Nations procedures, the credentials of Democratic Kampuchea must be accepted in accordance with the report of the Credentials Committee.

234. Mr. CHARLES (Haiti) (*interpretation from French*): I should like to express the deep sympathy of my delegation, my Government and of the people of Haiti with the Algerian people so sorely tried by the earthquake which devastated the city of El Asnam and caused thousands of victims. We assure the Algerian delegation of our full solidarity.

235. This is not the first time that the credentials of the representatives of Democratic Kampuchea have been called into question. The latest manifestation to date is the draft amendment A/35/L.5. However, the rights of that Government have always been recognized. Thus, at previous sessions of the General Assembly, the credentials of the representatives of Democratic Kampuchea had been accepted. There is no reason today not to adopt a similar decision. In the view of my delegation, the amendment to the draft resolution put forward by the Credentials Committee must be rejected, for to accept it would be tantamount to leaving vacant the seat at present occupied by Democratic Kampuchea. That would compel the United Nations to take a decision on a question which concerns no one but the people of Kampuchea, which alone is entitled to exercise its right to self-determination and to decide its own destiny.

236. True, many delegations accuse the Government of Kampuchea of having established a régime of terror. But does this justify foreign intervention? Does a Member State under Article 2, paragraph 4, of the Charter have the right to resort to the use of force against the territorial integrity political independence of another State? Is the United Nations empowered to pass judgement on the political quality of a State? Even if the Government of Democratic Kampuchea has been accused of violating human rights, the Credentials Committee is not entitled to pass on this matter any judgement that would authorize it to decide on the validity of the credentials of that delegation.

237. The answer to these questions explains the reasons why our delegation cannot accept the draft amendment on which the Assembly is called upon to take a decision.

238. Mr. KERGIN (Canada): At the outset, I should like to associate the delegation of Canada with the sentiments expressed by previous delegations and convey the deepest sympathy of the Canadian people to the people and Government of Algeria for the recent tragic natural disaster in their country.

239. The delegation of Canada would like it clearly understood why it intends to vote against the proposed amendment to the report of the Credentials Committee. If adopted, the amendment would deprive the representatives of Democratic Kampuchea of their place in this Assembly. On the other hand, the seating of any Member in this Assembly carries no suggestion of endorsement of the actions or policies of that Member.

240. Canada's support for the seating of the representatives of Democratic Kampuchea should in no way be construed as support for the policies of its Government. On numerous occasions Canada has criticized the brutal disregard for human rights and human life by that régime. However, we cannot accept manoeuvres designed ultimately to lead towards recognition of the representatives of a régime placed in power

and maintained there by the armed forces of a neighbouring country.

241. Canada will therefore vote against the proposed amendment. With the confidence that this Assembly will turn aside this device to oust a Member of the United Nations, Canada will then vote to accept the report of the Credentials Committee as submitted.

242. Mr. JELONEK (Federal Republic of Germany): After this controversial debate my Government feels the necessity to make clear, not only by its vote but also by this explanation, where the Federal Republic of Germany stands on the issue of the credentials of Democratic Kampuchea.

243. The policy of the Federal Republic of Germany in the United Nations is, above all, guided by strict adherence to the provisions of the Charter. Any attempt to extend the functions of the Credentials Committee beyond the right to examine the due form of the credentials submitted by any given country is not consistent with Article 2 of the Charter. Rightly, the rules of procedure of the General Assembly do not grant any other competence.

244. At its thirty-fourth session the General Assembly did not see any reason to reject the credentials presented by Democratic Kampuchea. The only reason why those credentials were challenged last year and are challenged again this year is that, through an armed intervention by Viet Nam, the former régime was unseated and a new one installed in Phnom Penh.

245. It would be tantamount to recognizing armed aggression and helping the aggressor to harvest the fruits of its violation of the Charter if this Assembly should decide not to recognize the credentials presented by Democratic Kampuchea. Such a decision would be a dangerous blow for the principle of the non-use of force in international relations, which is of paramount importance for my country. To be quite clear, I want to emphasize that we have no sympathy of any kind with the abominable régime of Pol Pot, whose infamous record of atrocities is known worldwide. We condemn these violations of human rights committed by the Pol Pot régime as resolutely as ever before. Yet, we do not recognize the flagrant violation of international law brought about by the Vietnamese aggression against Kampuchea.

