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

*In the absence of the President, Mr. Ramphul (Mauritius), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

**AGENDA ITEM 22**

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

1. Sir Anthony PARSONS (United Kingdom): My delegation associates itself fully with the statement which the Permanent Representative of Luxembourg delivered on behalf of the nine member States of the European Communities [37th meeting]. I have asked to be allowed to speak to underline points to which my Government attaches particular importance.
2. First and foremost is the need for a comprehensive political solution. That is essential, both to restore to the people of Cambodia the right to live in peace and prosperity under a Government of their own choosing and to remove a major threat to the stability and prosperity of South-East Asia as a whole. As the Ambassador of Luxembourg made clear, such a solution should be based on an independent and neutral Cambodia with a genuinely representative Government free from any foreign military presence and maintaining friendly relations with all the countries of the region.
3. My delegation cannot see how such a Government could emerge from the kind of election the Vietnamese-installed régime in Phnom Penh claims to be contemplating. In that election, it appears, there would be no choice, no possibility of impartial monitoring, and no conceivable doubt as to the pre-ordained outcome. That would be a travesty of the free and fair elections which ought, in my Government's view, to follow a cease-fire and an interval during which all Cambodian groups would be able to present their policies to the people without outside pressures.
4. We have no views on who should emerge from free elections as the new Government of Cambodia. That is, or should be, a matter for the people of Cambodia themselves. But I should make it clear that the United Kingdom holds no brief whatever for the régime of Pol Pot. My Government consistently condemned the human rights violations of the Democratic Kampu-

chean régime from 1975 to 1978. The British Government of the day was the first to direct the attention of the Human Rights Commission to those violations, in March 1978. It is ironic that our efforts to persuade the international community to investigate the atrocities of the Pol Pot régime were strenuously opposed by the Soviet and other pro-Vietnamese delegates at the autumn 1978 meeting of the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities. Those are the very Governments that are now, somewhat belatedly, eloquent in condemning the appalling crimes perpetrated by that odious régime. It is curious, to say the least, that the scales fell from their eyes only after the Vietnamese invasion of Cambodia in December 1978.

5. We do not now support or approve of the policies of the Pol Pot régime, we never have done so and never will do so. We do not doubt that, given the chance, the Cambodian people will reject them decisively. Their history and record is, however, no justification for a foreign invasion and occupation.
6. Let Viet Nam do something towards restoring its position in the international community by withdrawing its troops and allowing Cambodians the freedom to control their own destiny without foreign intervention. It was to give them that option and to deny the Vietnamese the fruits of their aggression that we voted earlier this week, at the 35th meeting, against the amendment introduced by the Lao People's Democratic Republic [A/35/L.5 and Add.1] to the draft resolution recommended by the Credentials Committee. We did so with the greatest reluctance. We should have been far happier had there been another way of opposing the aggression in the debate in question; for, in the face of a choice between Pol Pot and the Vietnamese invader, our natural reaction is to say, "A plague on both your houses."
7. Unfortunately, we could not afford that luxury. Not only is an empty-seat solution unacceptable on grounds of principle and precedent but, as the representative of Singapore has pointed out [34th meeting, para. 75] nature abhors a vacuum in politics as well as in physics. The 73 other countries that voted against the amendment, most of which share our loathing for the Pol Pot régime, evidently took the same view.
8. In recent months there has been some improvement in the living conditions and level of health and nutrition of those Cambodians whose well-being can be observed, namely those living in the main populated areas and those who have taken refuge along the border with Thailand. Some \$500 million will have been spent by the joint programme led by the International Committee of the Red Cross and UNICEF in the 15 months up to the end of this year—a remarkable sum, given that the surviving population of Cambodia is perhaps no more than 5 million. Other countries

have contributed bilaterally. The fact that the crisis of starvation to which we responded last autumn is on the way to a cure should leave us free to concentrate our main effort on the political problem, both in its regional and in its human rights aspect.

9. For the sufferings of the Cambodian people are a direct result of the conflict. Lasting prosperity and freedom cannot return to the people of Cambodia without a political solution which allows them to resume again full control of their own destiny. This is the principal objective of the resolution submitted by the Association of South-East Asian Nations [ASEAN], and we support it accordingly. But, as ASEAN recognizes, there can be no political solution without the participation and the co-operation of all those concerned in the conflict. I hope, therefore, that the Vietnamese Government will reconsider its opposition to a conference. The sooner a conference can be convened, the sooner the Cambodian people can enjoy the peace they long for. If a conference can be held early in 1981, so much the better.

10. We believe that the ASEAN draft resolution [A/35/L.2/Rev.1] represents a constructive approach to the problem of Cambodia. Among its elements, we consider in particular that the complete withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia is an essential part of any solution. We shall support the effort that will be needed both to ensure law and order when hostilities have ceased and to ensure that withdrawal is actually being carried out.

11. I am confident that the General Assembly will support this draft resolution, as it supported resolution 34/22 last year.

12. Mr. KASEMSRI (Thailand): Another year has elapsed, a year since the General Assembly adopted resolution 34/22 on the situation in Kampuchea, on 14 November 1979. That resolution reaffirmed the principles enshrined in the Charter of our Organization, particularly respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial independence of States, the right to self-determination of peoples and non-interference in the internal affairs of other States.

13. Why was it necessary for the Assembly to reaffirm those principles, which have remained the pillars of the United Nations? It was because those principles were violated when Vietnamese forces invaded Kampuchea towards the end of 1978. The invading armies then proceeded to consolidate their stranglehold on the Kampuchean nation and foisted a puppet régime on Phnom Penh to replace the Government of Democratic Kampuchea, which still represents Kampuchea at the United Nations. The Vietnamese armed intervention and Viet Nam's illegal occupation of a State Member of the United Nations have contravened the aforementioned fundamental principles and norms governing inter-State relations.

14. Resolution 34/22 further calls upon all parties to the conflict to cease all hostilities, calls for the immediate withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea and urges all parties to the conflict to settle their disputes by peaceful means in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

15. Why was it necessary for the Assembly to take such actions? The underlying reasons were quite obvious. First, it was to stop bloodshed and spare

the Kampuchean people further suffering. Secondly, the presence of the occupying forces in Kampuchea confronted the world Organization with a situation fraught with the gravest danger to international peace and stability. Naked aggression can never be permitted or condoned, for such a response would destroy the fabric of peace and international relations and call into question the sanctity of solemn obligations under the Charter of the United Nations, particularly the non-use of force and the obligation to settle disputes by peaceful means.

16. Resolution 34/22 appealed to all States to refrain from any interference in the internal affairs of Kampuchea, in order to enable its people to decide their own future and destiny free from outside interference, subversion or coercion, and to respect scrupulously the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of Kampuchea.

17. Viet Nam and its friends claim that others, and not Viet Nam, have been guilty of interference in the internal affairs of Kampuchea. Surely it was the Vietnamese invasion, followed by military occupation, with a puppet régime set up and sustained by the occupying forces that constituted the catalogue of interferences in the internal affairs of Kampuchea. It was not surprising, therefore, that Viet Nam spurned the appeal of this world Organization. It is also apparent that, in so doing, Viet Nam wanted to dictate to the Kampuchean people and to impose on them a régime subservient to Viet Nam. Thus, the sacrosanct principle of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of a State could never be permitted to interfere with the Vietnamization of Kampuchea.

18. The present situation in Kampuchea has been well summed up by the Secretary-General in the report before us, in which he says:

“While the humanitarian operations of the United Nations system have served to alleviate the intense suffering of the Kampuchean people, renewed efforts are required to move towards political settlements that will allow the agonized population of the area to look to a future of peace. In spite of the efforts made at various levels, little progress has as yet been achieved in the implementation of certain provisions of General Assembly resolution 34/22, including those relating to the withdrawal of foreign forces and the search for a political solution.” [A/35/501, para. 9.]

19. The facts concerning the situation in Kampuchea have not changed. On the contrary, the illegal presence of Vietnamese forces in Kampuchea continues and the number of Vietnamese troops in Kampuchea has more than doubled since the invasion. Thus, the illegal Vietnamese occupation of Kampuchea has been further consolidated. The increase in Vietnamese war material and sophisticated weapons in Kampuchea is transforming that country into an armed camp. While fighting rages on inside Kampuchea, neighbouring countries have also suffered the impact of its repercussions.

20. Thailand, which is closest to the scene of the conflict, has borne the brunt of spillovers in the form of armed incursions and shellings, as well as hundreds of thousands of refugees and uprooted people seeking safety, food and other essentials. More recently, after

a series of violations of Thailand's border, large units of Vietnamese forces staged co-ordinated attacks on two villages inside Thailand as well as refugee encampments along the Thai-Kampuchean border. The Vietnamese military action caused many casualties among Thai defence forces, innocent villagers and Kampuchean refugees. The invading forces were finally repulsed, leaving behind 75 bodies and 7 of their comrades who were captured alive, as well as scores of weapons.

