



## CONTENTS

Agenda item 22:

	Page
The situation in Kampuchea: report of the Secretary-General ( <i>continued</i> ): .....	739

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

## AGENDA ITEM 22

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

1. Mr. PETERS (Luxembourg) (*interpretation from French*): Speaking on behalf of the nine States members of the European Community, I cannot but express our deep concern at the continuing serious situation in Cambodia. Hardly a year has passed since we drew the attention of the Assembly to the immense suffering of the Khmer people which, after having suffered the atrocities of the barbarous Pol Pot régime, was deprived of its independence by the invasion of its territory by Viet Nam. At that time the General Assembly made an urgent appeal to all States to refrain from any interference in the internal affairs of Kampuchea and to contribute to the search for a political solution to the problem. Now what do we see today?
2. In substance nothing has changed in Cambodia. In spite of General Assembly resolution 34/22, Viet Nam continues its military occupation of the country and the Khmer population, which wishes only to live in peace, continues to be deprived of its inalienable right to self-determination and of the exercise of the other rights recognized by the Charter and by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Because of the continuing conflict, the suffering of the civilian population has hardly diminished. Furthermore, as has recently been noted, there is a risk that the conflict may at any moment spill over the borders of Cambodia.
3. At the ministerial meeting held on 7 and 8 March 1980 at Kuala Lumpur, the countries of the European Community and of the Association of South-East Asian Nations [ASEAN] stated, in their joint declaration, the concerns aroused by the situation in Cambodia [see A/35/129, annex II]. The proposals made at that time are still valid. This is why the nine members of the European Community support the initiative of the ASEAN countries reflected in draft resolution A/35/L.2/Rev.1.
4. I do not wish to dwell at length on the humanitarian aspects of the problem in Cambodia. I should

like, however, to say that our Governments, as well as the European Community as such, consider the fate of the civilian population of Kampuchea and of the South-East Asian refugees to be one of our major concerns. We have again demonstrated this by our concrete support, at the Meeting on Humanitarian Assistance and Relief to the Kampuchean People, held at Geneva on 26 and 27 May 1980, for the international programme of humanitarian assistance.

5. The nine countries members of the European Community would like also to take advantage of this opportunity to declare from this rostrum how much they appreciate the attitude of the Government of Thailand faced with a human tragedy such as this. ASEAN and especially Thailand, deserve the full support of the world community: they can count on that of the European Community.

6. If we wish to reduce international tensions and relieve human suffering in the South-East Asian region, if we wish to lay the basis of real co-operation in the region, let us seek a solution in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations, a solution which should of necessity include the following elements: the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops; the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of Kampuchea; and the recognition of the right of the Kampuchean people to live in peace and freely to determine its own future without any outside interference.

7. In the opinion of the nine Community countries, a solution including these principles would guarantee the existence of an independent and neutral Kampuchea, led by a representative Government and maintaining friendly relations with all neighbouring countries.

8. Mr. ABDEL MEGUID (Egypt) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Sir, since this is the first time I have taken the floor at this session, I am happy to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly. We consider your election as an expression of our appreciation for you personally and for your diplomatic experience. We are sure that under your leadership the General Assembly will successfully conclude its work and achieve fruitful results.

9. The question under consideration concerns a humanitarian and political problem of extreme importance. The victim of this situation is a people which saw its country invaded on 25 December 1978 and its capital, Phnom Penh, occupied on 7 January 1979, a people which has seen imposed upon it a régime which depends for its maintenance in power on foreign military presence.

10. The problem of Kampuchea was not born solely of an internal conflict between certain forces, factions or parties, as some have tried to have us believe. In

fact, the armed action of a State belonging to the non-aligned movement against a neighbouring country, a member of the same movement, was obviously part of a broader plan serving the strategic objectives of Viet Nam in the area and, at the same time, the strategic interests of outside forces which are seeking to create "the axis of the centre of Asia". Thus it was that a few voices have been raised in support and justification of Viet Nam's military invasion of Kampuchean territory.

11. One of the results of the Vietnamese military action was to put into effect the application of the same methods in Afghanistan. It is strange that this should have taken place in December of the next year and that it should have been the work of the same forces which supported the Vietnamese invasion of Kampuchea. Another result was the imposition of a régime by force of arms, the extermination and the expulsion of thousands of Kampuchians, and the rending apart of the unity of that people, the victim of an ambitious neighbouring State possessing powerful military means. Furthermore, that intervention created tension in all of South-East Asia.

