

GENERAL  
ASSEMBLY

THIRTY-FIFTH SESSION

Official Records

40th  
PLENARY MEETINGFriday, 17 October 1980,  
at 10.40 a.m.

NEW YORK

## CONTENTS

Agenda item 22:

The situation in Kampuchea: report of the Secretary-General (*continued*): ..... 771**President: Mr. Rüdiger von WECHMAR**  
(Federal Republic of Germany).

## AGENDA ITEM 22

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

1. Mr. YUSUF (Bangladesh): Once again the Assembly is debating the fate of Democratic Kampuchea, a country once endowed with natural bounty, a country priding itself on its rich cultural traditions which formed a part of the Asian heritage. The fact that we are still seized of that item is sad testimony to the world community's lack of success in its efforts to achieve a peaceful settlement of a crisis whose speedy resolution is of the utmost importance to peace in South-East Asia and the whole world.

2. We have read with dismay of the grim situation portrayed by the Secretary-General in his report submitted in response to General Assembly resolution 34/22. That report amply demonstrates that, despite the earnest and serious efforts of the Secretary-General and the international community, a political solution of the Kampuchean situation is yet to be found. The Secretary-General said, *inter alia*, that the report of his Special Representative, Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar

"... confirmed the gravity of the problems in the area, particularly along the Thai-Kampuchean border, and the seriousness of the political and military factors that had compounded the appalling human suffering being endured by the Kampuchean people." [A/35/501, para. 5.]

It is evident that the situation in Democratic Kampuchea has deteriorated further since the report was prepared in November 1979.

3. The position of Bangladesh is governed by its firm commitment and adherence to the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations and the principles and objectives of the non-aligned movement, which require member States to refrain from interfering in the internal affairs of other States and to renounce the use of force or the threat of force against the territorial integrity, national sovereignty and political independence of any State and to settle their disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that peace,

security and justice are not endangered. We have maintained that all foreign troops in Democratic Kampuchea should immediately withdraw in order to allow the people of Kampuchea freely to choose their Government without external interference or military presence. We recognize the right of the people of Kampuchea to choose their political, economic and social system and we therefore favour the creation of conditions in which they can exercise that right without any external intervention, military or otherwise.

4. As stressed by President Ziaur Rahman of Bangladesh, our efforts should be devoted towards the speedy economic and social development of our respective countries and the improvement of the quality of life of our peoples. Our efforts should be directed at safeguarding basic human rights and principles, in particular freedom from subjugation and exploitation, the right to determine national destiny without pressure or intimidation, freedom to retain independent judgement, and peaceful coexistence among all nations, irrespective of differences in ideologies or socio-economic systems. Our ultimate objective must be the creation of that necessary environment of peace and stability in which people can harness all available resources to combat the scourges of poverty, hunger, disease and illiteracy so that economic freedom can be secured without sacrificing political freedom and economic growth can be achieved without jeopardizing social justice.

5. What we are concerned with is respect for the national independence of a Member State and the settlement of disputes in conformity with the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations and of international law. What we want is the negotiation of a political settlement by which all foreign troops will be withdrawn from Kampuchea and conditions created to enable the people of Kampuchea to decide their own destiny without any external interference. That is why my delegation will support draft resolution A/35/L.2/Rev.1.

6. Mr. BHATT (Nepal): Last year, at its thirty-fourth session, the General Assembly adopted a resolution on this item. Resolution 34/22 provided a framework for the peaceful political settlement of the Kampuchean situation in conformity with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. The resolution also dealt with the humanitarian aspects of the problem.

7. Unfortunately, however, we are not making any progress. What is more, the events of last June were very disturbing, as the fighting at that time spilled over into Thailand; this constituted a serious threat to the peace and stability of the South-East Asian region as a whole and the world at large. In addition, Viet Nam has increased the number of its troops in Kampuchea. Over and above this, the human suffering

endured by the Kampuchean people and the problem of providing relief and succour to the displaced persons of Kampuchea remain as acute as ever.