21. For a period of time Vietnamese statements on the 23 to 24 June 1980 incursion were self-contradictory. At first Vietnamese leaders either denied that the attack ever took place or gave the lame excuse of unclear border demarcation, and then attempted to blame Thailand for having first violated Kampuchean territory. It was eventually during the visit of the Secretary-General to South-East Asia towards the end of July 1980 that Vietnamese leaders admitted the incursion by their forces into Thai territory, while citing the international voluntary repatriation programme for Kampucheans as the justification for the violation of Thailand's sovereignty and integrity. A similar admission was made yesterday morning [36th meeting, para. 111] by the representative of Viet Nam to the United Nations before this Assembly. In rebuttal of the Vietnamese contention, suffice it to state that the voluntary repatriation programme was undertaken at the request and under the supervision of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, as has been made patently clear in that Office's press release of 26 June 1980, which also reported that fewer than 10,000 Kampucheans, the majority of whom were women and children, were repatriated under the programme. Furthermore, the repatriation was in accord with the inalienable right of Kampucheans to return to their homeland, if they so wished.

22. With mounting threats to its security, Thailand looks to the world Organization as an honest broker in an effort to restore peace and stability in Kampuchea in accordance with the principles of the Charter and General Assembly resolution 34/22. As long as the Kampuchean problem remains unsolved there is always the danger that the region may once again become embroiled in a wider conflict. Continued Vietnamese presence in Kampuchea provides the ready pretext for increasing involvement by outside Powers, thus endangering world peace. Furthermore, the unresolved political and military issues will prolong the human tragedy of Kampuchean refugees as well as of the Kampuchean people, who are compelled to live under foreign occupation and domination. It is therefore imperative for this Organization to be seized of these issues and not to regard the situation as irreversible. That was why the General Assembly last year adopted resolution 34/22 by an overwhelming margin of support and that is why this Assembly must continue to help find durable solutions within the framework of the Charter and in keeping with international norms. Such efforts cannot be construed as anything but consistent with the functions of this Organization in the interest of world peace and order.

23. The Kampuchean conflict in all aspects rightly remains the preoccupation of the international community. It was undoubtedly in recognition of this

fact that the Secretary-General, in consonance with the mandate given to him under paragraph 11 of resolution 34/22, made a trip to Thailand and Viet Nam in July last year. The Government and people of Thailand would like to take this opportunity to express to him once again our deep appreciation of the constructive initiative he has taken, which has contributed in no small measure to the reduction of tension in the area and has made it possible for the cross-border feeding operations for the suffering Kampucheans to be resumed.

24. Another result which emerged from the Secretary-General's trip and his offer of his good offices was the meeting between my Foreign Minister and the Foreign Minister of Viet Nam, which took place on 1 October 1980 at United Nations Headquarters. At that meeting the Thai Foreign Minister on behalf of all the countries of ASEAN, conveyed to his Vietnamese counterpart ASEAN's proposal for peace in Kampuchea. The two Foreign Ministers had a frank but friendly exchange of views on the Kampuchean problem, but their positions were found, regrettably, to be divergent on a number of important issues. Nevertheless, my Foreign Minister reaffirmed the desire of all the ASEAN countries for durable peace and stability in South-East Asia and to continue to work towards that goal with all concerned. Although the meeting did not achieve any concrete result, both sides agreed in principle to meet again at a time and place to be mutually determined.

25. Yesterday the Vietnamese representative alluded in his statement to a so-called new initiative [*ibid.*, para. 136] on the part of the Vietnamese Foreign Minister at the said meeting. That so-called new proposal turns out to be old wine in a new bottle, except that it has turned vinegary by this time. The same formula was offered at Kuala Lumpur in May last year but was withdrawn during the Vietnamese Foreign Minister's visit to Thailand a week later even before my Government had the opportunity to consider it.

26. The present state of affairs is as follows. While the Vietnamese Foreign Minister categorically rejected the ASEAN peace proposal, the Thai Foreign Minister assured him that the ASEAN countries would reconsider his latest proposal. We have, however, found it to be based on a falsification of facts and on groundless accusations against the Thai Government. As such, the so-called new initiative reveals unyielding intransigence on the part of Viet Nam and is a transparent attempt to appear conciliatory in the eyes of countries situated far away from the scene of conflict. That is like adding insult to injury and we do not believe that the world will ever be misled by such a manoeuvre.

27. Similarly, Viet Nam also made an offer for the partial withdrawal of its occupying forces in Kampuchea once certain pre-conditions had been met. I should like to ask my Vietnamese colleague whether his Government would accept United Nations supervision and verification of such a withdrawal and why there are pre-conditions, when the presence of the Vietnamese Juggernaut in Kampuchea is the root cause of all the undesirable tension that he wants so much to eliminate.

28. The representative of Viet Nam levelled many irrational accusations against Thailand yesterday. His

statement was a litany of falsehoods and distortions. Its vituperative and polemical tone creates strong doubts about Viet Nam's sincere intention to continue with regional consultations. My delegation does not wish to delve into the recesses of history in order to awaken the spirits of the Chams, ancestors of the present-day Kampuchean Moslems, who suffered at Vietnamese hands in much the same manner as their descendants, or to recall the fate of the Khmer Krom, whose territory was also annexed by the Vietnamese. We are concerned here with the present crisis in Kampuchea and with its impact on the future of our countries. Furthermore, my delegation recognizes the necessity of finding a peaceful solution of the crisis which is acceptable to all parties while upholding universally accepted principles and norms. As my Foreign Minister said in his statement during the general debate on 30 September 1980:

"Thailand does not insist that the problems of Kampuchea... be settled on the basis of the view of any one nation. It can accommodate the legitimate interests of others. It believes that true and lasting solutions to problems of such import can be achieved only when supported by the world community acting in keeping with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. A solution based on the dictated terms of one country by virtue of its illegal occupation of another is no solution, because it would carry forward the seeds of tension and future conflict."  
[17th meeting, para. 331.]

29. In response, this Assembly has been permitted to share Viet Nam's perception of what the future may hold for us. Yesterday the representative of Viet Nam outlined the so-called four possibilities by means of which he presented his Government's view on the alternatives before the General Assembly [36th meeting, paras. 144-147]: first, continue with the tension prevailing as at present and China would benefit the most; secondly, let the United States continue to play the China card and China would give Viet Nam a second lesson, which would result in war on a narrow scale as well as an explosive situation along the Thai-Kampuchean border; thirdly, let the ASEAN countries and the Indo-Chinese States step forward and co-operate and the situation in South-East Asia would be less tense but China would do all in its power to sabotage that initiative; fourthly, let all the causes of the problems in South-East Asia be eliminated and all would be well again.

30. However, before the advent of the millennium envisioned in the fourth alternative, one can infer from the statement of the representative of Viet Nam that the third alternative—namely, let the ASEAN countries and the Indo-Chinese States step forward and co-operate—would be his preference. Indeed, before the Kampuchean conflict occurred, all ASEAN countries had succeeded in fostering closer ties with the other countries of South-East Asia on the basis of peaceful coexistence. The representative of Viet Nam is now aware, I feel sure, of the present tension and mistrust, which constitute an obstacle to the realization of the third alternative. Indeed, the cause of prevailing tension and mistrust lies inside the region of South-East Asia itself, namely in Viet Nam's aggression against Kampuchea, a sovereign and independent State within the region. Unless and until Viet Nam

ceases its aggression against Kampuchea—and the choice is Viet Nam's alone—the world Organization, particularly its South-East Asian Members, would seem to be left with only the first two alternatives.

31. It is often in the nature of apocalyptic visions to tend to be astigmatic and myopic at the same time. It is not, however, the intention of the other South-East Asian countries to resign themselves to such fearsome prospects, especially when the strength of Kampuchea, and even of Viet Nam itself, is being gradually sapped by war and conflict and when the ASEAN vision is to see South-East Asia become a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality, free from all manner and form of external interference. Consequently, as a necessary first step towards that goal, the ASEAN countries, together with many other sponsors, have submitted the draft resolution contained in document A/35/L.2/Rev.1, which proposes the convening of an international conference early in 1981, with the participation of all conflicting parties in Kampuchea and others concerned, with the aim of finding a comprehensive political settlement to the Kampuchean problem.

32. That proposal may well offer the best prospect for durable peace and stability in South-East Asia. Since draft resolution A/35/L.2/Rev.1 has already been introduced to the Assembly at the 36th meeting, in a most articulate and eloquent manner by His Excellency General Carlos P. Romulo, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Philippines and current Chairman of the ASEAN Standing Committee, I wish only to emphasize my delegation's earnest desire to see peace and stability prevail in the region, without wishing to impose any solution on any party or prejudging the outcome of the conference. Above all, we must not lose sight of the legitimate rights and aspirations of the Kampuchean people.

33. However, the draft resolution proposes, pending the settlement of the conflict in Kampuchea, the implementation of the following interim measures by appropriate United Nations organs in order to reduce the tension along the Thai-Kampuchean border resulting from the presence of a large number of Vietnamese troops near the border and from the massive influx of Kampuchean refugees into Thai territory.

