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

**AGENDA ITEM 8**

**Adoption of the agenda and organization of work**  
(*continued*)\*

(a) Report of the General Committee

**THIRD REPORT OF THE GENERAL COMMITTEE**  
(A/35/250/ADD.2)

1. The PRESIDENT: In paragraph 2 (a) of the third report of the General Committee, the General Committee recommends the inclusion in the agenda of an additional item entitled "Launching of global negotiations on international economic co-operation for development". May I consider that that item is included in the agenda?

*It was so decided [see para. 2 below].*

2. The PRESIDENT: The General Committee recommends in paragraph 2 (b) of its report that that item should be considered directly in plenary meeting. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to adopt that recommendation?

*It was so decided [decision 35/402].*

**AGENDA ITEM 22**

**The situation in Kampuchea: report of the Secretary-General**

3. The PRESIDENT: In connexion with the draft resolution on the situation in Kampuchea, contained in document A/35/L.2/Rev.1, I wish to inform the General Assembly that the following countries have become sponsors: Niger, Upper Volta and Zaire.

4. I now call on the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Philippines, who wishes to introduce the draft resolution.

5. Mr. ROMULO (Philippines): For the second successive year the Assembly will discuss the item on the situation in Kampuchea. The fact that we continue to be seized of the item is a strong indication that we have made little progress in the search for the peaceful settlement of a problem which is of supreme importance to peace in South-East Asia and to world stability.

6. If we have failed to make progress, it is not for lack of trying. The Secretary-General's report [A/35/501] makes it amply clear that, in the past year, earnest efforts have been exerted by the Secretary-General and the international community to create a climate favourable to negotiations, which could lead to a political solution of the festering situation in Kampuchea.

7. The report affirms the increasing seriousness of the problem. In response to General Assembly resolution 34/22, the Secretary-General in November 1979 sent his Special Representative, Mr. Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, to Bangkok for a first-hand view of the conditions in the troubled area. In that regard the Secretary-General observed:

"[Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar's] report to me confirmed the gravity of the problems in the area, particularly along the Thai-Kampuchean border, and the seriousness of the political and military factors that had compounded the appalling human suffering endured by the Kampuchean people." [*Ibid.*, para. 5.]

8. I should remind the Assembly that the resolution was adopted in November 1979. Today, in October 1980, the conditions have worsened and have magnified the threat to world peace. The statements thus far made in the Assembly are not an exercise in hyperbole; they reflect the grim reality in Kampuchea.

9. There are two aspects to the problem of Kampuchea. The first is humanitarian, the second military and political. The generosity of donors has in great measure alleviated the recurring nightmares of hunger, disease and death which confront the unfortunate people of Kampuchea. We take nothing away from the exemplary work of the relief organizations, international and private. But they are, I believe, the first to realize that their humanitarian efforts are often blocked by considerations of an essentially political character and, worse, by the deliberate use of military forces as a political weapon. That suggests the ineradicable linkage between the two aspects of the Kampuchean problem. Solve the second and the first will find its own solution.

10. Against that background, my delegation is firmly convinced that the great roadblock to peace in South-East Asia is the persistent pursuit of mini-hegemony in the region by Viet Nam through various means,

\* Resumed from the 20th meeting.

including armed intervention. There is no other explanation. The transparent efforts to rationalize its actions in Kampuchea are but unsuccessful attempts to disguise its real intentions. The ultimate authority is the horse's mouth: the occupation of Kampuchea, Viet Nam says, is irreversible and non-negotiable. No further confirmation is needed.

11. We do not mean to imply that the Kampuchean case is a confrontation between Viet Nam and the States members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations [ASEAN], severally and collectively. We regret that interpretation. Confrontation goes against the grain for us, for ASEAN's proclaimed goal is the establishment of a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in South-East Asia, which will permit constructive co-operation in national and regional development, co-operation that will include Viet Nam.

12. We need to view the problem of Kampuchea in a larger context. It involves not just ASEAN but the international community. Flout the Charter of the United Nations, hold its principles in mockery, shrug away world opinion and you create a situation in which you confront not a segment of the world but the world itself. I very much fear that this is precisely the problem which Viet Nam has created for its people.

13. We hold an opposite view; as an earnest of that we have before us draft resolution A/35/L.2/Rev.1, sponsored by 29 States Members of the United Nations. It is not my intention to explain every point of the draft in detail. Many of the points are reiterations of resolution 34/22.

14. But the first question to ask is: why is this draft resolution necessary? It is necessary because resolution 34/22 remains unimplemented. It is necessary because the deteriorating situation in Kampuchea demands urgent solution on the basis of the Charter. It is necessary, finally, because later developments, with the grim prospect they bring of deeper involvement of other Powers, pose even more difficult problems which may lie beyond our power to arrest or control.

15. The second question is: in what way does the present draft resolution differ from resolution 34/22? It differs in one important respect. After long cogitation and intensive consultations, we present for the Assembly's consideration a seven-point program to be negotiated at an international conference composed of the parties principally concerned as well as other interested parties with the aim of reaching a comprehensive political settlement of the Kampuchean problem. At the same time, the draft resolution contains a two-point interim proposal as a means of reducing tensions on the volatile Thai-Kampuchean border and areas contiguous to it. All of those elements are in full conformity with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations; indeed, the United Nations itself will be involved as guide, philosopher and friend to all parties concerned, in the common interest of achieving peace.

16. In our view, peace in Kampuchea can be attained only within the framework of the Charter of the United Nations and the full restoration of respect for its principles. Any other approach would be self-defeating. In the effort to re-establish peace in Kampu-

chea, therefore, the elements contained in the draft resolution before us reflect those very principles which constitute the bedrock of our Organization. A brief enumeration would suffice to prove that point: total withdrawal of foreign troops from Kampuchea within a specific time-frame, which is another way of saying we do not condone armed aggression; respect for human rights; free elections under United Nations supervision; and guarantees with respect to sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity.

17. It has become the fashion to launch so-called peace offensives in a cynical effort to sweep under the carpet the inglorious results of aggressive actions. In presenting the draft resolution before the Assembly, we do no such thing, for the stain is not on our conscience, nor is the blood on our hands. We have no debts to pay. We offer the draft resolution in a sincere and earnest endeavour to restore peace at one of the darkest moments in the history of our time. What we do and what we fail to do today is the acid test of whether or not we are fit to inhabit a common world of dignity and decency and have the courage to face the fearsome forces of destruction. What we do and what we fail to do today will reverberate far into the future and will help to shape the world, dark or bright, which we, in our wisdom or lack of it, are trying to build.

18. The choice is ours, members of this Assembly. We cannot afford to fail this test.

19. The PRESIDENT: Before calling on the first speaker in the debate, I should like to propose that the list of speakers in the debate on this item be closed tomorrow, Thursday 16 October, at 12 noon. May I take it that there is no objection to my proposal?

*It was so decided.*

20. Mr. THIOUNN PRASITH (Democratic Kampuchea) (*interpretation from French*): This is the second time that this Assembly has met to debate the situation in Kampuchea or, more precisely, the problem created by the invasion and occupation of Kampuchea by Vietnamese armed forces and the steps to be taken to put an end to it, in order to preserve peace, security and stability in South-East Asia and throughout the world.

21. Everyone still vividly remembers the date of 25 December 1978, when 120,000 Vietnamese troops invaded Kampuchea, trampling underfoot the independence and territorial integrity of a sovereign State, a Member of the United Nations, and a founding member of the non-aligned movement, in flagrant violation of the Charter of the United Nations and the principles of non-alignment, thus destroying the peace, security and stability of South-East Asia.

22. Everyone will recall that the Security Council, the supreme body of our Organization, was twice prevented, on 15 January and 16 March 1979, from discharging its responsibility for maintaining international peace and security because of the veto cast by one of its permanent members, the major expansionist Power which, one year later, was to send its own forces to invade Afghanistan.

23. Despite the numerous lies, manoeuvres and slanders of Viet Nam and its supporters in order to

make people accept the *fait accompli* of the Vietnamese invasion of Kampuchea, on 14 November 1979, after three days of debate, our General Assembly, by an overwhelming majority of 91 votes to 21, voted in favour of resolution 34/22, which, *inter alia*, appealed for large-scale humanitarian aid to be given urgently to all the people of Kampuchea, without discrimination called for the immediate withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea in order to enable its people to decide their own future and destiny free from outside interference, subversion or coercion and requested that the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of Kampuchea be scrupulously respected.

24. All peoples who love peace and justice welcomed with satisfaction and, indeed, with hope that important resolution of the General Assembly, which showed quite clearly, by that massive vote, its intention to defend the noble principles of the Charter and ensure their observance.