8. It is therefore all the more important that the international community confront the gravity of the situation and concentrate on evolving concrete solutions leading to political settlement. In our view, the convening of an international conference involving participation of the concerned parties and other interested parties as early as possible is an essential step toward that end. We are all aware of the fact that, in the absence of any political settlement, the entire humanitarian operation will lose its effectiveness. We therefore deem it absolutely necessary that at this session we should arrive at a decision regarding the date, venue and agenda of such a conference. If allowed to run on, the dispute may have far-reaching consequences.

9. My delegation has noted with admiration the earnestness of the efforts exerted by the Secretary-General to create a congenial climate for negotiations which could lead to a political solution of the problem. The Secretary-General's report [A/35/501], however, makes amply clear the seriousness of the political and military factors, which have consequently compounded the human suffering of the Kampuchean people. We sincerely hope, however, that the Secretary-General will continue his efforts. My delegation pledges its support to his search for a peaceful settlement of the dispute.

10. Last year when I made a statement on this item,<sup>1</sup> I explained the concern of my country regarding the conflict in Kampuchea. To us the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of another country is very sacred. Once this principle is violated, the basic rule of behaviour among States is broken and the territorial integrity and sovereignty of another State is at stake. In Kampuchea, a powerful neighbour has contemptuously violated the sovereignty and independence of a country and established a puppet régime through massive armed intervention, denying to the Kampuchean people their inalienable right to decide their own destiny. Viet Nam's justification of its armed intervention in Kampuchea is unacceptable to my delegation. In our opinion, no excuse on the ground of security or other reason could justify armed aggression against another State.

11. Draft resolution A/35/L.2/Rev.1 proposes several practical measures, including a seven-point programme to be negotiated at an international conference with the aim of facilitating the withdrawal of Vietnamese forces within a specific time-frame. The draft resolution provides additionally for interim measures to make the international relief operations more effective and for the rehabilitation of displaced Kampucheans in safe areas. These interim measures will surely go a long way in reducing tensions along the Thai-Kampuchean border.

12. Finally, the draft gives a central role to the United Nations that my delegation believes should be acceptable to all of us.

13. Mr. RÁCZ (Hungary) (*interpretation from French*): My delegation believes that in the question

that is on our agenda today we must see the situation as it is. There are those who try to disguise their intentions, although it is clear, first of all, that there is a methodical campaign of political vilification being carried out against Viet Nam, whose sacrifices and superhuman efforts in the liberation of its own country are well known—although it is worth noting that among the countries which carry out that campaign or applaud it are those which at one time gave their support, directly or indirectly, to a military adventure which subsequently set the whole of Indo-China, including Kampuchea, in flames; and, secondly, that efforts are being made to present the situation of Kampuchea in a false light and to lead the United Nations in a direction that runs counter to the spirit and the letter of the Charter.

14. It is in the light of these two basic facts that we have to approach the subject before us today. In the course of the previous session of the General Assembly we stated our disagreement<sup>2</sup> with the tenor of the draft-resolution that became General Assembly resolution 34/22. At that time we pointed out, *inter alia*, that we could not share the theory of two administrations, which, in the language of that resolution, is implicit in the formula "all parties to the conflict". We also disagreed on the need to find a so-called political solution to settle the question of Kampuchea.

15. Our position is very clear and it has not changed since last year. The true political situation in that country has become more and more clear since the overthrow of the Pol Pot clique. It is the resurrection of Kampuchea that is the guarantee of the sovereignty and independence of the country and of the self-determination of its people. Those who use the slogan of free election or advocate the withdrawal of foreign troops from Kampuchea are turning their backs on the Kampuchean reality, closing their eyes, consciously or unconsciously, to the disastrous heritage of the overthrown Government, to the total destruction of the structures of Khmer society and of the economic and social life of the country.

16. Recently, from this same rostrum, we have heard statements intended to refresh our memories in the field of physical science. We have been told that a vacuum can exist for only a short time since it will inevitably be filled by other elements. We might ask whether this law is also applicable in the case of Kampuchea and if so, what elements would fill the void left by the troops of a neighbouring country prematurely withdrawn. In the present situation of a country ravaged and impoverished, with a population decimated and deprived of its professionals, with the continuance of foreign aid and encouragement to the Pol Pot fanatics, protected and supported by China, and in conditions of open or tacit collusion on the part of certain neighbouring and other countries, it is almost certain that it would be the clique of the so-called Democratic Kampuchea that, by means of terror and violence, would impose its will once again and drag the country back into the stone age.