12. Indeed, we would have a situation of international chaos if some States were to continue to base their relations with other States on the use of force without regard for their responsibilities towards the international community and without respecting the principles governing security and international relations—principles enshrined in the Charter, and in the rules of international law which we have attempted to establish over successive sessions of the General Assembly, and those, indeed, which the non-aligned movement itself has established. With particular regard to the non-use of force in international relations, respect for the independence and sovereignty of all States, the right to self-determination, non-interference in the internal affairs of other States, the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by armed force or by occupation and the peaceful settlement of disputes, all these principles must be respected by the great Powers, by local authorities and, indeed, by countries belonging to the non-aligned movement.

13. The position taken by the majority of States at the thirty-fourth session confirms that of the international community, which repudiates the method used by Viet Nam in violation of principles governing international relations. By the same token, this position was a warning and an invitation to Viet Nam to respect those principles.

14. General Assembly resolution 34/22 calls for the immediate withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea and calls upon all States to refrain from all forms of interference in the internal affairs of States in South-East Asia. Moreover, it resolves that the people of Kampuchea should be enabled to choose democratically their own Government, without outside interference. That same resolution also requests the Secretary-General to explore the possibility of holding an international conference on Kampuchea.

15. Despite the adoption of that resolution, and in spite of the praiseworthy efforts of ASEAN to contain the problem and prevent it from spreading, the situation has continued to deteriorate, both in Kampuchea and throughout the region.

16. The joint communiqué of the thirteenth ASEAN Ministerial Meeting, of 26 June 1980 [A/35/328], reflected the fact that Viet Nam had not responded to the efforts made by ASEAN and the international community to implement resolution 34/22. That communiqué warned against the deterioration of the situation in Kampuchea because of the maintenance of Vietnamese troops on the territory and the intensification of the competition among foreign forces and interference in the internal affairs of South-East Asian countries, which provoked a resurgence of tension and interfered with the sincere and earnest efforts being made to find a lasting solution to the Kampuchean problem.

17. Furthermore, the report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization submitted to this session of the General Assembly draws attention to the gravity of the situation in the region and notes that little progress has been achieved in the implementation of General Assembly resolution 34/22, despite efforts made at various levels [A/35/1, sect. III]. That report, however, fails to mention the efforts made to study the possibility of holding an international conference to deal with the Kampuchean problem.

18. My delegation wishes to make it clear that although it spoke out energetically in condemning the Pol Pot régime's violation of human rights in Kampuchea, we accept no excuses or pretexts to justify military intervention in order to overthrow one régime and replace it by another. Our position with regard to this problem is as follows: we do not defend régimes; rather, we defend the principles which must govern international relations.

19. The Vietnamese military intervention constitutes interference in the internal affairs of another country and implementation of the policy of hegemonism. It is also a violation of principles of the Charter of the United Nations and of the non-aligned movement. We refuse to recognize a situation created by the resort to force; we refuse to legitimize the results of military intervention, irrespective of the control exercised by a régime whose very existence depends upon a foreign military presence.

20. We call for a halt to all foreign intervention in Kampuchea and for the restoration of normality in that country by the withdrawal of all Vietnamese troops and the holding of free elections under United Nations control so that the Kampuchean people may choose its own representatives and the régime it wishes.

21. We support the holding of an international conference as soon as possible in order to attain those objectives. The parties to that conference will have to pledge to implement whatever resolutions it may adopt and to assist the United Nations in fulfilling its responsibilities.

22. In conclusion, I wish to state that Egypt, which joyfully welcomed Viet Nam's admission to the United Nations and its membership in the non-aligned movement, hopes that the Government of Viet Nam will reconsider its policy, because the only way in which Viet Nam can redeem its international reputation is by immediately and unconditionally withdrawing its troops from Kampuchea and by respecting the Kampuchean people's sovereign right to self-determination and to decide its own future.