246. Recognizing the credentials of Democratic Kampuchea does not mean acquiescing in the situation in the country. That situation urgently calls for action by the United Nations to bring about a fast, comprehensive political solution which will enable the people of Kampuchea freely to exercise their right to self-determination and send a delegation to the United Nations that is internationally recognized and respected.

247. The countries of ASEAN have made a proposal to that effect, and my country declares its solidarity with them in their efforts. To accept the results of aggression would be the wrong way to reach a solution in Kampuchea. That is why we reject the amendment before us.

248. The PRESIDENT: The General Assembly will now take a decision on the draft resolution recommended by the Credentials Committee in paragraph 18 of its report [A/35/484].

249. In accordance with rule 90 of the rules of procedure, I shall first put to the vote the amendment proposed in document A/35/L.5. In this connexion, I have been asked to inform the Assembly that document A/35/L.5/Add.1, which states that Bulgaria has become a sponsor of that amendment, has been circulated. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Angola, Benin, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cape Verde, Congo, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Ethiopia, German Democratic Republic, Grenada, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Hungary, India, Jamaica, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Mongolia, Mozambique, Nicaragua, Panama, Poland, Sao Tome and Principe, Seychelles, Syrian Arab Republic, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Viet Nam.

Against: Argentina, Australia, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Bhutan, Bolivia, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Comoros, Costa Rica, Democratic Kampuchea, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Fiji, Gabon, Gambia, Germany, Federal Republic of, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Indonesia, Israel, Italy, Japan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lesotho, Liberia, Luxembourg, Malaysia, Maldives, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Morocco, Nepal, New Zealand, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Philippines, Portugal, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Singapore, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Thailand, Togo, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Cameroon, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia, Zaire.

Abstaining: Austria, Botswana, Brazil, Burundi, Central African Republic, Chad, Finland, France, Ghana, Iceland, Ireland, Ivory Coast, Lebanon, Mali, Mexico, Netherlands, Norway, Peru, Rwanda, Samoa, Sierra Leone, Spain, Suriname, Sweden, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Yemen, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

The amendment was rejected by 74 votes to 35, with 32 abstentions.

250. The PRESIDENT: The General Assembly will now take a decision on the draft resolution recommended by the Credentials Committee in paragraph 18 of its report [A/35/484]. Duly taking into account the views expressed by delegations, including those contained in General Assembly documents circulated to Member States, may I take it that the General Assembly adopts that draft resolution?

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 35/4 A).

251. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on those representatives who had expressed the wish to explain their votes after the voting.

252. Mr. PETERS (Luxembourg) (*interpretation from French*): Luxembourg, in accordance with its democratic views, always supports decisions taken by the Credentials Committee when they are taken in conformity with that Committee's competence and

with the rules of procedure. That competence is limited to verification and has nothing to do with the legitimacy of the Governments concerned. The amendment proposed to us in document A/35/L.5 and Add.1 did not meet these criteria. Therefore, we voted against it. This does not at all prejudice our attitude on the substance of the issues dealt with. We always strongly condemn the armed invasion of any country and the setting up of a puppet régime by the invader in flagrant violation of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. We view with the same disapproval and the same disgust any régime which, by its cruelty, its intolerance and its ideology is guilty of downright genocide, and our vote today in no way spells approval of the policy of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea.

253. Mr. McHENRY (United States of America): As previously announced, the United States supported on technical grounds acceptance of the credentials of the representative of the Democratic Kampuchea authorities. When there is no superior claim, the General Assembly should seat the representative of the Government whose credentials were accepted by the previous session of the General Assembly. There is no superior claim for the Kampuchean seat. The Heng Samrin régime was installed by Viet Nam through its military invasion of Kampuchea and is maintained in power by a Vietnamese occupation force of some 200,000 troops. Such invasion and occupation is in direct violation of the United Nations Charter and of General Assembly resolution 34/22, which called for the withdrawal of all foreign forces and the end of outside intervention in the internal affairs of Kampuchea.