25. This clear and reasonable appeal issued by the international community was met by the Vietnamese regional expansionists with arrogance and cynicism. They did not hesitate to describe resolution 34/22 as an "absurd and illegal resolution" and to describe the Member States which supported it as an "erroneous majority". Thus, instead of complying with resolution 34/22, they regarded it as a mere scrap of paper and did everything in their power to intensify their war of aggression and genocide in Kampuchea, to perpetuate their aggression and to endeavour to make the international community accept, willingly or unwillingly, the *fait accompli* in Kampuchea.

26. One year has elapsed since the adoption by our Assembly of resolution 34/22. Where do things stand as far as its implementation is concerned?

27. First, from the humanitarian point of view, the generous donor countries, the specialized agencies of the United Nations and other international humanitarian organizations have made tireless efforts to assist our people and to alleviate its immeasurable suffering caused by the Vietnamese invasion, an invasion which shocked the conscience of the international community. The Pledging Conference for Emergency Humanitarian Relief to the People of Kampuchea, held in New York on 5 November 1979, the Meeting on Humanitarian Assistance and Relief to the Kampuchean People, held on 26 and 27 May 1980 at Geneva and the periodic meetings of the donor countries are eloquent testimony to the sustained efforts made by the international community to organize assistance and humanitarian aid to the people of Kampuchea, the victims of Vietnamese aggression. We should like to express again the great gratitude of the Kampuchean people, the Patriotic and Democratic Front of Great National Union of Kampuchea and the Government of Democratic Kampuchea.

28. Everyone agrees that the humanitarian assistance that was sent to the refugee camps in Thailand and across the Kampuchea-Thai frontier reached the population directly without any discrimination and, indeed, alleviated the suffering of many hundreds of thousands of Kampuchean refugees in Thailand and more than 1.5 million inhabitants in those areas that were under the control of the Patriotic and Demo-

cratic Front of Great National Union of Kampuchea and the Government of Democratic Kampuchea.

29. My delegation would like to reaffirm the profound gratitude of the Kampuchean people and its legitimate Government to the people and Government of Thailand for their solicitude, the humanitarian policies they practise concerning all the people of Kampuchea and willing manner in which they have shouldered the heavy burden of giving shelter on Thai soil to the hundreds of thousands of Kampuchean refugees who succeeded in escaping the massacres perpetrated by the Vietnamese troops.

30. But the generous actions of the international community and of Thailand on behalf of the people of Kampuchea have been systematically sabotaged by the Hanoi authorities. Not only was practically all the aid sent through the Vietnamese administration in Phnom Penh diverted by the Vietnamese to feed their occupation army in Kampuchea, but, further, the Vietnamese occupying forces in Kampuchea did not hesitate to carry out armed incursions into the territory of Thailand, as occurred on 23 and 24 June of this year, to destroy refugee camps and to halt humanitarian aid operations by UNICEF and the voluntary repatriation exercise under the auspices of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees on the Thailand-Kampuchea frontier.

31. These facts are hardly surprising because the international humanitarian organizations and the specialized agencies of the United Nations are not dealing with a national Government that is concerned for the well-being and survival of its people but rather with foreign invaders whose annexationist designs and genocidal policies are well known to our people. Can we reasonably hope that the authorities in Hanoi are concerned about the well-being of the people of Kampuchea when they oppress even the Vietnamese people, more than 1 million of whom, including men, women and children, are prepared to face the perils of the sea and live as refugees in foreign lands rather than continue to live a life without hope in their own country? And it is undoubtedly not to give any assistance to the people of Kampuchea that more than 300,000 Vietnamese settlers have already followed in the wake of the occupying army and seized the most fertile lands in Kampuchea, in particular the vast fertile plains in the east, the rich maritime regions of the south-west and the great fishery lake of Tonle Sap.

32. Furthermore, for the edification of those who would like to know more about the hypocrisy and perfidy of the Vietnamese regional expansionists, it should be recalled that between 1970 and 1975 they seized practically all the Chinese aid destined for Kampuchea. In order to conceal the diversion of this aid, the Hanoi authorities did not hesitate to deceive the Government of the People's Republic of China by presenting it regularly with lists, facts and figures about all the goods which they purported to have sent to Kampuchea. Past experience makes it possible for them to juggle lists, figures and statistics in order to mislead the international community about the humanitarian assistance that is reaching the people of Kampuchea.

33. Irrefutable figures over and above the facts to which I have just referred make it possible to reveal

the fact that the Hanoi authorities have diverted the humanitarian aid that has been sent for the Kampuchean people. The total amount of this assistance is already equivalent to \$500 million, which is equivalent to an average yearly wage of \$100 *per capita*; that is much higher than the average annual wage in 1970. If the people of Kampuchea had really received all that humanitarian aid they would undoubtedly have enjoyed better conditions of life.

34. If that is in fact the case, why are hundreds of thousands of Kampuchean people now continuing to make risky journeys, of many weeks sometimes, from the centre of the country to the Kampuchea-Thailand border in order to receive some 30 kilograms of rice every two weeks to feed their starving families? Why every day, in the villages controlled by the enemy, do hundreds of Kampuchean people continue to die, deliberately starved by the Vietnamese occupiers?

35. We should like to reiterate here our appeal to all the donor countries, all the specialized agencies of the United Nations and the international humanitarian organizations concerned to redouble their vigilance in order to ensure that there are direct and non-discriminatory distributions of aid to all the population of Kampuchea. It is for them to prevent the Vietnamese occupiers from continuing heartlessly to divert this humanitarian assistance to meet the needs of their war of aggression and genocide in Kampuchea, thus transforming the generous gifts of millions of donors into a weapon which helps them in their criminal enterprise of extermination of the people and nation of Kampuchea.

36. No effective solution can be found to the humanitarian problems without a just and lasting settlement of the conflict, which is the result of Vietnamese aggression against Kampuchea, and the basic factor in that is the total and unconditional withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea.

37. In the political area, since the adoption of resolution 34/22, not only have the Hanoi authorities refused to withdraw their forces from Kampuchea but they continue to send considerable reinforcements in manpower, weapons and ammunition in order to push ahead with their war of aggression and genocide in Kampuchea. From 120,000 men at the outset, the number of Vietnamese personnel in Kampuchea has now increased to more than 250,000. Combining conventional weapons, chemical weapons and particularly the weapon of famine, they have to date massacred almost 3 million Kampuchean people, a figure which the Hanoi authorities cited in their slander campaign against Democratic Kampuchea designed to camouflage their invasion—for in order to break the resistance of the people and nation of Kampuchea they must stem this resistance at its source by massacring an entire people.

38. Nevertheless, all these criminal efforts have failed one by one. In particular, the defeat of the Vietnamese offensive during the last dry season, in 1979-1980, was a strategic turning point in the national resistance struggle of the people of Kampuchea and its national army, under the leadership of the Patriotic and Democratic Front of Great National Union of Kampuchea and the Government of Democratic Kampuchea.

39. The Vietnamese regional expansionists in fact are no longer in a position to destroy Democratic Kampuchea militarily, consequently they will never be able to present us with a *fait accompli* on the military front. Nor will they be able to do so politically, because the fundamental factor on which hinge the military successes won by the national army of Democratic Kampuchea is the increasingly active and widening support they receive from the people of Kampuchea, through the generalized implementation of the political programme of the Patriotic and Democratic Front of Great National Union of Kampuchea and the new strategic policy of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea. In these, the most difficult circumstances in its history, the people of Kampuchea can clearly discern the fact that the United Front and the Government of Democratic Kampuchea share its hopes and its sufferings, its fortunes and its misfortunes. The Government of Democratic Kampuchea remains on Kampuchean soil the sole legal and legitimate Government of Kampuchea.

40. At the present time the military and political realities in Kampuchea are as follows.

41. First, the national war of resistance is becoming intensified and extends practically throughout the country, including Phnom Penh itself.

42. Secondly, the Vietnamese forces are able to continue to occupy Kampuchea and massacre the people of Kampuchea only because of the aid amounting to \$3 million per day given it by the major expansionist Power which at present is occupying Afghanistan. Without that assistance the 300,000 Vietnamese soldiers and agents would not be able to remain long in Kampuchea, and the Vietnamese régime in Phnom Penh would crumble of itself.

43. Thirdly, the Hanoi authorities have completely failed in their attempts at "Khmerization", that is, the creation of a puppet army and a puppet administration. Those who are fighting in Kampuchea against the national army and people of Democratic Kampuchea are all in fact Vietnamese soldiers. The few Kampuchean people who were forcibly enlisted in Vietnamese self-defence units have risen up against their Vietnamese officers and are rejoining the Patriotic and Democratic Front of Great National Union of Kampuchea. As far as the administration in Phnom Penh is concerned, that administration is supported entirely by approximately 50,000 Vietnamese civil agents carrying out the orders they receive directly from the Hanoi authorities. The handful of people claiming to be Kampuchean people in that administration are agents who have been trained in the spirit of the "Vietnamese Indo-Chinese federation" for decades in North Viet Nam and are now being leased out by the Vietnamese expansionists of Hanoi. This Vietnamese administration is rejected by the people of Kampuchea in its entirety and in fact only controls, with the help of the 250,000 occupation soldiers, towns and sectors on the most important routes.