17. Let those that advocate the application of the laws of physics in South-East Asia tell us quite openly whether this is what they want, that alternative, because, after all, it is the daily life of people that

<sup>1</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-fourth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 65th meeting, paras. 173-178.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 67th meeting, para. 28.

matters, the joy of finding their families, to carry on their occupations normally, to send their children to school, to read newspapers and listen to music, to dress as they wish, to go shopping, to practise their religion. That is what really matters in Kampuchea and not the beautiful political rhetoric that serves only to hide the true situation in Kampuchea and disguise the real needs.

18. We say that the situation in that country is irreversible, that it is inconceivable that another such period of suffering and death should be experienced in that ancestral land. The United Nations must do all in its power to put an end once and for all to such a possibility.

19. The convening of an international conference to find a political solution to the Kampuchean problem would mean that the neighbour would be requested to put the house in order, in the absence of the tenants. How can such an approach be seriously considered without taking into account the fact—to continue my own metaphor—that it is precisely thanks to the new tenants that the terrible disorder left by the previous tenants is being cleaned up, the filth removed, the walls repainted, the doors put back, the roof repaired and the place made fit again for man and his civilization. The conference contemplated in draft resolution A/35/L.2/Rev.1 would only sow confusion and, what is more, it would place side by side with the victims of barbarism those who have committed those unheard-of atrocities now known to all.

20. The very fact that today we are discussing all these questions concerning Kampuchea, that we are talking about finding a solution for the different problems, assistance to refugees and so on, is in itself an aberration, because it is useless for us to seek in this hall the representatives of the Phnom Penh Government, the representatives of those who are conducting the internal and external affairs of the country in this Assembly; they are not here. We can deplore the sorry part played by the United Nations a few days ago, but this will in no way change the basic facts. The discussion of this item of the agenda in itself constitutes inadmissible interference in the internal affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, and any decisions that might be taken on the subject in any forum would not have any political or moral value whatsoever.

21. We do not believe that it is by such a conference, convened or rather imposed on us in inharmonious conditions, that we should try to make progress in finding common ground for the restoration of peace and confidence in South-East Asia, but rather by initiating a genuine and constructive dialogue among the countries of the region. Repeatedly the Indo-Chinese countries, separately and together, have submitted specific proposals, asking for the signing of treaties of non-aggression and a demilitarized zone on the borders between Kampuchea and Thailand, and these proposals could have set in motion a process that would, we believe, have led to normalization of inter-State relations in the region and the withdrawal of foreign troops at present stationed in Kampuchea. Why, then, were those proposals rejected? We might tend to believe that certain circles need to maintain tension on the border between those two countries in order to make use of it for their own purposes. To

this must be added the tendentious attempt, which is obvious from some of the statements made in the debate, to present the internal situation in Kampuchea as in constant deterioration and increasingly unstable. This is not true; it is an invention and only exists in the minds of those who created it out of whole cloth.

22. I do not need to dwell on the triteness of those arguments, since the world press and the documents of international organizations have already roundly refuted them, but what are a matter of concern are the motives of certain Members of the United Nations which are maintaining and even exacerbating the tension in the region. They do so in order to justify their political line, their basic hostility to the changes that have taken place in Indo-China, and their interference in the purely domestic affairs of Kampuchea and other countries of the region.

23. We believe that draft resolution A/35/L.2/Rev.1 lies four-square within this line of reasoning, and therefore my delegation is not going to support it.

24. Mr. KOMATINA (Yugoslavia): Mr. President, the Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs has already congratulated you on your election. It gives me great pleasure to convey to you my personal wishes for the full success of your mission.

25. At the outset I should like to extend our profound condolences to the delegation of friendly Algeria on the catastrophic earthquake that devastated the city of El Asnam. My country deeply sympathizes with the Algerian people, even more as it also has been the victim of a natural catastrophe. As in the past, we will lend full support and assistance to mitigate the effects of this disaster.