254. The conclusion that the Heng Samrin régime does not represent a superior claim is supported by most of the Governments of the region that are directly concerned with this problem. The position of the United States on the technical question of credentials does not imply United States Government recognition of the Democratic Kampuchea régime, it does not imply support for the régime, and it does not imply approval of its heinous practices. On the contrary, we condemn unequivocally the savage human rights violations that have taken place under the Pol Pot régime. Unlike some Governments which only now, after the invasion by Viet Nam, raise human rights concerns, the United States spoke against those abuses in the Security Council, in the Human Rights Commission and in the General Assembly both before and after the invasion. The régime that now seeks to supplant Democratic Kampuchea as the representative of Kampuchea is also open to condemnation. It is the creation of and dependent for its survival on the military forces of Viet Nam, whose invasion and occupation of Kampuchea are in violation of internationally recognized principles. Viet Nam has shown no willingness to negotiate concerning the withdrawal of its forces.

255. At the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly, resolution 34/22 was approved that provided a reasonable basis on which to seek a solution of the problems of conflict and famine in Kampuchea. We hope that that resolution and draft resolution A/35/L.2/Rev.1, as well as additional solutions that might be proposed by this General Assembly, will

be accepted and implemented by all parties concerned. In that way there may evolve a genuinely independent and representative government of Kampuchea, free of outside intervention and free of the pressure of foreign troops of occupation, at peace with its neighbours, representing the aspirations of the Kampuchean people and respectful of their human rights.

256. Mr. KLESTIL (Austria): In explaining my delegation's vote on the amendment to the resolution presented in document A/35/L.5 and Add.1, I wish to reiterate briefly Austria's position of principle on the question of representation of Democratic Kampuchea.

257. Unconditional respect for the basic principles of human rights is one of the corner-stones on which Austria's domestic and foreign policy is based. We have therefore consistently condemned the practices of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary régime whose violations of human rights have reached genocidal dimensions and are utterly unacceptable. Foreign intervention in the internal affairs of a sovereign State and a change of political system, however despicable it may be, by military force from outside is, however, equally unacceptable and has to be condemned just as forcefully. This intervention, which led to the installation of the Government of Heng Samrin, was carried out in violation of the territorial integrity and political sovereignty of Kampuchea and stands in flagrant contradiction of the right to self-determination of the people of Kampuchea.

258. With regard to the devastating situation in that country, we are deeply conscious of the amount of human suffering and senseless sacrifice of human life among a people with a noble tradition which now stands in danger of extinction through persecution, famine and disease. Austria's first and foremost objective is directed towards alleviating the suffering and rendering humanitarian help to Kampuchea, so that Kampuchea will be in a position to secure its integrity and sovereignty against any foreign influence.

259. That is the position that Austria took at the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly when the question of the representation of Democratic Kampuchea first presented itself, and it remains unchanged. Austria therefore abstained in the vote on the amendment contained in document A/35/L.5 and Add.1.

260. Mr. SHELDON (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): During today's discussion of the report of the Credentials Committee [A/35/484] and of the amendment to the resolution contained in that report [A/35/L.5 and add.1] the delegations of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Hungarian People's Republic, the German Democratic Republic, the Polish People's Republic, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic gave their positions of principle and they resolutely opposed the so-called credentials of the totally unrepresentative criminals from the bloody, invidious Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique.

261. As regards the draft resolution contained in the report of the Credentials Committee as a whole, the delegations I have mentioned did not object to the adoption of that report, inasmuch as it pertains to the credentials of a significant number of the delegations

represented at the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly.

262. Nevertheless, for the delegations I have mentioned, on whose behalf the delegation of the Byelorussian SSR is speaking, the adoption of the Credentials Committee's report—and I would emphasize this—does not at all imply agreement with the purported "credentials" of so-called "Democratic Kampuchea".