44. Fourthly, these undeniable facts give the lie to the fallacious propaganda to the effect that calm and security prevail in Kampuchea. The Hanoi authorities were already disseminating such lies during the debate last year. If the situation is really calm and secure, it is justifiable to wonder why the Hanoi authorities

do not withdraw their troops from Kampuchea. On the contrary, everyone is aware that the Vietnamese are feverishly increasing their occupation forces in Kampuchea with more men and Soviet military equipment in order to attempt once again to break the resistance of the people of Kampuchea and the national army of Democratic Kampuchea during the next dry season. Therefore it is clear to everyone that the more the Hanoi authorities claim that the situation is calm in Kampuchea, the more military reinforcements they send there. The Vietnamese regional expansionists, who are keenly adept in the logic of gangsters, are past masters in the art of disguising reality.

45. Fifthly, the obstinate refusal of the Hanoi authorities to withdraw their troops from Kampuchea has increased the danger of the war spilling out over all of South-East Asia, with all the unforeseeable consequences that would have for international peace and security. Similarly, the Vietnamese aggression against Thailand of 23 and 24 June was a first warning of what will undoubtedly break out on an even greater scale if the Vietnamese forces continue to occupy Kampuchea. That aggression shed a harsh light on the expansionist ambitions of the Hanoi authorities, who do not stop short at the "Vietnamese Indo-Chinese federation" but have even more far-reaching designs in South-East Asia.

46. In short, from both the humanitarian and the political points of view, resolution 34/22 has simply been cynically trampled underfoot by the Hanoi authorities.

47. It is because they have reached deadlock both politically and militarily in Kampuchea that the Hanoi authorities, conniving with the international expansionists, are frantically carrying out all sorts of diplomatic manoeuvres and plots in order to desperately try to obtain what they were unable to obtain by military and political means in Kampuchea itself—that is, *de facto* if not *de jure* acceptance of the fruits of their invasion and occupation of Kampuchea. They do not balk at making fine promises and peace proposals so long as they can pursue their aggression aimed at realizing their age-old dream of an "Indo-Chinese federation" under Vietnamese domination.

48. The past has shown how much value we can attach to the promises and pledges made by the regional expansionists of Hanoi, whose twisted and perfidious nature is now more and more being revealed to the world.

49. First, concerning Kampuchea, the Hanoi authorities gave a formal commitment to respect the territorial integrity of Kampuchea within its present boundaries. That promise was clearly expressed by Nguyen Huu Tho in the name of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Viet Nam and by Pham Van Dong in the name of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam in 1967. All are aware of what became of that promise. Starting in 1975, Viet Nam proceeded brutally to carry out aggression against Democratic Kampuchea, first by launching bloody attacks for years along the entire Khmer-Viet Nam frontier, seizing the island of Koh Wai in June 1975 and finally embarking on two wars of overt aggression, the first in December 1977, which was repulsed on 6 January 1978, and the second on 25 December 1978, which is continuing today.

50. Secondly, concerning China, the Vietnamese promises to recognize the land and sea frontiers were no less solemn, as can be seen from the correspondence addressed by Pham Van Dong, the Vietnamese Prime Minister, to the Chinese Prime Minister, Chou En-lai. However, after the unification of Viet Nam, the Le-Duan clique in Hanoi did a complete about-face and stepped up its military provocations on the Chinese frontier.

51. Thirdly, concerning the ASEAN countries, Pham Van Dong, visiting the capitals of those countries in September and October 1978, proclaimed that Viet Nam wished to live in peace with its neighbours, harboured no aggressive designs and was prepared to respect the independence and territorial integrity of all the countries of the region. In December 1978—that is, three months later—Hanoi sent its army to invade Democratic Kampuchea.

52. Fourthly, concerning Thailand, in May of this year the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Viet Nam, Nguyen Co Thach, stated that his country would never invade Thailand. But, just one month later, the Vietnamese forces of occupation in Kampuchea perpetrated a deliberate act of aggression against Thailand, on 23 and 24 June of this year.

53. All those facts make it abundantly clear that the Vietnamese regional expansionists have set up gangster logic and the law of the jungle as their general line of conduct in international relations. They have shown that even their most solemn commitments are in fact but scraps of paper and mere lip-service and designed only to serve their own regional expansionist ambitions.

54. Since April of this year—that is, since the end of the last dry season—the Hanoi authorities have been aware that they are no longer able to overcome the national resistance in Kampuchea by the force of arms. They have therefore undertaken diplomatic activities in order to seek acceptance by the international community of the fait accompli of Vietnamese occupation in Kampuchea. The Vietnamese aggression against Thailand of 23 and 24 June, the so-called "Vientiane proposals", the inclusion of item 119, entitled "Question of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia", on the General Assembly's agenda, the hullabaloo about the so-called "elections" in Kampuchea, and, finally, the various promises and bargains—all were focused on a specific objective: creation of an alleged "conflict" between the countries of the so-called "Indo-Chinese federation" and the ASEAN countries in order to have people forget the fundamental problem of the Vietnamese invasion and occupation of Kampuchea, which is the root cause of the destruction of peace, security and stability in South-East Asia, and makes impossible any co-operation in that region.

55. Through all their military and diplomatic plots, the Vietnamese regional expansionists are also striving for the following achievements.

56. First, to win time in order to consolidate the absorption of Kampuchea and Laos into the "Indo-Chinese federation" and to make it a spring-board for their next thrust towards the countries of South-East Asia.

57. Secondly, to sow confusion and division among all countries that love peace and justice and that are apposed to Vietnamese regional expansionism and to prevent them from forming a united front.

58. Thirdly, to bury resolution 34/22 and draft resolution A/35/L.2/Rev.1 which will not fail to win the support of the overwhelming majority of Member States of the United Nations.

59. Fourthly, to have the international community acquiesce in the fait accompli of Vietnamese aggression in Kampuchea—that is, to lend *de facto* recognition to the Vietnamese régime installed in Phnom Penh and to the Vietnamese “Indo-Chinese federation”.

60. All countries of the world that love peace and justice, and particularly Thailand and the other ASEAN countries, have perceptively denounced those plots and manoeuvres as they have appeared. More than ever they have condemned the war of aggression and genocide perpetrated by the Vietnamese expansionists in Kampuchea, which has imperilled the very existence of the people and nation of Kampuchea as an independent and sovereign State. Understanding the significance of the resistance struggle of the Kampuchean people, they are giving it more and more support—because it is a just struggle, and because the people and the national army of Kampuchea have no other choice.

61. Furthermore, they clearly discerned the international significance of the conflict in Kampuchea. The invasion of Kampuchea and the invasion of Afghanistan are part and parcel of the same, single plan for global expansion, which threatens the independence of all States, particularly the small and medium-sized ones, and at the same time imperils world peace.

62. The invasion of Kampuchea—over and above the attempt to establish the Vietnamese “Indo-Chinese federation”—is directed at the life of South-East Asia as a whole, the sea passages and the strategic Strait of Malacca. The invasion of Afghanistan—over and above Afghanistan itself—is directed at the Indian Ocean and the oil fields of the Persian Gulf and the Middle East. If the Vietnamese regional expansionists were to succeed in absorbing Kampuchea, if they were to succeed in establishing their “Indo-Chinese federation”, they would then have a solid basis to forge ahead even farther into South-East Asia. That would give great encouragement to the invaders of Afghanistan, which could not only consolidate their position but, furthermore, reap the benefits of even more favourable conditions for continuing their thrust towards the south. If that were to occur, the balance of forces in the world would be irremediably tipped in favour of the expansionists and it would be too late for the forces that cherish peace and justice to do anything at all against the expansionists’ ambition for world domination, or to prevent the outbreak of a third world conflagration.

63. The war that is raging in Kampuchea is therefore neither a civil war nor an ideological war; rather, it is a war for national survival and is an integral part of the struggle of all the peoples that cherish peace and justice to live in independence and honour; it is a war for world peace. That is why all the countries that

cherish peace and justice are perfectly aware that now there must be increased vigilance in regard to all the proposals made by the Vietnamese regional expansionists and their masters: the international expansionists. The vote taken on Monday, 13 October, by an even more overwhelming majority than last year, on the legitimate rights of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea in the United Nations is eloquent testimony to that fact. No plot, no military, diplomatic or political manoeuvres on the part of the Hanoi authorities can make us forget that the military invasion and occupation of Kampuchea by the Vietnamese expansionists is the root cause of the conflict, the insecurity and the instability prevailing in South-East Asia and of the growing threat that this conflict will be extended to the entire region of South-East Asia, with all the unforeseeable consequences that that would have for world peace.