34. First, a United Nations observer team should be stationed on the Thai side of the border in order to monitor the situation along the border and to verify that only civilian Kampucheans obtain international relief aid. This measure has long been requested by the Thai Government as a means of attesting to Thailand's non-involvement in the armed conflict in Kampuchea and of ensuring that humanitarian assistance reaches only civilian Kampucheans for whom it is intended. At the same time, such a United Nations presence would help to deter violations of Thailand's sovereignty and reduce border tension.

35. Secondly, safe areas should be established for uprooted Kampucheans in western Kampuchea. The safety of such areas should be guaranteed by all warring parties. Furthermore, all Kampucheans wishing to exercise their inalienable right to return to their homeland should, after due processing by the representative of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, be allowed to enter those safe areas.



36. However, it should be emphasized that those are only temporary measures and that a comprehensive solution to the Kampuchean problem in all its aspects will depend on the outcome of the proposed international conference.

37. It is and will always remain Thailand's commitment to pursue the quest for peace in South-East Asia. During the past decade the Thai nation has devoted its resources and energy to productive ends. Gains in social and economic development within the framework of democratic government have been satisfactory by most standards. To achieve further progress, regional peace and stability are prerequisites. However, in Kampuchea hardship and deprivation are the order of the day. Now it is time that its people were permitted to enjoy the lasting benefit of peace, to engage in the reconstruction of their war-ravaged economy, and to regain their rights with freedom and dignity.

38. It may be recalled that the Commission on Human Rights, in its resolution 29 (XXXVI) of 11 March 1980, condemned all the gross and flagrant violations of human rights which have occurred in Kampuchea", as well as "the invasion and occupation of parts of Kampuchea by foreign forces and the violations of human rights which have ensued". Furthermore, the Commission recommended that the people of Kampuchea be granted their fundamental freedoms and human rights including the right to decide their own future through free and fair elections without outside interference, subversion or coercion".<sup>1</sup>

39. Therefore, it is the hope of my delegation that other Members of this Organization will be able to contribute towards the achievement of those long-awaited and worthy goals, for the future well-being of Kampuchea as well as for the peace and stability of South-East Asia.

40. Mr. LESSARD (Canada) (*interpretation from French*): It is tragic that circumstances should dictate that we must once again this year consider the situation in Kampuchea. Almost a year ago the General Assembly, by an overwhelming majority representing a broad spectrum of Member States, adopted a resolution enunciating those principles which should underlie a just and lasting peace in Kampuchea and guarantee its sovereignty and territorial integrity, while at the same time taking account of the valid and legitimate interests and concerns of its neighbours.

41. Unfortunately, despite that emphatic and clearly articulated expression of the will of the international community, we find ourselves no further advanced than when we discussed this issue during the last session of the General Assembly.

42. Who pays the price for this lack of progress, for this political inertia? It is, of course, the Kampuchean people. They have continued to suffer and will continue to do so unless a lasting political solution is found, a solution which would enable Kampuchea to reassume its role as a sovereign and independent nation. The mass starvation of a year ago has been alleviated through the efforts of the international community and the highly commendable work of

organizations such as the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, UNICEF, the International Committee of the Red Cross and a host of non-governmental agencies which are smaller but no less important. These operations have saved tens of thousands, perhaps millions, of lives, but the arrangements are at best precarious. In spite of much laudable work, the fundamental unresolved political problems could at literally any moment trigger another humanitarian crisis that could easily attain the dimensions of last year's tragedy. Is it possible to contemplate such a situation with equanimity? This is a real affront to our intelligence and conscience.

43. I have no intention of dwelling on the motives for the Vietnamese invasion of Kampuchea which occurred almost two years ago or on the motives for the continuing Vietnamese occupation, for motives are not being considered here. The main issue before the General Assembly is how to rectify the grave violation of international law represented by the continuing occupation of Kampuchea by the armed forces of a neighbouring country. That is the core of the problem and we must never lose sight of it.

44. Canada's goal is to help to generate conditions propitious to the establishment of a Government which genuinely reflects the wishes of the Kampuchean people, and we are confident that this objective is shared by the members of this Assembly. The people of Kampuchea must be able to participate to the greatest extent possible in the choice of such a Government, which must reflect the broad range of political tendencies in that country.

45. We certainly do not want to see the return to power in Kampuchea of a Khmer Rouge Government under Pol Pot or other leader. That régime has had its chance and its record is reprehensible. It had the opportunity to bring peace and well-being to a country already ravaged by war; instead it brought tragedy. Such a tragedy must never be allowed to happen again.

46. Resolution 34/22, which was adopted last year, established in a sense a plan likely to bring peace to Kampuchea and stability to the region. The draft resolution which is now before us is an improved and expanded version of resolution 34/22. Canada is happy to be one of the sponsors of this draft resolution because of our commitment to peace as the prerequisite for stability, development and progress in the region and our belief that peace can be restored only by removing the settlement of these issues from the battlefield to the conference table.

47. This new draft resolution recalls the collective will of the General Assembly on the Kampuchean question at the thirty-fourth session. It takes note of the recent hostilities which violated Thai sovereignty, and emphasizes that no effective solution can be achieved without a just and lasting political settlement of the conflict.

48. This draft resolution goes further than its predecessor in calling for an international conference in early 1981 to discuss a number of important aspects of the situation, including a withdrawal of foreign forces, the holding of supervised free elections, guarantees for the respect of the sovereignty of Kampuchea, and guarantees that Kampuchea will not constitute a threat to its neighbours. Pending a settle-

<sup>1</sup> See *Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, 1980, Supplement No. 3, chap. XXVI, sect. A.*

ment, and in order to reduce tension and the sufferings of tens of thousands of Kampuchians, the resolution also calls for the stationing in Thailand of a United Nations observer team and the establishment, under the supervision of the United Nations, of safe areas in the western part of Kampuchea for the regrouping of uprooted civilian Kampuchians.

49. Canada supports those proposals and urges Member States to do likewise. This draft resolution provides the necessary political direction and provides, furthermore, for a specific political framework and a time-table by which we should abide we wish to avoid a further and perhaps even greater tragedy in Kampuchea.

50. Mr. TSVETKOV (Bulgaria) (*interpretation from French*): May I first of all remind you that during the General Committee meeting, the delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria raised explicit objections to the inclusion of the item entitled "The situation in Kampuchea" on the General Assembly's agenda. Those objections were based on our firm conviction that here we have a case which is clearly a flagrant violation of the Charter of the United Nations in which, in Article 2, paragraph 7, it is stipulated:

"Nothing contained in the present Charter shall authorize the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any State or shall require the Members to submit such matters to settlement under the present Charter..."

51. In this regard, I should also like to remind you of the telegram from the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, dated 10 September 1980, in which it is pointed out:

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

52. We have witnessed attempts to present the Kampuchean situation in a completely distorted light. We have heard a demonstration in words of a feigned concern for the fate of this country which has undergone so much sacrifice, while there is silence about the true facts, and some even pretend not to have noticed them. Not a word is said about the atrocities committed by the rejected Pol Pot clique and the catastrophic situation which it brought about in Kampuchea. Nothing is said about the successes of the Kampuchean people under the leadership of the Government of the People's Revolutionary Council, about the positive process of rebuilding the country and stabilizing the situation after the revolution of 7 January 1979.

53. In fact, what was the situation in Kampuchea two years ago?

54. In implementing the Maoist theories of the "cultural revolution", the Pol Pot clique brought Kampuchea to complete paralysis; society was completely overthrown, the people deeply shocked. It became a country with deserted cities, schools and cultural institutes reduced to pig pens, religious temples desecrated and used as warehouses or as

places of torture and massacre; a country with its townships emptied of their population which was sent into the countryside to work as slaves in the so-called "people's communes", families forcibly separated, compulsory marriages. It was a country dominated by a régime which killed indiscriminately and slaughtered wholesale, a country littered with communal graves filled with the corpses of more than 3 million victims.

55. That was the situation in Kampuchea two years ago. What is it today?

56. To judge from a number of sources, including the eyewitness accounts of some officials from the United Nations and its specialized agencies and journalists who have been in Kampuchea, the general impression can be summed up in a few words: life has returned to this country.

57. Once liberated, the people of Kampuchea got down to the business of rebuilding their country from scratch. The darkness of genocide gave way to the light of children's smiles. Measures have been taken to overcome famine, to increase agricultural yield, to bring families back together, to provide medical care and so on. A wide-ranging national discussion of the draft constitution has been started. Preparations have begun for the holding of free and democratic elections at the beginning of next year.

58. The action taken by the People's Revolutionary Council to bring life back to normal in the country have shown the real way to national reconstruction after the tragic suffering caused by the Pol Pot clique.

59. How strange it is that some delegations do not wish to admit that all these facts are true, but forget or disregard them. This is so of those who say they are so very concerned with the right of the people of Kampuchea to determine its own destiny.

60. The explanation goes without saying. In fact, great efforts are being made to divert the people of Kampuchea from their chosen path towards renaissance and national reconstruction, namely, the way of brotherly co-operation with the peoples of Laos and Viet Nam, the way of socialist construction of the country, the way of friendship and co-operation with all countries in the region.