263. We are deeply convinced that the time is not far off when Kampuchea will be represented in the United Nations by the sole legitimate representative of its people, in other words by the People's Revolutionary Council of the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

264. Mr. KATAPODIS (Greece): The Greek delegation voted against the amendment contained in document A/35/L.5 and Add.1, designed to exclude the credentials of the representatives of Democratic Kampuchea from those approved by the Credentials Committee. In so doing, my delegation was motivated by the desire to ensure that no Member State is deprived of the right to participate in the work of our Organization. We were also consistent with our practice of approving the report of the Credentials Committee, which is the appropriate body for examining the validity of credentials submitted in accordance with rule 27 of the rules of procedure.

265. Having said that, I should like to reiterate our condemnation of all acts of violence or repression perpetrated against the people of Kampuchea in recent years, including the brutal policies of the Pol Pot administration. Besides, I shall have the opportunity to state the views of my delegation on the political aspects of the problem of Kampuchea when item 22 of the agenda comes before the General Assembly for consideration.

266. Mr. THUNBORG (Sweden): The position of Sweden regarding the credentials of Kampuchea remains unchanged. Thus, in the present conditions we do not consider that any Government can claim to represent Kampuchea. Our abstention on the proposed amendment in document A/35/L.5 and Add.1 and the fact that we joined in the consensus in approving the report of the Credentials Committee should be seen in that light.

267. Mr. HELSKOV (Denmark): I should like briefly to explain the vote of the Danish delegation on the resolution just adopted. In the present circumstances my Government would clearly have preferred a neutral solution to the problem. Because of legal principles and for procedural reasons, we have voted against the amendment, which would have left the seat of Kampuchea vacant. I wish to emphasize that the fact that we joined in the consensus on the resolution adopted should not be taken as an expression of support for either of the two Governments that claim to represent Kampuchea.

268. Mr. ALBORNOZ (Ecuador) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Ecuador wishes to express its deep condolences and feelings of solidarity, at this hour of trial, to the people and Government of Algeria, which has been struck by a great disaster whose serious consequences we fully understand. We are certain that the Algerian people, with the enterprising assistance of its sons and with international co-operation, will

overcome all the difficulties brought about by the earthquake.

269. The delegation of Ecuador voted in favour of the adoption of the first report of the Credentials Committee [A/35/484], as it did on the same question last year.

270. My delegation disagrees with any modification of the report of that Committee, for the following reasons.

271. First, the matter of the verification of credentials is a formal question, in respect of which we should confine ourselves to ascertaining that the requirements of the General Assembly rules of procedure are fulfilled, in order to ensure that the credentials of the representation of a Member State are in good order.

272. Secondly, the vote cast by Ecuador certainly does not imply the least acquiescence in violations of human rights by any régime, still less that of Pol Pot. On the contrary, Ecuador at this time reaffirms its solemn commitment to respect for human, political, civil, economic, social and cultural rights as a fundamental rule for the conduct of States. That assertion was made by the Constitutional President of Ecuador, Jaime Roldós, in the Charter of Conduct of Riobamba which, together with six other heads of State or representatives of heads of State or Government, we signed at Riobamba on 11 September this year and which, in view of its great importance, was circulated as a document of the General Assembly on 7 October. It is further stated therein that the defence of human rights

“is an international obligation for States and that, consequently, joint action taken to protect those rights does not violate the principle of non-intervention”.²

273. Thirdly, at the same time, the delegation of Ecuador cannot agree with any actions aimed at legalizing situations brought about by the presence, in the national territory of a State, of invading foreign troops as a substitute for the sovereign expression of the will of the people. Only after the foreign occupation troops withdraw and the citizens of that country are permitted to decide their own destiny in free and fully democratic elections under United Nations supervision should the international community proceed to give its recognition to decisions thus clearly and openly adopted by that same people.

274. Sir Anthony PARSONS (United Kingdom): The fact that my delegation voted against amendment A/35/L.5 and Add.1 does not imply that my Government supports the authorities issuing the credentials in question or deals with them as a Government. My Government's general views on the substance of the situation in Cambodia will be expressed during the debate on the appropriate agenda item. At this stage I would simply make it clear that, in casting our vote today for wider reasons, we have no intention of contributing to the re-establishment of the authority of the Pol Pot régime, nor do we see any grounds for expecting this to happen.

275. Mr. ÅLGÅRD (Norway): My delegation abstained from voting on the amendment concerning

the credentials of Democratic Kampuchea for the following reasons.