64. In view of what is at stake for the people and the nation of Kampuchea, as well as for world peace and the national independence of all States, a just and lasting solution cannot be found unless the Vietnamese forces are totally and unconditionally withdrawn from Kampuchea and unless the people of Kampuchea are able to exercise their inalienable right to decide their own destiny themselves, without any foreign interference, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

65. In an attempt to conceal their expansionist ambition and to justify the occupation of Kampuchea by their armed forces, the Hanoi authorities have adduced two sophisms.

66. The first sophism is the “invitation” issued by the Vietnamese régime that they installed in Phnom Penh two months after their invasion of Kampuchea. That so-called “invitation” needs no comment, since it smacks so much of gangster logic. Its only merit is that it demonstrates the cynicism of the Hanoi authorities and their total contempt for the international community.

67. The second sophism is the so-called “Chinese threat”, which the Hanoi expansionists have been brandishing since the very outset of their invasion of Democratic Kampuchea. Was it because of the “Chinese threat” that in April 1975 the Hanoi authorities began launching bloody attacks along the eastern frontier and then, in June 1975, invaded Koh Wai Island in our country? Was it because of the “Chinese threat” that the Vietnamese forces refused after 1975 to withdraw completely from the sanctuaries they had occupied since 1965 on the territory of Kampuchea? Was it really because of the “Chinese threat” that they made efforts from 1975 to 1978 to destabilize Democratic Kampuchea by subversion, undermining sabotage and attempted coups d’état and assassinations of leaders of Democratic Kampuchea? The Hanoi authorities spoke at first of 100,000 Chinese soldiers and then of 20,000 Chinese experts in Kampuchea—and they did that at the very moment that they were invading Kampuchea. If their statements had really conformed to the facts, how would they have been able to succeed in carrying out their *blitzkrieg* in Kampuchea? And why are they unable to provide the slightest scrap of proof of the presence of these Chinese troops in Kampuchea? In fact, we have always fought on our own. From 1970 to 1975 we fought on our own,

without any advisers from any country whatever. And today we are fighting the Vietnamese invader through our own strength, without any foreign adviser. On the other hand, everyone is aware that there are at present 250,000 Vietnamese soldiers in Kampuchea and 50,000 in Laos. Whereas China is to the north of Vietnam and has no frontier with Kampuchea, the Vietnamese troops are invading Kampuchea, which is to the south, and they are infiltrating the territory of Thailand. It appears that the more they brandish the "Chinese threat"—which relates to the north—the more the Vietnamese expansionists are thrusting towards the south. By indulging in fabrications, in their attempt to deceive the international community, they have really lost the north.

68. No person of good faith could accept this mind-boggling and Machiavellian reasoning on the part of the Hanoi regional expansionists. Nothing could justify the invasion and occupation of Kampuchea by the Vietnamese forces.

69. To provide a just and lasting solution to the problem of Kampuchea, the Government of Democratic Kampuchea made public on 5 May 1980 a three-point proposal, which is to be found in United Nations documents A/35/221-S/13934 and Corr.1 and A/35/295-S/14005. The three points are the following.

70. First, the Hanoi authorities must unconditionally withdraw all their forces from Kampuchea, in conformity with General Assembly resolution 34/22, allowing the people of Kampuchea to exercise their inalienable right to solve their own problems themselves, without foreign interference.

71. Secondly, after the total withdrawal of Vietnamese forces from Kampuchea—and only then—the Kampuchean people will choose their national Government, by means of general and free elections, with direct and secret balloting under the supervision of the Secretary-General of the United Nations or his representatives. Kampuchea will remain independent, united, peaceful, democratic, neutral and non-aligned, without any foreign military bases, and with guarantees provided by the United Nations and the international community.

72. Thirdly, in the case of the people of Viet Nam and of Viet Nam itself, the Government of Democratic Kampuchea and the people of Kampuchea will harbour no hatred or rancour, nor will they require any compensation, provided that the Vietnamese forces withdraw completely from Kampuchea. They are prepared to live in peace and on good terms with their neighbour to the east, as well as with all their neighbours in the region.

73. The implementation of that reasonable proposal would restore peace and national independence to Kampuchea. But as long as the Hanoi authorities continue their war of aggression and genocide in Kampuchea, as long as the Vietnamese forces continue to invade and occupy Kampuchea, there can be no peace, security, stability or co-operation in South-East Asia. On the contrary, all that will happen will be that the conflict will get worse and spread throughout the region.

74. It is in this spirit that the delegation of Democratic Kampuchea deeply appreciates draft resolution A/35/L.2/Rev.1, which has just been introduced

in such a masterly manner by General Romulo of the Philippines on behalf of the 29 sponsor countries. We should like to express our gratitude to all those countries that have sponsored the draft resolution, and particularly the ASEAN countries, for their tireless efforts with a view to resolving the Kampuchean problem in strict conformity with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, international law and the deep-rooted aspiration to peace of their peoples.

75. We appeal to all the Member States of our Organization that are anxious to safeguard national independence, respect for the Charter of the United Nations and international law, and the defence of world peace, to vote as a body for this draft resolution, which is indeed an important contribution to the survival of the Kampuchean people and the age-old civilization of that beautiful land of Angkor and to the re-establishment of peace, security and stability in South-East Asia, this being so essential to international peace and security.

76. On behalf of the people of Kampuchea, the Patriotic and Democratic Front of Great National Union and its legitimate Government, we convey to them, in advance, our profound gratitude for their invaluable support.

77. Mr. NISIBORI (Japan): In its deliberations on this item last year, the General Assembly adopted by an overwhelming majority a resolution initiated by the member countries of ASEAN. That resolution, 34/22, contained various elements necessary for the settlement of the problem, including the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Kampuchea and recognition of the right of the Kampuchean people to self-determination, and provided a basic framework for a possible political settlement acceptable to the international community.

78. In the general debate Foreign Minister Ito stated last month:

"Japan... make[s] a strong appeal once again to the international community and particularly to all the parties to the conflict for the complete implementation of the resolution. Only in this way can peace be restored to the Kampuchean people who, trapped in devastating conditions, are suffering in the midst of the fighting or are being forced to flee to neighbouring countries." [7th meeting, para. 45.]

79. Although the ASEAN countries, Japan and a number of other countries have been undertaking diplomatic efforts to secure the implementation of resolution 34/22, Vietnamese troops remain in Kampuchea in total defiance of it. We find it extremely regrettable that Viet Nam is trying to impose a fait accompli on the international community by stationing more than 200,000 troops in Kampuchea.

80. Japan is particularly concerned about the fact that last June the fighting in Kampuchea spilled across the border into Thailand, thus constituting a serious threat to the peace and stability not only of Thailand but of all the countries of South-East Asia and particularly the ASEAN countries. That must never happen again.

81. With a view to the peaceful settlement of the Kampuchean problem, Japan has proposed and has

continued to promote the convening of an international conference in which all parties and countries concerned would participate. Unfortunately, however, paragraph 12 of General Assembly resolution 34/22, which requested that this possibility be explored, has not yet been acted upon.

82. Japan is convinced that there is no alternative to seeking a comprehensive political solution by convening an international conference in order to restore lasting peace to Kampuchea. In order to attain that goal, I believe it is important that in the course of this session of the General Assembly there should be further concrete and useful discussions about such matters as the time, venue and agenda for the conference. I also hope that appropriate guidelines for the conference will be set in any new resolution that is adopted during this session. At the same time, my delegation strongly hopes that Viet Nam will participate in the international conference in response to the call of the international community for the restoration of peace in Kampuchea, and that it will make every effort to reach an agreement on, among other points, the withdrawal of its troops and the holding of free elections.

83. The Secretary-General visited Thailand and Viet Nam last year and again in August of this year in his search for a peaceful solution to the problem. For his tireless efforts towards that end, which are reflected in his report [A/35/501], he has the deep admiration of my delegation. It is our earnest wish that the Secretary-General will continue his diverse efforts in the search for a solution to this grave problem.

84. Because of the continued fighting in Kampuchea, the land is devastated and its people are suffering from shortages of food and medical supplies. Moreover, hundreds of thousands of refugees and people, victimized by the war, escaping from the fighting and in want of food, have been wandering back and forth across the border, placing a serious burden on Thailand.

85. Japan is convinced that in order fundamentally to alleviate that situation it is absolutely necessary to restore comprehensive peace in Kampuchea. While efforts towards that end are being undertaken, however, it is also imperative that the international community extend assistance from a purely humanitarian point of view to those desperately unfortunate people.

86. In this connexion, at the Meeting on Humanitarian Assistance and Relief to the Kampuchean People, which was convened at Geneva last May, Japan pledged assistance for Indo-Chinese refugees totalling \$100 million for the current fiscal year. My delegation took that opportunity to express its deep appreciation to the Secretary-General for his positive efforts in this regard. One month later, the ASEAN Foreign Ministers' Conference was convened in Malaysia. At that time, the Foreign Ministers and Secretaries of State of the ASEAN countries, as well as of Japan, Australia, Canada, New Zealand and the United States, made a joint appeal to the Secretary-General, urging him to give immediate attention to the refugee problem along the Thai-Kampuchean border.