61. I should like briefly to dwell on the position of those who, in words, try to make a distinction between themselves and the Pol Pot clique, while in point of fact, hiding behind a biased interpretation of some principles of international law, they actually lend their moral and political support to the vestiges of that clique. Simple human logic cannot accept the strange co-existence of two theories that are mutually exclusive: condemnation of the practices of that clique, and support for its representatives, as in this case. It is clear that the contradiction in question is being exploited by the forces of hegemonism and imperialism, in order to use a discussion on the so-called question of "The situation in Kampuchea" as a smoke-screen to mask their policy of aggression in that region, and their efforts to maintain sources of tension in the world. It is all being done for the purpose of imposing yet again on the people of Kampuchea a régime submissive and obedient to those same reactionary forces.

62. We are firmly convinced that it is not the situation in Kampuchea which is the source of tensions in South-East Asia. The threat to peace and security in that region of the world comes from those who after 1975 turned Kampuchea into a testing ground not only for their adventurist ideas, but also for their policy of expansion and aggression against the countries of Indo-China, and primarily against the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam.

63. Furthermore, this danger has been further aggravated by those who, after the victory of the people's revolution of 7 January, continued to muster, arm and send to Kampuchea gangs recruited from the vestiges of the Pol Pot clique to hamper the normalization of the situation in the country.

64. The victory of the Kampuchean people has become an obstacle to the self-seeking plans of the imperialist and hegemonist forces to establish their domination in that part of the world. This, then, is why they are trying to impute to others their own intentions and aims by presenting in a false light the truth about the international assistance given by the Vietnamese people.

65. Because of these considerations, we reject draft resolution A/35/L.2/Rev.1, which is not only far from providing an objective assessment of the situation in Kampuchea but also constitutes an attempt to impose decisions which are not in accordance with the interests of the Kampuchean people itself or the interests of the other peoples of that region, and which runs counter to the interest of peace and security throughout the world.

66. As for the presence of Vietnamese troops in Kampuchea, it is relevant to quote the statement of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, Mr. Hun Sen:

"The presence in Kampuchea of Vietnamese troops, who have come in accordance with the terms of the Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Co-operation between Kampuchea and Viet Nam, is for the time being essential for our security and does not constitute a threat to anyone. Once the danger has passed, the Vietnamese troops will immediately withdraw."

Thus, the presence of Vietnamese troops in Kampuchea is an internal matter and does not fall within the competence of the United Nations.

67. We are deeply convinced that it is necessary to put an end to all these speculations designed to legalize attempts to interfere in the internal affairs of Kampuchea. The polemical rhetoric of the protectors acting in the open or behind the scenes cannot save the remains of the Pol Pot clique from total defeat or hide the truth about the present situation in the country, for the changes which have come about are irreversible.

68. However, we consider that the sooner the true state of affairs is seen through the prism of the real interests of the peoples of South-East Asia, the quicker and the more easily will the relevant agreements be reached making it possible to undertake concrete steps to normalize and stabilize the situation in that region.

69. What is necessary now is to deal with the contentious issues from the point of view of political realism, the interests of peace, stability and co-operation in

South-East Asia and the interests of peace and security in the world.

70. Mr. KAMIL (Indonesia): I should like to recall that when the thirty-fourth session of this Assembly met in November of last year and considered the situation in Kampuchea, it did so against a background of stark events developing in that country, events which had ominous repercussions in the region of South-East Asia and caused concern throughout the world. These events were the invasion of Kampuchea by foreign troops, dislodging a cruel, but nonetheless legal and legitimate, Government from the capital city of Phnom Penh and the setting up of an illegitimate régime, created by and coming in the wake of the external military intervention. Furthermore, an army of occupation, 100,000 men strong, was quartered in Kampuchea to maintain and sustain that illegal régime. Hunger, starvation and sickness were rampant throughout the land and hundreds of thousands of Kampucheans had to flee for their lives and seek protection and relief in neighbouring Thailand and in the border areas.

71. Confronted with this situation, the General Assembly, on 14 November 1979, adopted a resolution which, it was hoped, would lead to the normalization of the situation in Kampuchea. The resolution rightly named foreign military intervention and the imposition of a régime against the will of the people of Kampuchea as the causes of the sad train of events. It therefore called for the immediate withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea, for the settlement of the dispute by peaceful means in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and for the establishment of a Government in Kampuchea through a democratic process.

72. Now one year has passed, but General Assembly resolution 34/22 remains unimplemented and unfulfilled. As a consequence, the illegal régime of Heng Samrin continues in power in Phnom Penh. Fighting has not ceased, but rather continues unabated; the Kampucheans continue to suffer from hunger, starvation and sickness, and death stares them in the eyes; hundreds of thousands of them are still in transit or refugee camps in Thailand and along the border, surviving through the charity and magnanimity of the Thai authorities and people and of the international community. As a matter of fact, the situation has degenerated and become worse, for the 100,000 foreign troops have doubled in number, not only occupying Kampuchea, but also threatening the security of neighbouring Thailand. As we all know, the threat of a spillover of the fighting—the fear of which was voiced in this hall last year—has become a fact with the military incursion into Thai territory on 23 June this year, which caused loss of lives and property.

73. Not only does the non-implementation of resolution 34/22, adopted by no fewer than 91 votes in favour to 21 against, signify that the sovereign rights of the Kampuchean people, which they have held sacred throughout their rich and glorious history and which have been recognized and protected by the Charter of the United Nations, remain trampled and not given cognizance but also the threat of an expansion of the area of conflict from Kampuchea to the other countries remains very real. It also threatens the involvement of outside Powers, with all its attendant conse-

quences not only to the region but also to the world at large.

74. It is for those reasons that many delegations, including my own, have sponsored a draft resolution, contained in document A/35/L.2/Rev.1 dated 10 October 1980.

75. As in resolution 34/22, which we optimistically but prematurely hoped would pave the way for a settlement of the conflict, this draft resolution also calls for the withdrawal of foreign forces from Kampuchea and the establishment of conditions in which the people can elect and form their own Government free from external influence, subversion or coercion. However, in those important respects, the present draft resolution before the Assembly goes further than that of last year in that, in order to provide for the modalities, timing and method of withdrawal and elections, the sponsors propose the convening of an international conference on Kampuchea as soon as possible—and, I might add, the sooner, the better—with the participation of all the conflicting parties in Kampuchea and others concerned. The aim of this conference is very clear, namely, to find a comprehensive political settlement to the Kampuchean problem. The role of the United Nations in each step of the process towards peace is clearly spelled out in the draft resolution, thus ensuring that the interests of each party, as agreed upon collectively, would be scrupulously safeguarded.

76. That international conference would enable all parties to discuss the best ways and means for the transition of Kampuchea from an area of conflict and war to a land of peace and tranquillity. The conference would, it is hoped, address itself to all the causes and ramifications of the events that have led to the current sad situation experienced by the people of that country.

77. The sponsors of the draft resolution also propose the stationing of United Nations observers on the Thai side of the Kampuchean border in order to observe the situation in the area and to ensure that no assistance emanates from this area to any party to the conflict. As this element of the draft resolution—that is, the stationing of observers—is the explicit proposal of Thailand, and as these observers are to be placed on Thai territory, my delegation believes that there should not be any objection by any of us who desire an early end to the conflict.

78. My delegation is not oblivious to the possibility that the stability of each country in the region and of the region as a whole can be disturbed by forces or Powers outside the region. This is quite possible, given the geostrategic position and location of each country of South-East Asia. The history of my region—South-East Asia—is replete with instances of this nature. It was with that in mind that during my statement before this Assembly last year on this item I stated the following:

“The international community should also address itself to another [related] question which may in its nature be external to the region of South-East Asia, but nevertheless is of serious concern to a country or several countries in that region. This is that there should not be any threat imposed from abroad on the South-East Asian countries, if they are to con-

centrate their efforts on the much needed task of reconstruction and development. We in the region should be given all opportunity—free from foreign intervention or the threat of such intervention—to develop our region politically, economically and socially into a region where peace and prosperity will one day prevail.”<sup>2</sup>

79. It is clear, of course, that foreign interference or intervention can either be imposed from abroad or invited *per se* from abroad by a country in the region, but, naturally, both are just as bad and evil.

80. In the light of the very strong feeling on the issue of foreign subversion or intervention, my delegation sincerely believes that the Government of Kampuchea which would come into being as a result of this draft resolution would be genuinely independent, able to live in harmony with the other Governments and peoples in the region and prepared to preserve its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. It is also our sincere belief that such a Government would never be the one to destabilize, or be used by others to destabilize, the countries in the region.

81. While the conflict in Kampuchea remains unresolved, the fate of the refugees in Thailand and along the border areas remains bleak indeed. They will have to continue depending on the charity of the international community. And, indeed, many countries have extended precious assistance and help to the refugees, as witnessed, for example, during the Meeting on Humanitarian Assistance and Relief to the Kampuchean People, held at Geneva in May this year. A number of governmental and non-governmental organizations are actively helping to alleviate their suffering. Thousands of individuals from many parts of the world have been working in the camps helping to heal the physical and psychological wounds suffered by the refugees. Indonesia and the other countries of South-East Asia are grateful to all those States, organizations, agencies and individuals for their generous help which has effectively contributed to the survival of the refugees now awaiting the day they can return home to their own country, to the place where their ancestors have lived and died.