23. Mr. LING Qing (China) (*translation from Chinese*): Since Viet Nam's massive armed invasion of Kampuchea, the situation in Kampuchea has become a major issue of common concern to all countries. All the countries that uphold justice have made tireless efforts to oppose outside aggression and interference so as to terminate Viet Nam's military occupation of Kampuchea and maintain peace in South-East Asia. At its thirty-fourth session, on 14 November 1979, the General Assembly adopted by an overwhelming majority a resolution on the situation in Kampuchea calling for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all Vietnamese aggressor troops from Kampuchea. However, over the past year the Vietnamese authorities have persisted in their aggression against Kampuchea in total disregard of that resolution and have spread the flame of war to countries neighbouring Kampuchea, posing an ever-growing menace to peace and stability in South-East Asia. In the face of such a grave situation, it is imperative for the United Nations to take effective measures to check the crime of aggression against Kampuchea.

24. As is known to all, Democratic Kampuchea is an independent and non-aligned sovereign State. Between the end of 1978 and the beginning of 1979, trampling upon the Charter of the United Nations and accepted norms of international relations, and with the backing of one super-Power, Viet Nam used more than 10 divisions of its regular troops to unleash a naked war of aggression against Democratic Kampuchea, occupying large tracts of Kampuchean territory and seriously encroaching upon the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Democratic Kampuchea. In order to realize their ambition of putting Kampuchea under their complete control, the Vietnamese aggressor troops during two dry seasons launched several offensives against the resisting army and civilians led by the Government of Democratic Kampuchea, but these offensives have failed one after the other. Subsequently, Viet Nam has sent a steady flow of reinforcements to Kampuchea to intensify its war of aggression there. On 23 June this year it even had the audacity to launch an armed incursion into Thailand. The facts prove that Viet Nam's invasion of Kampuchea is by no means an isolated and local event but an important step in Viet Nam's quest for regional hegemonism and in the Soviet strategy of a southward drive and, therefore, a major problem affecting the peace and security of South-East Asia and the world as a whole. It is Viet Nam's established policy to control Laos, invade Kampuchea, establish an "Indo-China Federation" and then further expand into other countries of South-East Asia. By means of supporting Viet Nam's invasion of Kampuchea, the Soviet Union has tightened its grip over Viet Nam and moved into Cam Ranh Bay, thereby advancing its military base in the Far East southwards by more than 4,000 kilometres and pressing towards the Malacca Strait. This action, in concert with its activities in invading Afghanistan and driving south towards the Indian Ocean, has become an important component of its global strategic plan in its quest for world hegemony. Therefore, Viet Nam's invasion of Kampuchea is a result of the collusion between Soviet global hegemonism and Vietnamese regional hegemonism within the above framework.

25. Viet Nam's aggression against Kampuchea has brought untold sufferings to the Kampuchean people. The Vietnamese authorities invaded Kampuchea under the pretext of "humanitarian considerations". In point of fact, however, the 200,000 and more Vietnamese aggressor troops have subjected the innocent Kampuchean people to arson, killing and plunder wherever they go. Pursuant to their policy of genocide, they even go so far as to slaughter the Kampuchean people by the use of toxic gas. They destroy agricultural production, create famine and seize by despicable means the food grains provided by the international relief agencies for the suffering Kampuchean people and use them as military supplies, thus forcing death and hunger in vast areas on people who have been compelled to leave their homeland and become refugees. At present there are more than 500,000 or 600,000 refugees along the Thai-Kampuchean border alone. In waging their war of aggression abroad, the Vietnamese authorities have brought untold miseries to the Vietnamese people themselves. Having gone through protracted wars, the Vietnamese people should be allowed to recuperate and rebuild their homeland. But, unfortunately, instead of doing so, the Vietnamese authorities have embarked on the road of military adventurism at an accelerated pace in order to realize their ambition of seeking hegemony in South-East Asia. Viet Nam has increased its regular troops to more than 1 million. As a result of squandering large quantities of manpower as well as material and financial resources in external wars of aggression, Viet Nam is facing worsening economic conditions and there are seething discontent and revolts among the people which is living in dire misery. Even among the aggressor troops it has sent to Kampuchea, there are increasing numbers of officers and men who have deserted or mutinied—weapons and all—because they refuse to be the cannon-fodder in an unjust war. With the continuation of the aggressive war, the Vietnamese authorities are finding themselves increasingly isolated and beset with troubles both at home and abroad.