87. In order for the humanitarian assistance effectively to reach the Kampuchean people, it is absolutely necessary that the distribution of relief goods be

improved. From this point of view, in order to be able to observe the situation along the border and also to verify that the international assistance goes only to the civilian Kampuchean, we support the proposal of the ASEAN countries that a United Nations observer team be stationed on the Thai side of the border. In addition, Japan, together with the ASEAN countries, made an appeal to the international community proposing the establishment within Kampuchean territory of demilitarized zones of peace which we believe are necessary for the effective distribution of relief supplies.

88. We note with satisfaction that this concept is included in paragraph 5 of draft resolution A/35/L.2/Rev.1, which calls for the establishment of "safe areas" in western Kampuchea. It is Japan's sincere hope that the countries concerned will transcend their political differences and, from a purely humanitarian viewpoint, will support the establishment of such areas. Also, we would expect that, in order to implement this plan effectively, the relevant organs of the United Nations will play an active role in the "safe areas".

89. In the deliberations on the Kampuchea credentials question at the preceding meeting, I called to the attention of all 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.

90. In this connexion, I should like to quote once again from the statement of Foreign Minister Ito in the general debate:

"The international community can never maintain peace by remaining idle in today's world, where there is a tendency openly to challenge the law and order of the international community and where such challenges can result in a fait accompli which eventually simply pushes aside international justice." [7th meeting, para. 83.]

91. What is needed today are concrete actions. Thus, in seeking peace in Kampuchea, the ASEAN countries once again have taken the initiative and proposed a new draft resolution, A/35/L.2/Rev.1, which further elaborates the elements called for in resolution 34/22. Japan is determined to make a positive contribution to the peaceful solution of the Kampuchean question in co-operation with the ASEAN countries. Thus, fully supporting the draft resolution, Japan became one of its sponsors. We call upon all the Member States of the United Nations which respect international justice and love world peace to lend it their support as well.

92. Finally, I should like, in particular, to make a strong appeal to Viet Nam to respond to the voice of the overwhelming majority of the Member States of the United Nations.

93. Mr. ZAINAL ABIDIN (Malaysia): As I speak in this Assembly today, I am reminded of the profound concern that Member States expressed in this very Assembly last year on the situation in Kampuchea. That concern was reflected by the overwhelming support given by Member States to the draft resolu-



tion initiated by ASEAN and sponsored by 30 countries. The message of the resolution, resolution 34/22, which was overwhelmingly adopted, was clear: that foreign intervention on whatever pretext is unacceptable and a peaceful solution under which the people of the country concerned could determine their own future, free from external interference and coercion, is the only answer if there is to be a lasting peace in that country. That message, however, continues to be ignored by Viet Nam, and its allies pretend that all is well in Kampuchea.

94. So this year, once again, the General Assembly is seized of the problem relating to the situation in Kampuchea, not because we wish to interfere in its internal affairs, as has been alleged by some Member States, but because what happened in Kampuchea carries grave implications for peace and security of the region and for the world at large. The foreign forces that invaded Kampuchea, toppled the legitimate Government and installed a puppet one, remain in that country. Its people have been denied the opportunity to determine their own future; its sovereignty and territorial integrity have been trampled upon. The obvious dangers of the situation in Kampuchea to the peace, security and stability of the region cannot therefore be over-emphasized. The arguments made by my delegation last year at the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly<sup>1</sup> are as valid today as they were then. We emphasized why a political solution must be found. We warned of the dangers of spillover effects as a result of foreign occupation of Kampuchea.

95. Events since the adoption of resolution 34/22 have confirmed our worst fears. Guerrilla fighting between the forces loyal to the legal Government of Democratic Kampuchea and the occupying forces has continued unabated. Innocent people have been displaced from their homes and normal economic activities disrupted, further aggravating the food shortages in the country. Thousands of Kampuchean have been forced to flee to the western border and into Thailand in search of safety and food. At the same time, the deployment of big concentrations of foreign forces of 22 divisions in strength along the Thai-Kampuchean border have created a tense situation in the area. At any moment it could well explode into a major conflict.

96. The Assembly is aware that in June this year Vietnamese troops intruded into Thai territory, sparking off heavy fighting between Thai forces intent on preserving the territorial integrity and sovereignty of their country and the intruding forces. Refugee camps were burned and innocent people were killed: clearly irresponsible actions, which are indefensible. The supply of food to the sick and hungry along the border was interrupted. The danger of similar incidents in the future remains real as long as foreign forces continue to occupy Kampuchea.

97. At the same time the burden imposed on Thailand by the Kampuchean refugees fleeing from their homeland is enormous. Today over 200,000 Kampuchean are in camps in Thai territory and about 1.5 million people concentrated along the border depend on cross-

border feeding from Thailand. My delegation in all sincerity wishes to express its appreciation to the people and Government of Thailand for their strong sense of humanitarianism in allowing innocent Kampuchean people to seek temporary refuge in their territory. I wish to appeal to the international community to come to the aid of Thailand and share the burden of caring and looking after those innocent people.

98. Within Kampuchea itself, the basic food situation continues to be precarious. Thanks to the effort of the United Nations and international relief organizations, the immediate danger of widespread starvation resulting from chronic food shortages has been temporarily averted. Three United Nations conferences devoted to humanitarian assistance to Kampuchea have been organized, with considerable success. But the international community cannot be expected to aid Kampuchea indefinitely. The only solution to this humanitarian problem lies in the return to Kampuchea of normal economic life—a situation that can be brought about only by the withdrawal of all foreign forces and a political settlement of the conflict.

99. Two days ago, during the debate on the first report of the Credentials Committee, my delegation and several others had the opportunity of explaining before this Assembly [34th meeting] how Viet Nam had ignored every provision of resolution 34/22, which had been overwhelmingly adopted by the General Assembly. The decision two days ago to uphold the continued seating of Democratic Kampuchea in the United Nations [resolution 35/4 A] was clearly a reaffirmation of world public opinion against the action of Viet Nam in Kampuchea and a reminder that the international community does not condone aggression and intervention.

100. Malaysia, as a country geographically close to both Kampuchea and Viet Nam and as a country bound to be affected by instability in any part of the region, wishes to see an end to this tragic conflict in Kampuchea. The immediate effect of the conflict has already been felt by Thailand, Malaysia's immediate neighbour and partner in ASEAN. If allowed to continue, the conflict could well attract the involvement of external Powers, with the inherent danger of enlarging the area of conflict throughout the region. That we wish to avoid. Malaysia, together with its ASEAN partners, is prepared to work together with all parties concerned in order to help to find a peaceful solution to the conflict. My delegation is convinced that, once peace is restored in Kampuchea, an atmosphere conducive to peace and stability for the whole region will be created, which will pave the way for closer co-operation among all the countries in South-East Asia. My delegation is intent on pursuing every effort towards a peaceful solution consistent with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, which we all accept.

101. We must seriously appeal to our Vietnamese and Lao colleagues and their supporters to be aware that they cannot forever resist the moral pressure of world opinion. Last year we expressed our views in no uncertain terms, but they were ignored. This year, this world body will make another appeal and we have the impression that this year's call from the world community for a political settlement in Kampuchea will again be ignored. We can assure our Vietnamese and Laotian colleagues that the pressure of world opinion

<sup>1</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-fourth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 19th meeting, paras. 200-204, and 62nd meeting, paras. 3-25.

will persist, if the situation does not change, until it is clearly understood that in South-East Asia, in our part of the world, there is no room for doubt that the letter and the spirit of the Charter of the United Nations must be strictly adhered to by all the countries of the region.

102. Viet Nam must learn to be able to live in peace and harmony with its neighbours. The days of the strong being able to bully the weak are over. Viet Nam must accept the norms of international conduct if it is sincerely desirous of regional peace and stability. It must realize that its action can easily lead to counteraction, which will again throw the area into turmoil and dissension. In our view it is indeed harmful to the long-term interest of Viet Nam for it to put itself on a pedestal as the vanguard of a system that is not acceptable to the other parts of the area. It would be worse still if it were to assume an evangelical role on a mission representing the global strategy of a major Power. The countries of Indo-China will not be able to find peace in the process.