26. The dominant view prevailing in the general debate that has just ended was that the international situation had seriously deteriorated. At the same time, there was widespread dissatisfaction with unfavourable developments in the world and uncertainties arising therefrom. It was emphasized, in particular, that actions involving the use of force were becoming more and more frequent; that the process of détente was subjected to serious trials and was in some aspects in a state of crisis; and that key international issues were not being solved. The main foci of crisis in the world were either exacerbated or merged into new crises disturbing ever broader areas of the world. All that posed a direct threat to the independence and security of a growing number of countries, especially non-aligned and developing countries.

27. Regrettably, we have not been able to conclude that there is any immediate likelihood of any initiative being taken for improving this situation, particularly not by the protagonists in these adverse developments.

28. The situation in Kampuchea is no exception. Actually, no substantial progress has been made since the adoption of resolution 34/22 at the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly towards the implementation of that resolution's provisions. The Secretary-General also noted in his report that it had not been possible to find a basis for an agreed solution. On the contrary, the war against the people of Kampuchea, as a result of foreign intervention is continuing with a massive use of force. The crisis in the region of South-East Asia is assuming an ever more global character; it is becoming ever more deeply rooted,

and tension in the whole region is rising. All this increases the tremendous suffering of the Kampuchean people, which is becoming of concern to the whole international community.

29. My country's position regarding solution of the problem of Kampuchea has remained unchanged. We continue to believe that a peaceful political solution can be achieved only on the basis of strict observance of and respect for the principles of independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, withdrawal of foreign troops, non-interference in the internal affairs of the Kampuchean people and its right to decide freely on its internal system and its foreign policy. Experience has shown that it is not possible to reach a solution by recognizing a *fait accompli* created through the use of force. This was also confirmed by the vote on the report of the Credentials Committee [A/35/484].

30. Our position in this situation, as well as in other similar ones, when independence, sovereignty or territorial integrity are in jeopardy, stems from our principled opposition to any imposing of alien will on sovereign States in any way by any one, on any pretext whatsoever. In this we are guided by one of the fundamental principles of the policy of non-alignment, namely, that the right of every country and every people to free social and national development is an inalienable right. Therefore, we cannot accept any reason or motive adduced for the purpose of justifying its violation. Respect for this principle constitutes an obligation upon every State, the only guideline for conduct in international life and an irreplaceable foundation of international relations. We regard as inadmissible any foreign military intervention or interference in internal affairs aimed at imposing any form of dependence, establishing spheres of interest or creating so-called "vital" zones, in which blocs and great Powers arbitrarily arrogate to themselves special rights.

31. We cannot approve a selective application of basic principles. Their arbitrary interpretation or the justifying of preventive wars or military interventions by reasons of security are particularly dangerous. This could lead to anarchy based on "might is right" and to high-handed decisions prescribing what is good for other peoples, what is progressive for the international community. As we have repeatedly stated, for us there are neither "justified" interventions nor "good" occupations, regardless of the "validity" of the motives invoked.

32. Our stand is founded on the principle of non-recognition of situations created by the use of force. Consequently, even the temporary legalization of situations created by foreign intervention is unacceptable to us. We are not appraising the character of a régime; that is to be done by the people concerned. The internal régime in a sovereign country, with regard to which everyone may have his own opinion, is one thing, while relations between sovereign States, from which all use of force must be excluded, are quite another matter. There can be no recognition of any right to impose Governments or régimes on independent countries.

33. The international community cannot reconcile itself to the use of force. Wherever such attempts have been made they have met with the resistance of

peoples and of the entire international community, and they have created hotbeds of crisis. It is inadmissible to impose intervention and the use of force as a code of international conduct at a time when the right to self-determination and free development of countries and peoples is recognized as an inviolable principle in international relations. Bearing in mind precisely this danger of interventionism, the Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, at their Sixth Conference, held at Havana in September 1979, emphasized that they "viewed with concern the fact that interference in the internal affairs of States is becoming one of the chief forms of aggression against the non-aligned countries."<sup>3</sup> Therefore they set as one of the priority tasks the elaboration and adoption of a declaration on the inadmissibility of intervention and interference.