82. It is obvious that the Kampuchean refugees cannot forever be the burden of the international community. Considering the huge sums of money needed for the more than 1 million people requiring assistance, sources of help and assistance remain relatively limited. Furthermore, there are many other refugees in the world, for example in West Asia and the Horn of Africa, whose need for urgent assistance is no less than the need of those from Kampuchea. It is therefore necessary to solve their plight as quickly as possible.

83. The Geneva meeting to which I referred earlier has also by consensus decided on a set of recommendations, contained in United Nations document SO 570 KAMP, of 6 June 1980 [see also A/35/303], with a view to making more effective and efficient use of humanitarian assistance rendered to the Kampuchians within the country itself as well as those in Thailand and along the border. My delegation hopes that these proposals will be found helpful and useful

<sup>2</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-fourth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 65th meeting, para. 145.



by those international organizations and agencies now doing relief work in the two countries.

84. In concluding our intervention, my delegation wishes to reiterate what it stated last year,<sup>3</sup> that, in participating in this debate on Kampuchea, we do not propose to focus blame for the present situation on any State or group of States. Such an approach could only lead to recriminations and make the effort to find a solution more difficult. Our sole hope is that in bringing this matter once again to the attention of this Assembly we may be able—God willing—to bring an early end to the conflict and create conditions for peace and security. We hope that this effort of ours will be appreciated by all concerned.

85. As has so often been stated by the countries of South-East Asia, we in the region have hardly known peace for many, many years, while at the same time we are eager to begin the work of the development of our countries and our region, so as to give real content and meaning to the independence and freedom of our people; but, again, development can be effectively carried out only in an atmosphere of peace and stability, where all the peoples of the area can exert their best efforts to make South-East Asia a region of prosperity and tranquillity as well as a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality. The draft resolution now before this Assembly, we believe, will provide us with such an opportunity. It is in that spirit that my delegation commends this draft for adoption by this Assembly.

86. Mr. TROYANOVSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): The Soviet delegation, as it stated when speaking on this subject in the General Committee of the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly, believes it to be wrong to discuss the so-called question of the situation in Kampuchea, inasmuch as it means intervening in the affairs of an independent and sovereign State, the People's Republic of Kampuchea. Such discussion is nothing but a direct violation of the Charter of the United Nations, which does not give the United Nations any right to intervene in the affairs that come within the sphere of the internal competence of any State.

87. The intention in raising this question—as was indeed the case at the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly last year—is essentially to cover up the crimes of certain imperialist circles and Peking hegemonists against the Kampuchean people and by means of organized international intervention in the internal affairs of that country to deflect it from its course of peaceful democratic development. These objectives are being camouflaged by fine phrases about self-determination for the Kampuchean people—phrases which are repeated most often precisely by those who bear the major responsibility for the tragic plight of that people.

88. In this regard, it is appropriate to point out that, if we look at the origins of the sufferings of the Khmer people, we find a United States presence. It began in 1969, with the bombing of neutral Cambodia, thus involving that country in the United States aggressive war in Indo-China. As a result of the many years of bombing by the United States Air Force of the terri-

tory of the country and also the massive repressions which were carried out by the puppet Government of Lon Nol against the Kampuchean people, no less than 800,000 people died and hundreds of thousands of Khmer people were reduced to the status of refugees in their own country and abroad.

89. The crimes of the pro-Peking clique of Pol Pot and Ieng Sary, which succeeded the pro-American Government, are well known: 3 million dead, total disintegration of the social fabric, collapse of the economy, forcible destruction of families, elimination of health services and education, hundreds of thousands more refugees, and millions of people reduced to a state of utter physical and moral debilitation—and this is far from being an exhaustive list of the results of the export of Maoism to Kampuchea.

90. It is important to stress that the Pol Pot régime is not a legal Government from any standpoint—judicial, political or humanitarian. As is well known, the Pol Pot clique in April 1975 usurped power and, on instructions from its mentors, physically destroyed the leaders of the Khmer Rouge, who had headed the armed liberation struggle of the Kampuchean people but did not share the views of the Pol Pot faction. The Pol Pot clique, basing itself in Phnom Penh, jettisoned even the political programme on the basis of which the victory had been won, thanks to the support it had from the majority of the Kampuchean people. Thus the accession of Pol Pot to power came about as a direct consequence of the intervention of Peking in the internal affairs of Kampuchea, and the subsequent reign, almost four years long, of the bloody clique really put it beyond the pale of generally acknowledged standards of legitimacy.

91. In the light of this, a vote to maintain the representatives of Pol Pot and Ieng Sary in the United Nations means, in essence, open support for those who were responsible for the sufferings of the Kampuchean people. No other interpretation could be placed on such a position.

92. It is not difficult to imagine in what state Kampuchea would now find itself if the revolutionary changes in that country in January 1979 had not saved the day. The Pol Pot butchers would have continued with impunity their bloody crimes, and it is even possible that now we would have to speak of the almost total disappearance of the Khmer nation as such.

93. The victory of the Khmer patriots, won under the leadership of the National United Front for the Salvation of Kampuchea, was a turning point in the history of Kampuchea. It put an end to the genocidal régime and led to the creation of genuine conditions for moving the country towards democracy and social progress. The new authorities in Kampuchea are continuing every day to strengthen their base as a result of the growing support and confidence of the people of the country, and this is because the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea is attempting to do everything possible to ensure peace, stability and the national revival of its people. It is obvious that it is in effective control of the situation throughout the country.

94. The energetic measures of the National United Front for the Salvation of Kampuchea to organize the political, social and cultural life of Kampuchean society and the restoration of the ruined national

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, para. 135.

economy have already yielded tangible results. Local authorities have been established and are in operation; industry has been restored; the fields are being tilled; national education and health services are being organized; the national culture is being nursed back to health; families are being reunited and returned home; temples have been restored and are reopening. There has been a considerable improvement in the living conditions of all strata of the population. A network of free medical institutions has been set up in the country. Schools have been opened and literacy courses have been established. In the People's Republic of Kampuchea the basic fundamental rights and freedoms of citizens have been restored. A commission to prepare a constitution for the country has been set up in Phnom Penh, and it has started work. A further step towards the normalization of life and the strengthening of national power will take place at the beginning of next year with the holding of elections to the highest State organs of power in Kampuchea.

95. The Soviet Union and other socialist countries have in deeds and not just in words been providing and continue to provide the Kampuchean people with every kind of help in the rebuilding of Kampuchea. The Soviet Union has been giving the People's Republic of Kampuchea a broad range of assistance embracing practically all branches of the national economy of the country, with the aim primarily of solving the problem of guaranteeing the people food supplies and the restoration of social institutions, infrastructure, industry, transport, communications and training for posts of higher responsibility.

96. Apart from the initial assistance given to Kampuchea by the Soviet Union last year free of charge, which amounted to a total of more than \$85 million, this year, within the framework of a programme of similarly free assistance, the People's Republic of Kampuchea has been sent various goods for civilian purposes, valued at of \$134 million. Furthermore, the programme of economic co-operation of the USSR with Kampuchea provides for the allotting of the sum of \$70 million.

97. Of great importance for the Kampuchean people is assistance through international organizations which provide Kampuchea with supplies of food and medicine. The continuation of such humanitarian assistance can only be welcomed. However, we cannot overlook the attempts of certain circles to exploit the question of assistance for purposes directly contrary to the interests of the Kampuchean people in order, among other things, to support the remnants of the Pol Pot gangs. That kind of action can only be viewed as direct infringement of the sovereignty of the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

98. Using the territory of Thailand, and receiving military and material assistance from China, the remnants of the Pol Pot faction are carrying out incessant acts of armed provocation against Kampuchea. However, the Pol Pot faction and other counter-revolutionary gangs based in Thailand are unable to weaken the position of the People's Revolutionary Council in spite of all the assistance they get from outside.

99. The foreign policy of the People's Republic of Kampuchea is in sharp contrast to the policy pursued

by the pro-Peking Pol Pot clique. On instructions from the Chinese hegemonists, the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique launched border war against Viet Nam and organized acts of armed provocation against other neighbouring States also—Laos and Thailand. So-called "Democratic Kampuchea" was a hotbed of danger of war for the whole of South-East Asia. It acted as a conduit for the interests of Peking and its claims and ambition to convert that part of the world into their own sphere of influence. Pol Pot's anti-Viet Nam adventure also played into the hands of those who for so long waged a "dirty war" against Viet Nam, and also against Laos and Kampuchea. Now, it would appear, they are attempting to take revenge for their defeat in that unjust war and are encouraging anti-Viet Nam, anti-Kampuchean and anti-Laos actions. And there is nothing surprising in the fact that China, and along with it the United States, should find the foreign policy of the People's Republic of Kampuchea so vexatious.