103. We in South-East Asia will never accept the situation in Kampuchea, which is brought about by aggression. The Vietnamese contention that such an invasion is consistent with the interests of the entire region is based on a false premise. We see Viet Nam and its aggressive policy tied to a super-Power through the so-called treaty of friendship, not as a bastion against external threat, as we are asked to believe, but as itself a threat to our respective sovereignty and integrity. The line must therefore be clearly drawn and that line is the issue of Kampuchea, which must be resolved in consistency with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

104. We regret that approaches to bringing about a peaceful solution have not so far met with the spirit in which they were made and that the Government of Viet Nam has continued to side-step the real problem at issue, namely its intervention in the internal affairs of Kampuchea. My delegation together with its ASEAN partners, far from losing hope, continues to entertain an abiding faith in a peaceful political solution and towards that end we have submitted definite and concrete proposals which we believe can bring about an end to the conflict in Kampuchea. The solution envisaged would represent a fair and equitable one, which would guarantee the sovereignty, territorial integrity and security of both Kampuchea and Viet Nam. Our proposals have been explained in great detail by the leader of the Philippine delegation, General Carlos Romulo, at this very meeting. The proposals are worthy of support by members of the international community and I would urge that all countries concerned that are in a position to bring their influence to bear on all the parties to the conflict in Kampuchea co-operate so that the tragedy that has taken so many innocent lives and the conflict that has destabilized the region to the point of confrontation can be removed once and for all.

105. Mr. HA VAN LAU (Viet Nam) (*interpretation from French*): It is to be regretted that, this year again, the General Assembly is once more undertaking an examination of the so-called situation in Kampuchea, despite the protests from the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea, the sole legitimate representative of the Kampuchean people.

106. The countries of ASEAN consider that it is the Vietnamese military presence in Kampuchea that lies at the root of the current tense and unstable situation in South-East Asia. It is for that reason that they call for the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops in Kampuchea as a prior condition for the re-establishment of peace and stability in South-East Asia.

107. Where, then, does the truth lie?

108. Vietnamese troops have been in Kampuchea for only just over a year now, whereas peace and stability have been absent from South-East Asia for more than 40 years and the state of grave instability that at present prevails in several countries of the region has nothing whatever to do with the situation in Kampuchea.

109. During the Second World War, South-East Asia was one of the bloodiest battlefields. After 1945, a number of French, English and Dutch colonial wars took place in that region. Then, during the 1960s and the first half of the 1970s, it was the most bloody of all wars since the Second World War—the American aggression—that afflicted the region. The prolonged presence of military bases and foreign troops on the territory of certain countries of the region also constitutes a threat to peace and security in South-East Asia. Those foreign bases and troops were used during the course of the aggressive war against the countries of Indo-China. During that time, the leading circles in Peking, acting through pro-Chinese organizations and Chinese nationals, as well as through other means, for 30 years fanned civil wars and troubles in Burma, Malaysia, the Philippines and Thailand and even encouraged a coup d'état in Indonesia. They made territorial claims against almost all the countries of South-East Asia; they drew maritime border lines for China that included all the exclusive economic zones and continental shelves of Viet Nam, Malaysia, Indonesia and the Philippines, seriously threatening the freedom of air and maritime navigation. On the other hand, the domestic situations of certain countries of the region contain in themselves factors that generate disorder, such as the ethnic and religious conflicts that have been drawn out over a period of years. The right to self-determination of the people of East Timor has been trampled underfoot and foreign troops have no intention of withdrawing from that Territory.

110. The countries of ASEAN contend that Viet Nam and Kampuchea threaten Thailand. But what is the reality of the situation?

111. The three countries of Indo-China have never threatened Thailand at any time in their history; on the contrary, they have themselves several times been the victims of aggression on the part of Thailand. In the course of the last three centuries, Thailand three times sent its troops to Viet Nam. During the course of history, Thailand, the main aggressor against Kampuchea and Laos, has always considered those two countries as its vassals or as belonging within its sphere of influence. In the last decades, Thailand has twice stood shoulder to shoulder with Japan and the United States of America to attack Viet Nam, Kampuchea and Laos. In the course of history, China has been the main aggressor against Viet Nam. At present, Thailand is standing with China against the

three countries of Indo-China. Since 1979, Thailand, in collusion with China, has endeavoured to restore the genocidal régime in Kampuchea and thus created a state of tension along the whole length of the Kampuchea-Thailand border. It maintains the armed relics of Pol Pot and other Khmer reactionary forces, it organizes infiltration into Kampuchea in order to carry out armed activities aimed at undermining the territory of that country, along the entire frontier of Thailand, against the people of Kampuchea. Thus, it is not Kampuchea, it is not Viet Nam, that have provoked armed conflicts on Thai soil. The incidents of 23 and 24 June last were only the results of the so-called voluntary repatriation of refugees operation that was set up by the Thai authorities in order to ensure the infiltration of the Pol Pot armed bands into Kampuchea, as I said earlier.

112. Thailand rejected the proposals of the Indo-Chinese countries to sign a non-aggression treaty and to create a demilitarized zone on both sides of the frontier between Kampuchea and Thailand; that proves that there is no threat against Thailand, but that the latter has deliberately maintained and kept alive the state of tension between the two countries, has kept alive an unstable situation around the frontier of Kampuchea in order to facilitate its own interference in the domestic affairs of Kampuchea.

113. Today, the three Indo-Chinese countries have to face an enormous threat from China. It is common knowledge that for many years China has pursued an expansionist and hostile policy towards the countries of Indo-China. The Chinese leaders have always considered those three countries as components of their sphere of influence, as the spring-board for their expansion into the countries of South-East Asia and as the tools for their strategy of collusion with imperialism. Their traditional policy has been to divide and rule, to sow discord among Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea and between the countries of Indo-China and those of ASEAN.

114. China could never tolerate a reunified Viet Nam. After 1975, the reunification of Viet Nam having been achieved, China, through its Pol Pot agents, used Kampuchea to sabotage the solidarity of the countries of Indo-China, to weaken and gain control over Viet Nam and to use it as a spring-board for its own expansion into South-East Asia. Through Pol Pot, China attacked Viet Nam on the south-western border while Chinese troops unleashed a war against Viet Nam on a broad front on its northern frontier, thus catching Viet Nam in a pincer attack. China resorted to force to take over the Vietnamese archipelago of Hoang Sa and claims sovereignty over the Vietnamese archipelago of Truong Sa in its black design of ensuring exclusive control over the southern China Sea and imposing a blockade against navigation between the Indo-Chinese countries. It collaborates with the imperialists to carry out a hysterical international campaign of calumny against Viet Nam and to urge other countries to impose an embargo against our country.

115. Concerning Laos, China has redoubled its efforts to achieve so-called "peaceful evolution", to encourage trouble and sow discord in order to undermine the solidarity of the three Indo-Chinese countries. Taking full advantage of the specific situation of Laos as a land-locked country, China has pushed Thailand to

blockade the supply routes, to impose an economic blockade, opening and closing the frontier according to its whim, in the hope of subjugating Laos.

116. Despite their failures in Kampuchea, Viet Nam and Laos in 1979, the reactionary leaders of Peking have not given up their hostile policy towards the three countries of Indo-China. In collusion with the United States and using Thailand, they have endeavoured to regroup the remnants of the Pol Pot army and other Khmer reactionaries in the frontier region between Kampuchea and Thailand and to reorganize them in order to send them back to Kampuchea to carry out counter-revolutionary activities, thus provoking hostilities along the entire Kampuchean-Thai border. At the same time, they work stubbornly to preserve the seat at the United Nations for the Pol Pot clique. At present, China has hundreds of thousands of soldiers massed along its frontier with Viet Nam and Laos. It has recruited and trained refugees from Indo-Chinese countries, organizing them into armed bands in order to return them to the countries of Indo-China, there to carry out their subversive activities. The Chinese provocations on land, on the sea and in the air are constantly increasing. While reiterating its threat to teach Viet Nam another lesson, China has rejected all Vietnamese proposals aimed at re-establishing peace and stability in the frontier zone of Viet Nam and China and normalizing relations between the two countries. It has also rejected our proposal to start the third round of negotiations that it promised to hold in Hanoi during the second half of this year.

117. At the same time, China has made frenzied efforts to sabotage the dialogue between the countries of Indo-China and those of ASEAN, and to provoke confrontation and conflict between the two groups, while it stands aside and gathers in the harvest. China's strategic interest consists in undermining peace and stability in South-East Asia and creating propitious conditions for the pursuance of its expansionist policy in that region. That strategy is only part of its reactionary global strategy. The Chinese leaders are crying aloud that "a third world war is inevitable" with the aim of driving the world into chaos and inciting other countries to make war against and weaken each other while China, enjoying "great peace", is able little by little to achieve hegemony over the world. To refuse stubbornly to recognize this reality is tantamount to denying to the people of Indo-China, the victims of a constant threat from China, their right to live in peace and independence as they themselves desire and devise it.