276. The Norwegian Government and public opinion in Norway have expressed their strong objections to the serious violations of human rights committed by the Pol Pot régime in Kampuchea. These sentiments have been reinforced over the last year.

277. Kampuchea is still suffering from armed conflict and foreign intervention, in grave violation of fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations. The Norwegian Government clearly rejects this foreign intervention in the affairs of another independent country. It is now imperative to lay a foundation for a peaceful settlement which will allow the people of Kampuchea freely to elect its own government, free from outside interference.

278. It is the opinion of my Government that under the present circumstances none of the existing régimes can be said to represent effectively the people of Kampuchea.

279. In conclusion, I should like to restate Norway's full support for the principle of universality in the United Nations.

280. Mr. ELLIOT (Belgium) (*interpretation from French*): I wish briefly to give the reasons for the vote cast by the Belgian delegation on document A/35/L.5 and Add.1.

281. As a matter of policy, the Belgian delegation has always supported resolutions adopted by the Credentials Committee. The Belgian vote on the proposed amendment has no meaning in respect of Belgium's substantive attitude towards these régimes, both of which claim to represent the Khmer people.

282. There can be no doubt as to the attitude of the Belgian people and Government towards the heinous and inhuman record of the Pol Pot régime; we have constantly and regularly condemned that régime's systematic violations of human rights. Today once again we condemn them most formally.

283. Nevertheless, the so-called Heng Samrin régime can in no way be considered to be legitimate, since it was imposed by Vietnamese military force on the Khmer people in violation of the basic principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

284. Members of the United Nations are faced with a flagrant violation of the sovereign independence of a Member State. The United Nations cannot tolerate the invasion of one nation by another, nor can it condone the occupation of one country and the control of its internal political life by another. The Khmer people is entitled freely to determine its future without any foreign interference.

285. Hence, Belgium firmly supports the position of the States most concerned among the nations of South-East Asia which have condemned all expansionist movements in Indo-China.

286. Belgium earnestly hopes that the Khmer people will soon be able to see its sufferings end under a freely chosen régime and to undertake the task of reconstructing its sorely tried country.

287. Mr. LEPRETTE (France) (*interpretation from French*): May I first of all express to the Algerian delegation our profound emotion over the extent of

² See document A/C.3/35/4, annex, para. 3.

the El Asnam disaster. I would request the Algerian delegation to convey this message of sympathy and compassion to the Algerian Government as well as to the people of El Asnam and the surrounding area, who have been so cruelly stricken for the second time in 25 years.

288. The General Assembly has just taken two decisions: on the one hand, it rejected the amendment in document A/35/L.5 and Add.1 which challenged the credentials of the delegation of Democratic Kampuchea; on the other hand, it adopted the first report of the Credentials Committee [A/35/484]. In the first case, the French delegation abstained from voting. Indeed, adoption of the amendment in question would logically have led—as confirmed, incidentally, by the statements of its sponsors—to welcoming to the international community a régime installed as a result of military aggression. I would also point out that the Kampuchean people was not in a position freely and democratically to express its views on the kind of government it would like to have. The effect of the General Assembly's rejection of that amendment is seemingly to confer respectability on a régime accused of genocide and of violation of inalienable human rights. By voting against the proposed amendment, France would have given the impression of supporting the Pol Pot régime, with which, I would recall, we have never maintained relations. Therefore, we did not do so.

289. Obviously, the views I have just expressed apply, as concerns the report of the Credentials Committee which was adopted without a vote, to the specific case of Kampuchea, and to that case alone. France's position has remained unchanged since last year, nor could it have changed.

290. Mr. BEDJAOUI (Algeria) (*interpretation from French*): I should like once again to extend the heartfelt gratitude of the Algerian delegation to all those delegations which throughout the day have expressed their sympathy to my country for the disaster it has just suffered.

291. In voting for the proposed amendment, Algeria wished, above all, to show that it is bound by the decision adopted on this subject by the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Havana in 1979.³ Indeed, in the absence of all the facts, that Conference avoided taking a hasty decision that might have jeopardized the principles and ideals of non-alignment; hence it declared itself in favour of the seat being unfilled. It is in accordance with that decision that my delegation today voted in favour of the amendment proposed by the Lao delegation calling upon our Assembly to reconsider paragraph 18 of the report of the Credentials Committee relating to the representation of the Kampuchean delegation.