100. Along with the other countries of Indo-China, Kampuchea has demonstrated a constructive approach to the search for a solution to regional problems that would be acceptable to all interested parties. Over the last year alone, Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea have repeatedly proposed important initiatives dictated by their concern for peace in South-East Asia. We have, for example, the documents of the Phnom Penh and Vientiane Conferences of January and July respectively of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Viet Nam, Laos and the People's Republic of Kampuchea, at which it was proposed that talks be held on turning South-East Asia into a zone of peace, on the conclusion of bilateral agreements guaranteeing no invasions between the countries of Indo-China and of ASEAN, on the creation of a demilitarized zone on both sides of the Thai-Kampuchean border, and on solving the refugee problem. Nor do the States of Indo-China object to the convening of an international conference that would have the authority to consolidate any agreements that might be reached between Kampuchea and Thailand and guarantee their being put into effect.

101. We should also recall a new proposal of Viet Nam and Kampuchea. It is aimed essentially at seeing that the People's Kampuchea and socialist Viet Nam take a firm stand on the question of the legitimacy of the presence of Vietnamese troops in Kampuchea and at the same time express their readiness, given certain conditions and particularly if peace, stability and security are restored on the Kampuchean-Thai frontier, to discuss the question of the withdrawal of some of those troops even before the creation of a demilitarized zone along the frontier between the People's Republic of Kampuchea and Thailand.

102. The countries of Indo-China have repeatedly taken initiatives on the question of carrying out a dialogue with the member States of ASEAN, which would make it possible to discuss, among other things, questions affecting Kampuchea. We welcome the establishment of those contacts.

103. The Soviet Union has been following closely the development of the situation in that part of the world, and it supports all initiatives of that kind that are put forward with the sincere and peace-loving

intention of bringing about an early settlement in relations among the States in that part of the world.

104. From what has been said, it emerges very clearly that Viet Nam and Kampuchea are a threat to no one and have no intention of attacking anyone. Quite the contrary, the countries of Indo-China are themselves the targets of the incessant acts of provocation and the intrigues of imperialistic forces, the Peking hegemonists and their henchmen. Speaking during the general debate at this session of the General Assembly, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the USSR, A. A. Gromyko, stressed that:

“The United States adds to the destabilization of the situation in Indo-China and in the whole of South-East Asia. Here, too, the United States acts in league with the Peking hegemonists who, having committed aggression against the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, continue their demonstrations of military force on the Sino-Vietnamese border and stage provocations against the People’s Democratic Republic of Laos and the People’s Republic of Kampuchea, whose voice, we are sure, will sooner or later be heard from this rostrum. Other countries of that region are also under constant pressure from Peking and Washington.” [6th meeting, para. 110.]

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

105. Cessation of these intrigues and plots would be the most reliable way to achieve a genuine normalization of the situation around Kampuchea and in South-East Asia as a whole.

106. The States members of ASEAN, it would appear, to no less an extent than the countries of Indo-China, must have an interest in seeing an improvement of the situation in South-East Asia. However, to all appearances, the ASEAN countries are marking time and sticking to their position, while they fail to take into account the new facts of life in Indo-China and are virtually conniving at Chinese expansion in that area. Nevertheless, it is worth while recalling that China’s flagrant intervention in the internal affairs of the countries of the area led in 1965 to the tragic events in Indonesia and between 1975 and 1978, brought the Khmer nation to the very brink of extinction; in 1979 China carried out a direct act of armed aggression against the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam. And now, relying primarily on Thailand, the Chinese leadership is using Thai territory as a base for carrying out subversive activity against the three countries of Indo-China.

107. At the present time, a number of countries have submitted a draft resolution [A/35/L.2/Rev.1] and the recommendation has been made that it be adopted by the General Assembly at its thirty-fifth session. The tenor of this draft resolution is the same as that of last year’s resolution. The sponsors once again, and even more obstinately than before, have submitted the standard set of measures for intervention in the internal affairs of the People’s Republic of Kampuchea on the pretext of some so-called “political settlement”, of a non-existent “Kampuchean question”. The People’s Republic of Kampuchea, which is master of its own destiny, has unequivocally stated its negative position towards this draft resolution.

Attempts to advance the proposals contained in it cannot lead to any positive results.

108. Accordingly, it is clear that this draft resolution is totally unacceptable, and the Soviet delegation will vote against it. We are convinced that the duty of the United Nations is precisely the opposite of what is proposed in the ASEAN draft resolution, in other words it should seek to bring about an easing of tensions in South-East Asia and should vigorously oppose any manoeuvres aimed at intervention in the internal affairs of Kampuchea.

109. The General Assembly, entirely in keeping with its lofty and responsible role, would be doing its duty if it were to take decisions which genuinely promoted an improvement of the situation in South-East Asia. Such decisions would be in keeping with the interests of all States of the area and would help to ensure that that part of our planet can cease to be the source of events which arise to threaten international peace and security.

110. Mr. FRANCIS (New Zealand): A year ago this Assembly adopted a resolution setting out the basic principles for a political settlement of the conflict in Indo-China. That resolution has been ignored. Foreign forces are still in Kampuchea. They are involved in fighting along the Thai-Kampuchean border. This conflict threatens to undermine stability and prosperity throughout South-East Asia.

111. The whole world has been shocked by the suffering of the Kampuchean people. They are the victims of events which they cannot control. Other people too, and particularly those living along the Thai-Kampuchean border, have been caught up in this senseless war.

112. A simple human wish to see an end to that suffering makes us all, surely, want to see a settlement brought about. Beyond that, we all know that the longer the fighting lasts the greater the threat to the security of Thailand and the greater the risk there is of great-Power involvement.

113. Almost every government leader who took part in the general debate, including my own Prime Minister, said that it was essential to end the conflict, and to end it quickly. The dangers of drifting into a wider conflagration are all too obvious. But if we are to stop the suffering, if we are to restore stability and economic progress, then we have got to work honestly and persistently until we get a comprehensive political settlement.

114. Like most countries, New Zealand believes that the basis of any political settlement must be the recognition of the right of the Kampuchean people to choose their own government free from outside pressure or interference. We believe that the way to achieve this is through elections held under some form of international supervision.

115. That, however, is only the first step. A comprehensive peace in Indo-China can be assured only when all countries of the area show that they are willing to negotiate on the basis of their commitment to uphold one of the fundamental principles of the Charter—respect for the independence and territorial integrity of each and every State. And that means

that Kampuchea can regain its full independence only when all foreign forces are withdrawn.

116. Draft resolution A/35/L.2/Rev.1 before us sets out, fairly and simply, the steps which must be taken if we are to welcome back to the international community an independent, sovereign and non-aligned Kampuchea. It presents a clear and balanced prescription of what must be done if we are to get a settlement. New Zealand is a sponsor of that draft resolution because we believe that it is a realistic prescription for peace.

117. New Zealand has always believed that it was essential that the countries of the region should talk to each other. In particular, we have supported and encouraged the resumption of a constructive dialogue between Viet Nam and the countries of ASEAN. We believe that the Secretary-General has an important role to play in keeping those discussions going and in guiding us all towards a settlement.

118. If there is to be real progress, all parties must show flexibility and a genuine willingness to enter into real negotiations. The time for empty propaganda has long since passed. Obviously, there are conflicting interests which have, somehow, to be reconciled. One way to do this is through an international conference. New Zealand has, right from the beginning, advocated that approach. It is the only sensible way to tackle the problem. The fact that this approach is recommended in the draft resolution before us is a further reason why we give our full support to it.

119. The goal of an international conference must be the establishment of a genuinely representative government in Kampuchea. If there is to be lasting peace, any government must be acceptable, first and foremost, to the people of Kampuchea. In our view, an independent and non-aligned Kampuchea, having friendly relations with its neighbours and having no special ties with any of the major Powers, should be a highly acceptable neighbour both to Viet Nam and to the ASEAN countries. It would certainly be a welcome partner for other countries of the Asian and Pacific region such as my own.

120. No one, surely, would deny that the Kampuchean people are entitled to the rights and protection accorded to all States under the Charter of this Organization. It is, above all, their right to decide their own future. The aim of any political settlement must, therefore, be to allow the people of Kampuchea to decide their future peacefully and without outside interference. The draft resolution we are considering asks the Assembly to affirm that the Kampuchean people are entitled to those fundamental rights. That draft resolution, moreover, provides a framework within which the Kampuchean people will be able to exercise those rights. Simple justice calls for the adoption of that draft resolution. It is a prescription for peace in South-East Asia.

121. Mr. KRAVETS (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic (*interpretation from Russian*)). An objective and irrefutable fact of the situation in Kampuchea is that for 22 months, or almost two full years, there has been a Government in power in the territory of Kampuchea, the People's Revolutionary Council of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, a Government which controls the situation throughout the country

and enjoys the support of the whole Kampuchean people. It is that Government, and no other, which is the sole plenipotentiary representative of the People's Republic of Kampuchea in international affairs. The only result of attempts to keep the corpse of the Pol Pot clique in the United Nations would be the stench of its decomposition.

122. The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR fully shares the view expressed in paragraph 3 of the annex to document A/35/189, namely that:

"Any problem pertaining to Kampuchea raised at the international level must be discussed with the People's Revolutionary Council of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, and any resolution or motion concerning Kampuchea adopted without the participation and agreement of the representative of the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea will be considered null and void."