26. In order to extricate themselves from their difficulties and to dodge the strong condemnation of the international community, the Vietnamese authorities, while intensifying their armed aggression against Kampuchea, have produced a so-called four-point proposal for easing the tension along the Thai-Kampuchean border. The so-called "three-point proposal" referred to by Nguyen Co Thach on 25 September is in fact a reproduction of the "four-point proposal". A simple analysis of the facts will readily reveal what this proposal really is. First of all, the "three-point proposal" takes great pains to repeat the lie that Viet Nam's invasion of Kampuchea is "to counter the Chinese threat" and that Vietnamese armed forces are there "at the request of the People's Revolutionary Council" of Kampuchea. The so-called Chinese threat is sheer nonsense. China has not sent a single soldier abroad, while Viet Nam has dispatched more than 200,000 troops to invade and occupy Kampuchea and another 50,000 to 60,000 troops to control Laos.

27. Is this not the most convincing evidence as to who is posing the real threat to this region? According to Viet Nam's assertion, Vietnamese armed invasion and control of other States would not constitute "outside interference and threat" to the latter. What kind of

logic is this? As to the myth that Viet Nam has been requested to invade Kampuchea, it has long been pointed out on the basis of conclusive facts that it was only some two months after the massive Vietnamese invasion that Viet Nam signed a "treaty" with the Heng Samrin puppet régime installed by it single-handedly, and it was only then that Vietnamese troops were "requested" to enter Kampuchea. Thus the myth is completely exploded. People have also noted the striking similarity between this myth and the subsequent Soviet lie that the massive Soviet armed invasion of Afghanistan took place at the "request" of the Afghan Government. The fact that they are rehashing this worn-out argument only shows that they intend to attack other States by using similar pretexts in the future.

28. Next, everyone knows that the key to the settlement of the Kampuchean issue is the immediate withdrawal of Vietnamese forces from Kampuchea, but the so-called "three-point proposal" has evaded this question and instead calls for the creation of a demilitarized zone along the Thai-Kampuchean border, advocates negotiations between Thailand and the Heng Samrin clique, and describes the question of Viet Nam's armed aggression against Kampuchea as merely a question of bilateral relations between Thailand and Kampuchea. This is in effect asking others to recognize the puppet régime which Viet Nam has installed and sustained at bayonet point, an attempt to divert people's attention on Kampuchea from the fundamental question of Viet Nam's armed aggression and to legalize the illegal presence of Vietnamese troops in Kampuchea. This is, of course, absolutely impermissible.

29. Since Viet Nam's armed aggression is at the core of the Kampuchean issue, a basic solution to the Kampuchean question must call for the immediate cessation of Viet Nam's aggression against Kampuchea and the withdrawal of its invading forces therefrom. In his statement during the general debate at the current session, the Chairman of the Chinese delegation, Mr. Huang Hua [9th meeting], set forth the following three basic principles which, in the view of the Chinese delegation, should be followed in a just and reasonable settlement of the Kampuchean question.

30. First, the foreign aggressors must withdraw all their troops immediately and unconditionally from Kampuchea in compliance with the relevant United Nations resolution. This is a principle of key importance and the prerequisite of any settlement. Secondly, after the withdrawal of foreign troops, the Kampuchean people should be free to decide their own destiny without any outside interference. Thirdly, Kampuchea should be restored to its status as an independent and non-aligned State. After the Kampuchean question is settled in accordance with the above three principles, China, in the interest of safeguarding the independence of Kampuchea and peace in Asia and the world, will be ready to join other countries concerned in an international guarantee that the territory of Kampuchea shall not be occupied or used to encroach on the independence and sovereignty of other countries in the region, nor shall there be any form of interference in Kampuchea's internal affairs.