292. Mr. PASTINEN (Finland): The Finnish delegation joins in the condolences extended to the delegation of Algeria on the tragedy which has befallen the people of Algeria.

293. When the General Assembly considered, last year, the question of the credentials of the delegation of Kampuchea, the Finnish delegation consistently abstained in all votes regarding that question. The

main reason for abstaining was our perception of the situation in Kampuchea as a subject of conflicting interests between the great Powers. For the same reasons, the Finnish delegation abstained today in the vote taken on the proposal in document A/35/L.5 and Add.1. Our subsequent acceptance of the report of the Credentials Committee should therefore be viewed in the light of the previous vote, which has already made clear our position on the question of the credentials of the delegation of Kampuchea.

294. Mr. KEAT CHHON (Democratic Kampuchea) (*interpretation from French*): My delegation wishes to associate itself with those which have expressed sympathy and sincere condolences to the Algerian people and Government on the devastation and bereavement caused by the earthquake.

295. The credentials of Democratic Kampuchea, a State Member of the United Nations, have always been recognized and accepted by our Assembly and other international organizations. Since the beginning of 1979, after the Vietnamese aggression and invasion, the Security Council and the General Assembly—the latter at its thirty-fourth session, its sixth and seventh emergency special sessions and its eleventh special session—as well as the assemblies of other international organizations, have successively confirmed those credentials and the legitimate rights of Democratic Kampuchea. That has been true despite the unremitting, cynical and perfidious manoeuvres of the Hanoi authorities which, failing to have the Vietnamese administration in Phnom Penh accepted, seek to deprive Democratic Kampuchea of its legitimate rights in those organizations through the so-called vacant seat formula.

296. This year again, our General Assembly has taken up the challenge of the Hanoi authorities by an overwhelming majority which has again summoned them to respect the sacred principles of the Charter and the legitimate rights of Democratic Kampuchea as a Member of our Organization.

297. The preliminary count of the voting a moment ago indicates that there is even more massive support than there was last year for the legitimate rights of Democratic Kampuchea, the victim of aggression. That clearly shows that a growing number of States Members of our Organization understand more clearly with each passing day the substance of the Vietnamese manoeuvre and the profound causes of Kampuchea's problems.

298. That is a great victory for those peoples of the world who love peace and justice and for the United Nations itself over the forces of aggression, expansion and *diktat*. Thus, our Organization, despite its vicissitudes, has once again shown that it is courageous and clear-sighted. And this does it honour.

299. The delegation of Democratic Kampuchea wishes to express its profound gratitude to all the peoples and countries who love peace and justice and to our Assembly for that act of justice: justice because it opposed aggression, the violation of the principles of the Charter and of those governing international relations; justice because it supported the legitimate rights in the United Nations of the victim of aggression, confirmed the legitimacy of the struggle waged at present by the people and Government of

³ See document A/34/542, annex, sect. II.

Democratic Kampuchea for the survival of the Kampuchean nation, because the vote cast a moment ago recognized the sacred and inalienable right of Kampuchea to remain an independent nation with its own entity and to develop in concert with the community of nations.

300. We wish to emphasize that aspect of the meaning of the vote cast a moment ago because the war of aggression waged by the Hanoi authorities against Kampuchea is not a traditional war of colonial conquest as history has known in the past. Apart from serving regional expansionist ambitions, that war is a special war of extermination of a whole nation and a whole people, because the Hanoi authorities do not need Kampuchean, but only the territory of Kampuchea, to make through their "Indo-Chinese Federation" a greater Viet Nam.

301. The vote cast a moment ago encourages our people, as well as our national army, to persevere regardless of difficulties, obstacles and sacrifices in their just struggle until they succeed in asserting the rights of the people of Kampuchea to decide its own destiny, so that Kampuchea may remain for ever an independent, united, democratic, peaceful, neutral, non-aligned country without any foreign bases on its soil. Together with this encouragement, the vote in question helps to strengthen the great national union front of all patriotic forces against the Vietnamese invaders. We shall deserve that support. The Government of Democratic Kampuchea and the Patriotic and Democratic Front of Great National Union of Kampuchea are open to all patriotic forces seeking a wide and fruitful national union.