123. The changes which have occurred in that country are irreversible and manoeuvres designed to cause intervention in its internal affairs, including attempts to use the United Nations to that end, are doomed to failure.

124. The overthrow in Kampuchea of the anti-people bloody régime created the necessary conditions for moving the country towards democratic reforms and social development. The time that has elapsed has been an important period for the formation of the young Republic. The authority of the People's Revolutionary Council has grown and become consolidated. In spite of the difficulties caused by the grievous consequences of the many years of foreign aggression by the United States and the reign of the pro-Maoist clique of Pol Pot, the long-suffering people of Kampuchea has striven unswervingly for success in restoring its utterly ruined economy and the social structure of the country and has also embarked on the organization of life in conditions of peace.

125. We have witnessed the revival of business and industry. More than 80 per cent of the factories have resumed work. The threat of hunger has been eliminated. Approximately 5,000 schools are open and provide places for 1 million students. Hospitals have been reopened and new medical centres have been set up. Markets are in operation and temples have been opened. Separated families have been reunited and have returned to their homes. Respect for fundamental human rights and freedoms has been ensured. The country is preparing to adopt a new constitution. Evidence of the creative and productive life of the People's Republic of Kampuchea has been reflected in the press of many countries.

126. Of course, many problems still await solution. In particular, the country still suffers severely from a shortage of specialists and qualified and skilled officials. But the Kampuchean people has already felt the advantages of the new life and is bending every effort to build and strengthen the peoples' power in order to combat the inimical and hostile activities of the reactionary forces.

127. Together with the process of stabilization of the internal life of the country there is a process of consolidation of the international authority of the People's Republic of Kampuchea. The People's



Revolutionary Council, which is pursuing a foreign policy of independence, peace, friendship and non-alignment, has been recognized by more than 30 countries and national liberation movements. The Kampuchean people is striving to establish relations of lasting friendship and co-operation with all countries of South-East Asia on the basis of respect for independence and sovereignty, non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States and the settlement of disputes by peaceful means through negotiation.

128. Accordingly, there is only one true cause of the continuing instability in South-East Asia, that is, the incessant efforts of the hegemonist and imperialist forces of Peking and Washington to use military, political and economic means to undermine the process of normalizing the situation in Kampuchea. The United States would obviously like to re-establish the Indo-Chinese link in the military-strategic chain which collapsed as a result of its defeat in the war against the peoples of Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea.

129. With respect to China, in the years of the Pol Pot dictatorship it actively used the Kampuchea "spring-board" for the preparation of aggression against Viet Nam, which was an obstacle to Chinese expansion to the south. With the loss of that "spring-board", China is now trying its utmost and counting on exacerbating the relations between Viet Nam and Thailand and, on a wider scale, between the countries of Indo-China and the members of ASEAN. In carrying out these co-ordinated plans they are banking principally on the revival of the Pol Pot faction and the creation of a coalition of forces hostile to the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

130. It is no secret that the bandits still prowling the territory of Kampuchea owe their survival to the generous military and other support which they receive from Peking and Washington. The forces engaged in provocation against Kampuchea care not at all for that country or for the interests of the peoples of neighbouring States.

131. In order to undermine the stability and security of Kampuchea, use is being made of the so-called voluntary repatriation of Kampuchean refugees. The fact that the territory of Thailand is serving as a base for the military training of Pol Pot gangs and their dispatch into Kampuchea is convincing evidence of the true nature of the neutrality of Bangkok in the matter of Kampuchea.

132. I should also like to say something about another aspect of this problem. There is no doubt that the humanitarian assistance which is being provided to Kampuchea both bilaterally and through various international programmes is of critical importance for the revival of Kampuchea. A wide range of opportunities is available to all those who are truly interested in providing assistance to the people of Kampuchea. At the same time we cannot fail to be alarmed by the attempts to distort the humanitarian objective of the international assistance and to exploit it for purposes totally contrary to the interests of the Kampuchean people. Certain "champions" of the salvation of Kampuchea are doing their best to redirect that assistance to so-called refugees from Kampuchea in neighbouring countries or, to put it more precisely, to the Pol Pot gang. The Ukrainian SSR vigorously

opposes attempts to involve international organizations in activities hostile to the Kampuchean people and to use humanitarian assistance as a tool for intervention in the internal affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

133. We are firmly convinced that the vital interests of the countries of South-East Asia and of all the countries of the world would be served not by inflaming the tensions in that area but rather by consolidating an atmosphere of peace and stability there. We welcome the steps taken in July this year by the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, the Lao People's Democratic Republic and the People's Republic of Kampuchea [see A/35/347-S/14071 and Corr.1] at the Vientiane Conference on the normalization of the situation in South-East Asia. A number of constructive proposals were put forward. In particular, readiness was expressed to sign with Thailand bilateral or multilateral treaties in which the contracting parties would agree not to commit aggression against each other, not to interfere in each other's internal affairs and not to make their territory available for the carrying out of subversive activities against another contracting party. A proposal was made to sign treaties on non-aggression and peaceful coexistence with other members of ASEAN. Those initiatives were further developed in the statements of the heads of delegations of Viet Nam [36th meeting] and Laos [19th meeting] at the present session of the General Assembly. We believe that all this constitutes a good basis for achieving peace and stability in South-East Asia.

134. The realistic and flexible initiatives of the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea, designed to turn the Thai-Kampuchean frontier into a frontier of peace, merit the most serious attention. Those initiatives demonstrate the sincere wish of the People's Republic of Kampuchea to solve existing problems by peaceful means and to take into account the interests of all parties.

135. We are convinced that the only possible means of resolving the situation which has arisen in that part of the world is by way of negotiation. The fate of stability and co-operation and the security of the peoples of South-East Asia depends on the political will and readiness to undertake constructive dialogue of the sovereign States of that region. We welcome the consultations and talks which are now being conducted between the countries of Indo-China and the ASEAN States and we wish them every success.

136. Draft resolution A/35/L.2/Rev.1 before the Assembly is, in the view of our delegation, prejudiced and one-sided in its content. The draft resolution sets forth only the position of the States members of ASEAN and totally disregards the realistic and constructive approach of the countries of Indo-China. The draft resolution is essentially a naked attempt to intervene in the internal affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea. Such actions, as representatives are aware, are in contravention of the provisions of Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter of the United Nations. In the light of these considerations, the Ukrainian SSR rejects the draft resolution and will vote against it.

137. Mr. AL-ELFI (Democratic Yemen) (*interpretation from Arabic*): When the General Assembly dis-

cussed the report of the Credentials Committee a few days ago we heard all the speakers, including those who endorsed the mandate of the Pol Pot and Ieng Sary régime, condemn the massacres carried out by that régime against the people of Kampuchea.

138. Today, when the people of Kampuchea are living peacefully and calmly under the leadership of the People's Revolutionary Council, we find the same delegations have nothing more to say than to counsel a reversion to a *fait accompli* which has already been rejected by the people of Kampuchea. Some, under the cover of humanitarian assistance, have even provided support for the dictatorial régime of Pol Pot, in an attempt to reimpose it on the people of Kampuchea.

139. Today, for the second year running, we are forced to discuss an item which is called by the countries that have put it forward "The situation in Kampuchea". It is none the less deplorable to note that that item was not included on the agenda when the international community should have considered the problem of the massacres committed by the Pol Pot régime, which brought death to more than 3 million people, with the expulsion of other millions of people from the cities to do forced labour in the country. Furthermore, schools, hospitals, institutions and other public facilities were destroyed, agriculture and industry were ruined and the entire population was subjected to starvation and genocide.

140. Today Kampuchea is living in peace, and the Pol Pot régime has become a thing of the past, something that cannot be resuscitated. Today the People's Revolutionary Council has undertaken the rebuilding of its country, which had been destroyed by the Pol Pot régime—a régime which imposed a reign of terror and dictatorship and made mass murder the main feature of its government and its authority.

141. The results achieved by the People's Revolutionary Council in governing Kampuchea, in fighting sabotage and countering the forces of destruction still fostered by the vestiges of the Pol Pot régime constitute irrefutable proof that the legitimate Government now in power enjoys the full support of the people of Kampuchea and that the situation is irreversible. The People's Revolutionary Council is the only legitimate representative of the people of Kampuchea. It is that Council which expresses the will of that people. The Government which has come to power is the legal Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, a country with which my country has very stable and friendly relations.

142. We feel that no one outside Kampuchea has any right to seek to impose his will in the matter of the rights and principles of the policies established by the people of Kampuchea. The establishment of a democratic political system today is one of the tasks facing the people of Kampuchea. No one has the right to impose conditions on a legitimate Government with a popular platform and broad international recognition.

143. Imperialism and its allies are attempting to hinder the task of reconstruction of the people of Kampuchea, following the liquidation of the Pol Pot régime. These are the hostile covert manoeuvres of those who want to maintain a state of perpetual tension in that region of South-East Asia and wish

to oppose those who seek to make that region an area of peace, stability and co-operation.