118. The reactionary clique among the Chinese leaders also accuses Viet Nam of having signed the Viet Nam-Soviet treaty in order to oppose China. It uses that as a pretext to "punish" Viet Nam. But the world is aware that the Soviet Union has existed for only 60 years whereas, during the 4,000-year history of Viet Nam, China has exercised domination over Viet Nam for 1,000 years and has attacked it 10 times. Since the reunification of Viet Nam, and particularly since 1978, China has openly threatened Viet Nam with war, massed over half a million men on Viet Nam's borders and incited the Pol Pot régime to unleash war against our country. It is obvious that, in these circumstances, Viet Nam signed a treaty of

friendship and co-operation with the Soviet Union in order to confront the danger of aggression from China, to defend the security and independence of Viet Nam. That treaty is not directed against the security of anyone. During its 35 years of existence, Viet Nam could not have safeguarded its independence had it not had the precious assistance of the Soviet Union. Furthermore, the Soviet Union has never at any time threatened the security and independence of the countries of South-East Asia. The fallacious Chinese allegations and the statements by certain members of ASEAN in favour of China cannot disguise the hostile policy of Peking with regard to Viet Nam and its hegemonistic ambitions in South-East Asia. The proof of this is the fact that, in a number of the countries of the region whose Governments could not in any way be accused of being pro-Soviet, China has in the course of the past 30 years maintained small groups of pro-Chinese rebels to carry out anti-governmental subversive activities.

119. At the present time, the tension along the Kampuchea-Thailand border on the one hand and the Laos-Thailand border on the other threatens the security and territorial integrity of Kampuchea and Laos, as well as the security of Viet Nam. However, this situation is not such as to lead to the outbreak of a large-scale war, for the countries of Indo-China are fighting only in self-defence and have never intended going to war with Thailand. Thailand and the other countries of ASEAN are fully aware of that and they have repeatedly declared that there is no threat to the peace and security of Thailand. On the contrary, the factor that might lead to a large-scale war in the region and create an enormous danger to regional peace and security is precisely the Chinese policy of threats of war against the three countries of Indo-China. The second Chinese lesson taught to Viet Nam, if carried out, would not be limited in either area or time as the first lesson was.

120. What is particularly dangerous is the fact that the policy of the Carter Administration and of Japan, which consists of playing the China card, and also the policy of certain leading circles in the countries of ASEAN in collusion with China against the peoples of the three countries of Indo-China, encourage the warmongering and expansionist policies of China and aggravate the already explosive situation in South-East Asia.

121. From the analysis of the situation I have just given, it becomes quite clear that there is a basic divergence of views between the countries of Indo-China and those of ASEAN regarding the reason for the absence of peace and stability in South-East Asia, and it is this that must inevitably lead to a difference of approach with regard to the basic solutions that must be found to the problems of peace and stability in that part of the world.

122. The policy of following the United States, which is playing the China card, and the ambition to re-establish its influence over Kampuchea and Laos have forced Thailand to continue to interfere in the internal affairs of the countries of Indo-China, to enter into collusion with China and with imperialism to try to restore the genocidal régime in Kampuchea, to sow discord among the three countries of Indo-China and

encourage the hostile Chinese policy with regard to those three countries.

123. The draft resolution of the ASEAN countries [A/35/L.2/Rev.1] reflects that hostile policy of certain leading circles in Thailand and certain other members of ASEAN with regard to the countries of Indo-China. This draft makes it quite clear that the countries of ASEAN have no desire to solve the basic problem in the area, namely, the Chinese threat to the independence and sovereignty of Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea. The draft resolution calls for the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea, without asking for the ending of that Chinese threat. This is tantamount to denying the peoples of the Indo-Chinese countries the right to self-defence while that threat still exists. This would be a serious blow to the security of the Indo-Chinese countries and would further jeopardize peace and stability in South-East Asia. Furthermore, the contents of the draft resolution reveal the ASEAN countries' intention of evading the most urgent problem of the moment, namely, the re-establishment of peace and stability along the Kampuchea-Thailand and Laos-Thailand borders.

124. The position of the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea concerning the debate on the so-called "situation in Kampuchea" and the draft resolution of the ASEAN countries was clearly expressed in the statement made on 24 September last by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea. In that statement he pointed out that the efforts to have the United Nations convene an international conference on Kampuchea were a manoeuvre for interfering in the internal affairs of Kampuchea. He said:

"Any international conference on Kampuchea convened without the agreement of the People's Revolutionary Council or any discussion on Kampuchea at the United Nations... any international forum without the participation of the representatives of the People's Revolutionary Council constitutes a gross and inadmissible interference in the internal affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea... Any resolution resulting from such discussions will be illegal, and null and void." [See A/35/498, annex.]

125. Recently, in a message dated 10 October to the Secretary-General, Mr. Hun Sen, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, stated that at the present time:

"The Kampuchean people, liberated from the genocidal régime of Pol Pot, Ieng Sary and Khieu Samphan, are now masters of their own destiny and in the process of building a new life successfully under the guidance of the Revolutionary People's Council. They are now preparing general elections and will soon have a new constitution in keeping with their aspirations and traditions of independence and democracy. In spite of the sabotaging manoeuvres of the hegemonists and imperialists, the People's Republic of Kampuchea is moving steadily forward to a future of peace, liberty and prosperity." [See A/35/536, annex.]

126. The delegation of Viet Nam firmly supports the just point of view expressed by the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea. Despite the opposition

and the disapproval of the majority of the members, the General Assembly has refused the right of the Kampuchean people to be represented here by the delegation of the People's Republic of Kampuchea. What is even worse, it has just decided to allow the executioners of the Kampuchean people—whom all mankind has condemned—to usurp the seat of Kampuchea in our Organization. Whatever pretext may be adduced, that erroneous and arbitrary decision constitutes in itself a flagrant violation of the letter and the spirit of the Charter and of the international law which our Assembly has the responsibility of upholding.

127. At a time when the rotting corpse of the executioner of the Kampuchean people continues to damage the prestige of our Organization, any decision or resolution of our Organization that would impose upon the Kampuchean people any kind of solution whatsoever can have no legal or moral value. The vote taken the day before yesterday on the seating of Kampuchea has certainly not affected the forward march of the Kampuchean people, since that decision does not reflect reality but flouts all morality and all international law. It is indeed extraordinary that criminals who have committed genocide and are objects of the repugnance of world public opinion and of many Governments should still find refuge in the United Nations.

128. From East to West, all impartial observers agree in recognizing that the situation in Kampuchea has now stabilized. The situation in Kampuchea is more stable than the situations in certain other countries of South-East Asia in which civil war has raged for decades, general elections have never taken place and a state of siege continues.

129. The representatives present could get information regarding the important progress made by the Kampuchean people in all fields of national reconstruction if they would take the trouble to read the report of the interview given by President Heng Samrin to the Kampuchean news agency SPK, which has been distributed as an official Assembly document under the symbol A/35/517 of 8 October 1980.

130. The draft resolution now before the Assembly asks the United Nations to interfere in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of a Member State, which would be a violation of Article 2, paragraph 7 of the Charter. It would establish a most dangerous precedent that could very easily be used to facilitate manoeuvres to violate the sovereignty of and interfere in the domestic affairs of other States.

131. It is therefore obvious that the solution proposed by the ASEAN countries does not take into account the legitimate interests of all the countries of the region, particularly those of Indo-China. On the contrary, it is intended to impose on the Indo-Chinese countries the views of the ASEAN countries. We believe that any solution which imposed the point of view of one party on the other and took account of the interests of one party to the detriment of the interests of the other, could only complicate the situation and would in no way contribute to the cause of peace and stability in the region.

132. We believe that if peace and stability are to be restored to South-East Asia, it is imperative to

eradicate the main cause that lies at the very root of the lack of peace and stability in that region—in a word, the aggressive and interventionist policies of Peking regarding the countries of the Indo-Chinese peninsula and the other countries of South-East Asia. The ASEAN position, which requires as the pre-condition of any solution the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea, is not in keeping with the realities of the situation now prevailing in the region.

133. As we pointed out in the course of the debate on agenda item 3 concerning the credentials of Kampuchea [34th meeting], the presence of Vietnamese troops in that country came about in response to the request of the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea, in order to help it to face the Chinese threats to the three countries of Indo-China. Viet Nam will withdraw its armed forces from Kampuchea as soon as that threat has ceased and as soon as the People's Revolutionary Council requests us to do so. In the past Vietnamese armed forces have twice fought shoulder-to-shoulder with the Kampuchean people against colonialists and imperialists to wrest from them and to defend the independence and freedom of those countries. With strict respect for the national rights of the Kampuchean people, the Vietnamese troops withdrew to Viet Nam after victory over the common enemy had been achieved. At the present time, too, the presence of Vietnamese armed forces in Kampuchea is a temporary matter, and there is full respect for the national rights of the Kampuchean people. Those armed forces will leave Kampuchea as soon as the Chinese threat has been ended, as was the case in the two previous instances.

134. The three Indo-Chinese countries have tried unceasingly to re-establish peace and stability along the Kampuchean-Thai and Laotian-Thai borders.