302. Through that massive vote, the General Assembly clearly indicated that only the withdrawal of Vietnamese forces from Kampuchea will solve the problem of Kampuchea and bring back peace, stability and security to South-East Asia. It has also clearly indicated that only a Kampuchean government, democratically elected under United Nations supervision after the complete withdrawal of Vietnamese forces from Kampuchea, will be empowered to occupy Democratic Kampuchea's seat in the United Nations.

303. The verdict of our Assembly is clear, but knowing the true nature of the Hanoi authorities, we have every right to ask ourselves whether those authorities will accept that verdict.

304. This morning the representative of Viet Nam, as usual, abused this rostrum to pronounce the same untruths and slanders that he uttered last year before the Security Council and at the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly. By their successive votes, the Security Council and the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly have already rejected those gross misrepresentations of the truth and those low slanders. It is not my delegation's intention to waste our Assembly's time in responding to the gangster logic of the invaders of Kampuchea.

305. It is certain that the vote cast a moment ago will diminish the arrogance of the Hanoi authorities and of the international expansionists. It also contributes to preventing Viet Nam from shirking its responsibility of implementing the relevant General Assembly resolution 34/22 calling for the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea. It helps to prevent Viet Nam from using our Organization to bring

to fruition its manoeuvres aimed at having its occupation of Kampuchea accepted as a fait accompli and at legalizing its invasion of Kampuchea. But Viet Nam, whose leaders are obstinate and perfidious, will resist this verdict and will not renounce its manoeuvres in this Organization to have that fait accompli accepted. It will continue to create trouble in the Organization while constantly professing its desire for a "dialogue" and its so-called will for "peace" and "co-operation". We know what value Hanoi attaches to its own promises and to the agreements it has concluded. Promises, negotiations and agreements for Hanoi are no more than palliatives enabling it to gain time. Brutal force and the law of the jungle allied to perfidy remain still the rule of conduct of Hanoi in international relations for the realization of its expansionist strategy.

306. Like all other countries that are small or medium in size and weak, Democratic Kampuchea places its full confidence in our Organization, which remains its last resort for the triumph of the principles of the Charter and those governing relations among States. We are convinced that after the common victory they have obtained, the countries that love peace and justice will remain clear-sighted and on the alert and will oppose the expansionists successfully.

307. The act of justice just carried out by our Assembly with respect to Democratic Kampuchea, the victim of aggression, is for all countries, especially the small and medium-sized countries, a source of additional comfort in their determination to defend their independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity in the face of the forces of aggression, expansion and *diktat*. It strengthens the Charter and the confidence of those countries in our Organization.

308. Lastly, our delegation expresses once again its determination to work here untiringly with all the other delegations, as our fighters do on the battlefield in Kampuchea, and those of Afghanistan in their country, to contribute to guaranteeing the national independence of and to bring to South-East Asia and Asia in general peace, stability and security and to ensure that the legitimate interests of all countries are preserved.

309. Mr. SOURINHO (Lao People's Democratic Republic) (*interpretation from French*): The General Assembly, despite the strong opposition of many representatives of Member States, particularly the sponsors of amendment A/35/L.5 and Add.1, has just adopted the first report of the Credentials Committee recommending that it approve the credentials of a certain number of representatives of States, including the credentials of the representatives of the universally condemned genocidal Pol Pot-Ieng Sary gang. Despite that, and in order to demonstrate further proof of our wish to collaborate with you, Mr. President, in the efficient conduct of our proceedings, the sponsors of the said amendment joined in the consensus reached by the General Assembly. But that proof of goodwill in no way means that we approve or accept the credentials of the representatives of so-called Democratic Kampuchea.

310. On behalf of the sponsors of amendment A/35/L.5 and Add.1 therefore, I request that our reservation be included in the record of this meeting of the General Assembly.

The meeting rose at 7.20 p.m.