31. We highly appreciate the unremitting efforts made by ASEAN and all other justice-upholding countries to defend peace in South-East Asia. We have carefully studied the draft resolution sponsored by ASEAN and 25 other countries. In our view, this draft is positive in its basic aspects. The operative part of the draft resolution, first of all, reaffirms and calls for the implementation of resolution 34/22 adopted at the last session of the General Assembly, calling upon Viet Nam to withdraw its invading troops from Kampuchea immediately and unconditionally. This is without a doubt correct and necessary. It also decides to convene an international conference early in 1981 and defines the main task of the said conference as the determination of a time-frame for the total withdrawal of Vietnamese forces from Kampuchea to be supervised and verified by the United Nations. The draft also asks the conference to ensure the right of the Kampuchean people to determine their own future free from outside interference and to guarantee the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Kampuchea. We support all the above reasonable points and deem it necessary to stress that, as an indication of their sincere desire, the Vietnamese authorities should start withdrawing their forces from Kampuchea immediately upon the adoption of the said draft resolution, that is, before the convening of the international conference as envisaged in the draft. It is also our hope that the Secretary-General will take effective measures for the earnest implementation of the resolution.

32. Almost two years have elapsed since Viet Nam's armed aggression against Kampuchea. The historical developments over the past two years show that the Kampuchean people are invincible. At present, the Government of Democratic Kampuchea is uniting all patriotic forces in a valiant struggle against Viet Nam's aggression and expansion and in defence of the national independence, state sovereignty and territorial integrity of Kampuchea, as well as peace and stability in South-East Asia. Their cause is just. So long as it is united, and with the help of the people all over the world, a weak and small nation will certainly be able to defeat an apparently strong aggressor that is backed and armed by a super-Power and win genuine national liberation.

33. Mr. KATAPODIS (Greece): It has now been almost two years since Vietnamese troops invaded and occupied Kampuchea. All this time, despite the repeated injunctions of world public opinion, including General Assembly resolution 34/22, the occupation has continued and a puppet régime has been set up which is kept in place only through the support of foreign troops. Thus the independence and sovereignty of a Member State has been abolished, and the Khmer people are forced to live under foreign rule. Alas, this is not the only such case in the post-war period, as we all very well know.

34. On the other hand, the situation that prevailed in Kampuchea in the years preceding the Vietnamese invasion was such that it rightly aroused the indignation of those countries and organizations whose concern for human rights goes beyond mere lip service. The régime which came to power after the ravages of a long and unjust war was brutally repressive, with

catastrophic consequences for a people renowned for its peacefulness, gentleness and harmlessness.

35. However, it is no use dwelling on the past. The problem of Kampuchea is a political problem, one of the most important to be included in the agenda of the General Assembly and a test case for the credibility and the prestige, not to say the usefulness, of the United Nations. And, because it is a political problem, it needs a political solution. Such a solution could be none other than the withdrawal of foreign troops and the creation of conditions allowing the Khmer people to express freely their will as regards their future form of government and those who will govern them. To ensure that this is done in a way that precludes outside interference or accusations of partiality, an international conference should be convened, with the participation of all the parties concerned. The convening of such a conference has been suggested by, among others, the current President of the Council of Ministers of the European Community, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Luxembourg, Mr. Gaston Thorn, when he addressed the General Assembly on 23 September [6th meeting]. The Greek delegation unreservedly supports that proposal, which in our view constitutes the best framework for holding free elections in Kampuchea under appropriate international supervision. In the same spirit, we support draft resolution A/35/L.2/Rev.1, which contains a comprehensive plan along the aforementioned lines.

36. The political aspects of the Kampuchea problem should not make us lose sight of the urgent need to

continue the humanitarian assistance granted to that unfortunate country. All those who are contributing to this salvaging operation, one of the most gigantic ever undertaken, merit our deepest thanks and appreciation. They include Thailand, which has accepted and gives refuge to hundreds of thousands of refugees, the donor countries, some of which have been most generous, the Secretary-General, who placed the two pledging conferences in New York and Geneva under his aegis, his Special Representative Sir Robert Jackson, and his assistants, as well as the International Red Cross and other international organizations, whether governmental or private. This operation must continue unabated until peace has been brought to that tragic land and its people can heal their wounds and overcome their traumatic experiences. And, needless to say, no obstacle should prevent the assistance from reaching its ultimate destination, the suffering people of Kampuchea.

37. The plight of Kampuchea is one of the major tragedies of modern history, and perhaps of all times. Everybody concerned, whether directly or indirectly, must assume his part of the responsibility for ensuring the survival of a people whose only fault was that it was caught in the crossroads of rivalries and events which were not of its doing and over which it had no control. If the Kampuchean people falls victim to power politics or nationalistic ambitions, there will be no forgiveness in history for those who are responsible.

*The meeting rose at 4.05 p.m.*