144. That peace, stability and co-operation will be created only by the effective and official participation of the legitimate Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea and through the exclusion of the representatives of the Pol Pot régime, since they represent only themselves and the interests of imperialism.

145. The representatives of the Kampuchean people have stated their views about the problems that we are discussing today, as expressed in the statement by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea addressed to the Secretary-General of the United Nations and published in the annex to document A/35/498 of 29 September 1980. The statement says that:

"Any international conference on Kampuchea convened without the agreement of the People's Revolutionary Council or any discussion on Kampuchea at the United Nations or in 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 and a violation of the principles of the United Nations Charter and of international law."

146. We agree with the representatives of the People's Republic of Kampuchea and we energetically condemn any attempts by imperialism to interfere in Kampuchea's internal affairs and feel that the external threat of reactionary imperialism to the independence and security of Kampuchea is the real danger that should be confronted by the international community.

147. In the circumstances, we welcome the proposals of the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea of July 1980 [see A/35/347-S/14071 and Corr.1, annex I] designed to reduce tension on its borders, something which has been welcomed by world public opinion and the international community.

148. It is the duty of the international community to give political and economic support to the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea which has with its neighbours, Viet Nam and Laos, ties of friendship and a common history of struggle against imperialism and foreign domination. This would be the right path to follow in order to help the Kampuchean people to reconstruct its country.

149. Mr. SARRE (Senegal) (*interpretation from French*): The situation in Democratic Kampuchea is still a matter of concern and disquiet for the international community. If we are not careful it may assume such proportions as to seriously affect international peace and security.

150. Senegal, whose foreign policy is essentially directed towards the quest for peace based on dialogue, which makes it possible not only to prevent conflicts but also to promote a settlement when they arise, cannot but attach the highest importance to a negotiated solution to the problem of Democratic Kampuchea.

151. That is why my delegation associated itself with those who took the initiative to include the item on the situation in Kampuchea in the agenda for this

session of the General Assembly. By so doing, our concern was to enable the General Assembly to make a positive contribution to establishing the conditions necessary for the restoration of peace, security and trust in that region.

152. In my delegation's view, the matter that we are still considering today is threefold. It is, first of all, a legal problem, secondly a political problem and, finally, a human problem.

153. It is a problem of law because, without a doubt, what happened on 25 December 1978 was a flagrant violation of three essential principles of the Charter of the United Nations, namely, non-interference in the internal affairs of other States, respect for territorial integrity and the political independence of other States and, finally, the non-use of force in international relations.

154. Indeed, if there was in the more or less recent past intrusion upon part of Vietnamese territory, as the authorities of that country have said, by troops belonging to the then prevailing régime at Phnom Penh, the final legitimate action, recognized in international law, for the authorities of Viet Nam take—failing other peaceful actions—would have been to repel that intrusion beyond their own frontiers, with no further objective.

155. In any case, no country can use such a situation to justify deliberate intervention in Democratic Kampuchea that goes so far as to overthrow the legitimate authorities. We think it would be dangerous, particularly for small countries, to approve the legalization of that military occupation which, moreover, would be a very serious precedent in international relations.

156. It was therefore in the name of a principle of law that my delegation supported the report of the Credentials Committee [A/35/484] concerning Democratic Kampuchea. It is in the name of that same principle that this Assembly has refused to sanction the consequences of the foreign armed intervention of which Kampuchea has been a victim. Furthermore, in accepting the credentials of the delegation of Democratic Kampuchea our Assembly has also reaffirmed the importance it attaches to respect for the principle of the non-use of force in international relations.

157. The question of Democratic Kampuchea is also a political question. Ideological divergence is one of the causes of the conflict between Democratic Kampuchea and its neighbour, whereas everything seemed to argue in favour of comprehension and fraternity between the two States—their history and, above all, their culture are a basis for mutual understanding. It is in the name of that same understanding that we must place the initiative of the countries of ASEAN which have twice brought the matter to the Security Council in order to seek a just and lasting solution to the conflict.

158. A solution to this conflict must be found as a matter of urgency because the tragedy of the people of Kampuchea deserves our full attention. It is a real human tragedy arising from the situation in the country and which has meant the loss of many innocent lives, bringing in its wake poverty, wretchedness and deprivation.

159. Hunger and disease are endemic and thus cause thousands of people to seek refuge and succour in neighbouring countries. UNICEF's report of 23 April 1980 says that there are 500,000 to 700,000 Kampuchean refugees in the refugee camps. The Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, is so fully aware of the dimensions of this human tragedy that, with the help of the specialized agencies, he constantly seeks ways of allaying the suffering of these despairing millions.

160. Senegal, for all these obvious reasons, has become a sponsor of draft resolution A/35/L.2/Rev.1, whose aim is certainly to restore peace in the region, in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

161. States must base their relations in this often troubled world on principles of respect for the national independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of all States, of non-interference and non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States, of non-use of force or threat of use of force, and of peaceful settlement of disputes. States should also always bear in mind respect for those principles. Such respect must be above ideological solidarity.

162. Fortunately, we note that the majority of Member States in our Organization are doing everything possible to see that the independence, integrity and sovereignty of Democratic Kampuchea are respected. Law and legality must always take precedence over force.

163. My delegation is more than ever convinced that the United Nations, faithful to its mission of promoting and strengthening peace, will do everything possible to find a just solution for Democratic Kampuchea, in the context of the principles contained in the Charter.

164. My country feels that the role of our Organization must consist, in the specific instance of Kampuchea, in helping a government to emerge which would emanate from the very people of that country, a government freely chosen, without outside interference.

165. That is why Senegal supports draft resolution A/35/L.2/Rev.1 which, if adopted and scrupulously implemented, will reconcile the people of Kampuchea, and on that basis will bring in an era of peace, justice, co-operation and solidarity to that region.

166. Mr. SAGAY (Nigeria): One of the enduring virtues of the United Nations is that it affords all Members of the Organization an opportunity to contribute towards finding solutions to the problems of our times, especially those that pose grave threats to world peace and security. The present situation in South-East Asia poses such a potential threat and this obliges all of us to help in finding a speedy solution to the crisis created by the situation in Kampuchea.

167. My delegation is pained by the continuing suffering of the Kampuchean people, and very much regrets that General Assembly resolution 34/22 calling for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Kampuchea has not, so far, been adhered to or implemented.

168. As is very well known, Nigeria is firmly committed to the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other States and of the inviolability of their territorial integrity. This is why we firmly support the call already issued by this Organization for the immediate withdrawal of all foreign troops from

Kampuchea so that this much ravaged nation may be enabled to exercise its sovereignty in conditions of peace and security.

169. Nigeria was one of a number of countries which attended the meeting on Humanitarian Assistance and Relief to the Kampuchean People held at Geneva this summer. The depth of sadness engendered by the spectacle of the appalling human suffering which was unveiled by the note of the Secretary-General of the United Nations at the Meeting, was surpassed only by the intensity of the anger at the frightening cruelty and inhumanity that made suffering on such a large scale possible. On that occasion, our pledged contribution towards alleviating the immediate plight of the refugees was regarded by us, as a temporary stopgap measure. Our long-term objective was, and remains, to put a final stop to the suffering of the people of Kampuchea whose unmerited fate constitutes a blight on our civilization and humanism.

170. Happily for us, Nigeria enjoys excellent relations with all the nations of South-East Asia, including those most closely involved with the problems of Kampuchea. It is in the name of that friendship that we wish to appeal to them from this exalted rostrum, to devise a formula for a durable peace in South-East Asia for the whole region. The international community must assist, in every possible way, in narrowing any gaps that may exist between the peace proposals of the countries of ASEAN and those put forward by the countries of South-East Asia which, in terms of geography, are nearer to Kampuchea. But while the search for a solution, for a wider and more permanent peace in South-East Asia goes on, Kampuchea cannot be held hostage to the fortunes of the region. The

sovereignty of Kampuchea cannot be subject to barter, nor can the suffering of its people be prolonged for one day longer than is necessary without our perpetrating a grave injustice in the process.

171. The United Nations has always defended the rights of the weak against the might of the strong, in a context of justice and fairness. Its efforts on behalf of the restoration of the sovereignty of Kampuchea are a sterling example of this noble exertion. There can be no debate about the need for peace and security in South-East Asia. But the first item on the agenda towards achieving this much desired goal is the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Kampuchea, as urged by General Assembly resolution 34/22. We invite Viet Nam, who throughout its nearly 35 years' struggle against foreign invasion, enjoyed the nearly universal support and sympathy of peoples everywhere, to join the United Nations in taking this first giant step for peace in Kampuchea, and in all of South-East Asia.

172. There are Members of this Organization for whom principle and humanitarian considerations are more important than political expediency. Continued defiance of the wishes and pleas of the international community on behalf of Kampuchea on these grounds will not weaken our resolve. If anything, such intransigence will continue to be met by an equally resolute persistence by the United Nations, in order to ensure that the sanctity of life, and Kampuchea's nationhood, are not reduced to mere legalistic quibbles, in the crucible and shifting sands of South-East Asian politics.

*The meeting rose at 5.40 p.m.*