135. Renewing the basic proposals contained in the joint communiqué issued at their first Conference, at Phnom Penh on 5 January 1980 [see A/35/172-S/13884, annex], the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea, at their second Conference, held at Vientiane on 17 and 18 July 1980, again proposed the establishment of a zone of peace and stability in South-East Asia. They called for the signing of bilateral or multilateral non-aggression treaties between the three Indo-Chinese countries and Thailand and for the creation of a demilitarized zone in the frontier regions between Kampuchea and Thailand [see A/35/347-S/14071, annex I]. We can only regret that those important proposals were rejected out of hand by Thailand.

136. On 15 September last we transmitted to Thailand, through the good offices of the Secretary-General, a message concerning our position on three points, one of which was the suggestion that a demilitarized zone be established along the Kampuchea-Thailand border in order to restore peace, security and stability in that frontier zone between the two countries, which would allow Viet Nam and the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea to decide on the withdrawal of part of the Vietnamese armed forces from Kampuchea. More recently, on 1 October, having noted that Thailand found it difficult to accept the creation of such a demilitarized zone, we referred to the Minister for Foreign Affairs

of Thailand a new proposal that, pending the creation of a demilitarized zone along both sides of the Kampuchean-Thai border, the two parties should undertake mutually to respect each other's sovereignty and territorial integrity along the present border; put an end to all hostile acts against one another; no longer allow the remnants of the Pol Pot armed forces and other Khmer reactionary armed forces to seek sanctuary in Thailand; stop supplying those forces with weapons and food, disarm them and regroup them in special camps; and relocate the refugee camps far from the frontier. Once peace and stability had been restored in the border area between Kampuchea and Thailand, Viet Nam and the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea would decide upon the withdrawal of a part of the Vietnamese armed forces at present in Kampuchea. As yet Thailand has not given a positive reply to that new initiative, which was proof of our goodwill. In the face of such a stand by Thailand, we are justified in wondering if Thailand is truly concerned about peace and stability in that frontier zone between its people and the Kampuchean people.

137. Concerning the situation in the frontier area between Thailand and Laos, Laos spared no effort to resolve the differences that existed between the two countries in a spirit of good neighbourliness, which led to the signing, by Laos and Thailand of the joint communiqué of 6 January 1979 and of the joint declaration of 5 April 1979. Yet the Thai party not only has not respected those communiqués but has undertaken armed provocations in the territory of Laos along the Mekong river. Thus the situation in the frontier zone between Laos and Thailand remains very tense.

138. There are some who claim that the so-called Vietnamese policy of hegemony and the solidarity of the Indo-Chinese countries are a threat to the countries of South-East Asia, and they call on Viet Nam to demonstrate its goodwill by taking specific action to regain the confidence of the members of ASEAN.

139. But the three Indo-Chinese countries have from time immemorial been victims of aggression by colonialists, imperialists and international reactionaries. To facilitate the execution of their plan for annexation and subjugation, the forces of aggression have always regarded the three Indo-Chinese countries as one battlefield. At the same time, they have always used every possible means to stir up national hatred and to divide the three countries. The result is that throughout the past decades of the war of resistance for national salvation, the peoples of the Indo-Chinese countries have had a common enemy. Hence, the solidarity of the three peoples in their struggle has been of vital importance to them in regaining and defending their independence and freedom. That has been a historical imperative in the struggle to triumph over an enemy that is much more powerful and prepared to engage in all kinds of perfidious manoeuvres. The facts have shown that the solidarity of the three peoples of Indo-China has never constituted a threat to any neighbouring country.

140. The struggle of the peoples of the three Indo-Chinese countries for their national independence—a struggle that has lasted so long and in which so many sacrifices have been made—has made it possible to extinguish the greatest and most prolonged hotbed of war since the Second World War. It has made an

important contribution to the cause of peace and national independence in South-East Asia and the world. It has led to the elimination of elements of instability resulting from the policy of aggression and intervention pursued by the imperialists and international reactionaries. At the same time, it has created conditions propitious to improving the relations between the countries of Indo-China and the ASEAN countries.

141. We believe that if there is indeed a need to restore confidence, it is precisely Thailand and certain other ASEAN countries that must do that, since it is those countries that have for 40 years been at the side of the forces of aggression in sowing suffering and death among the peoples of Viet Nam and the other Indo-Chinese countries. The troops of Thailand and certain other countries have trampled on the territory of the Indo-Chinese countries. Enormous military bases served the war aims of the United States in that region, and those bases are still there. But Viet Nam and the other countries of Indo-China have never committed aggression against Thailand or the other ASEAN countries.

142. It seems obvious that, for the moment at least, there is no possibility of eliminating the differences of view between the countries of Indo-China and the ASEAN countries with regard to the causes of the absence of peace and stability in South-East Asia, or with regard to the measures that must be taken to re-establish peace and stability in the region. And yet the ASEAN countries and the Indo-Chinese countries have the same aspiration: to maintain peace and stability in the region. They have the same opinion that so long as there is no agreement or co-operation between the ASEAN countries and the countries of Indo-China—that is, the two main groups of countries in the region—there can be no détente. In such a situation, there are two possibilities: either the position of one party can be deliberately imposed on the other party, to which the position is unacceptable, and the confrontation now taking place will continue, thereby creating a permanent state of tension in South-East Asia that could lead to a deterioration of the situation; or, leaving their differences aside for the moment and keeping in mind their mutual interest in peace and stability in the region, the ASEAN countries and the Indo-Chinese countries can seek some common ground of reconciliation, on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence and mutual respect for their respective legitimate interests; they can discuss and settle, through a common agreement, the most urgent problems of the region, in order to restore peace and stability on the border between Kampuchea and Thailand and the border between Laos and Thailand; they can agree on the principles for maintaining peace and security in the South Chinese Sea; they can consider the signing of non-aggression treaties and the transformation of South-East Asia into a zone of peace and stability; and they can agree on principles to serve as the basis of relations between the countries of South-East Asia, with a view to preventing a deterioration of the situation.

143. What are the prospects for the situation in South-East Asia in the next few years? We see four possibilities.

144. The first possibility is that the situation will remain as tense as it was in 1979, because of the determination of the ASEAN countries to impose their position on the countries of Indo-China; the confrontation between the ASEAN countries and the countries of Indo-China will continue. And it will be China that will benefit the most from that situation. The ASEAN countries and the countries of Indo-China will be the losers. In such circumstances, the countries of Indo-China will certainly continue to move forward, despite the difficulties they will have to face. Everyone recognizes that the present situation in Kampuchea is far better than the one in 1979.

145. The second possibility is that the United States will continue playing the Chinese card against the countries of Indo-China. A large-scale war could break out, because of China's threat to teach a second lesson to Viet Nam. A more limited war could take place, or at least an explosive situation could continue on the border between Kampuchea and Thailand. The three peoples of Indo-China have endured the suffering of 35 years of war; if they now have to wage another struggle in self-defence, they will certainly continue to show determination and solidarity in defence of the independence and sovereignty of their respective countries—and they will be victorious.

146. The third possibility is that, given that the tension along the border between Viet Nam and China cannot be eliminated, the ASEAN countries and the countries of Indo-China will each take one step forward in co-operation, in order to improve their relations in the interests of peace and stability. In that case, the situation in South-East Asia will be less tense. That will be to the advantage of all countries within or outside the region. Obviously China will do its utmost to sabotage that possibility.

147. The fourth possibility is that a permanent solution will be found, all the fundamental causes of the explosive situation in South-East Asia will be removed and peace and stability in South-East Asia will be stable and lasting.

148. Our long-term objective is to work to achieve that fourth possibility. For the moment, Viet Nam will exert every effort to achieve the third possibility, that is, a better understanding among the countries of South-East Asia and the will jointly to find solutions to the most urgent problems in the general interests of all the countries of the region. At the same time, we are ready to face the worst that could happen.

149. Is it not true that in the past, in the 1960s and the first half of the 1970s, when the United States was committing aggression against the three countries of Indo-China, despite the disapproval and condemnation of many Member States, the United Nations did not raise its voice in protest or adopt any resolution calling for the cessation of that aggression? Today, in the face of the danger of aggression by China against the three countries of Indo-China, is the United Nations going to call for an end to that danger, or is it going to remain silent as it did before, permitting the adoption of another faulty resolution concerning the victimized peoples of Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea, who have not known peace for more than three decades?

150. In the present circumstances, while differences of view exist between the ASEAN countries and the Indo-Chinese countries, we believe that the United Nations, because of its role in the maintenance of peace and the development of friendship and co-operation among peoples, must make an active contribution to the reconciliation of the groups of countries of South-East Asia so as to help them get rid of the relics of the past and re-establish peace and stability in the region. If the United Nations is not yet capable of doing this, it should at least refrain from doing anything that might worsen their relations; it should not encourage the forces that are threatening Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea with war, nor should it encourage any group of countries to impose its views and solutions on another group of countries.

*The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.*