34. All pronouncements in favour of détente, peace and the democratization of international relations would amount to mere lip-service if peoples were denied their right to free existence, regardless of the underlying motives. In conditions of global interdependence there can be no "minor" isolated wars that could be integrated into a State without a "full-scale" war. Any violation of peace or independence threatens international relations as a whole. Therefore the international community should continue to exert efforts towards establishing such détente as would be conducive to universal peace. That can be achieved only if détente is part of the struggle to establish a new system of relations in which all countries and peoples, irrespective of similarities or differences in social systems, will be able to exercise their right to peace, security and free development without intervention or the threat or use of force.

35. Non-alignment emerged, developed and grew, on the basis of those principles, into a broad international movement which has transformed them into the fundamental postulate of its policy. It is therefore not accidental that the Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries in the Declaration issued at their Sixth Conference, held at Havana,<sup>4</sup> laid stress on the preservation of the national independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of non-aligned countries; the elimination of foreign interference and intervention in the internal and external affairs of States and the threat or use of force; the elimination of imperialistic and hegemonistic policies and all forms of expansionism, foreign occupation, domination and hegemony; the withdrawal of foreign military forces and the dismantling of foreign military bases; and so on.

36. The aforementioned principles are interconnected, one deriving from the other and all of them forming a single whole. In their essence is embodied the right of sovereign countries to independence, territorial integrity and free development. Therefore their implementation cannot depend on the size, social system or level of development of a given country.

37. We believe that the primary task of the United Nations is to find a peaceful solution to this acute crisis. That can be achieved by confirmation of the immutable principles that should form the basis of

<sup>3</sup> See document A/34/542, annex, sect. I, para. 249.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, para. 13.

such a solution; the creation of conditions for the free expression of the will of the Kampuchean people through the withdrawal of foreign troops; the initiation of negotiations; abstention by all countries from interfering in the internal affairs of Democratic Kampuchea; the lending of humanitarian aid to the people of Democratic Kampuchea and to refugees in view of the humanitarian problems of an immensity hardly equalled in recent history.

38. In the opinion of my delegation draft resolution A/35/L.2/Rev.1 contains elements that provide answers to substantive questions: that is, it paves the way for securing respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Democratic Kampuchea, for ensuring the role of the United Nations in South-East Asia, for continuity in dealing with this problem and for the establishment of a zone of peace and freedom. All this has been placed within a proper context that is in conformity with the essence and dimensions of the crisis. We believe that the proposed international conference could provide a framework for the attainment of those objectives.

39. The complexity and gravity of the crisis, the suffering of the people of that devastated country and the dimensions of the humanitarian problems call for urgent action. Any procrastination will be fraught with the danger of unpredictable consequences for peace in that region and in the whole world. The adoption of the draft resolution and implementation of its provisions would constitute an important contribution in that sense.

40. Yugoslavia will actively contribute to the search for a peaceful political solution, as it did even before the outbreak of the conflict. In that connexion we attach great importance to the establishment of a zone of peace, co-operation and friendship. We have actively supported every initiative taken towards that end, whether in the case of the Indian Ocean, South-East Asia, the Mediterranean or other regions. The establishment of a zone of peace would contribute to the elimination of military presence and rivalry in the struggle for spheres of influence and would make possible the unhampered development of all the countries of that region.

41. Such a zone can be established only through co-operation on a footing of equality. Therefore it is indispensable in the first place to create conditions that will enable every country to act independently and to free itself from any foreign military presence. We shall lose credibility if we fail to help a Member State of our Organization realize its right to an independent life. Thus by helping the people of Kampuchea we shall be acting in the interests of the whole international community, since that right is universal.

42. Mr. SHEDOV (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR, like the delegations of many States Members of the United Nations, staunchly adheres to the position of principle that the inclusion in this session's agenda of an item on the so-called "situation in Kampuchea" without the agreement of, and in fact against the will of, the Kampuchean people and the sole legitimate Government of that country, the People's Revolutionary Council, is nothing but a direct violation of the principle of non-

interference in the internal affairs of sovereign States, a principle that is enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. The gross and inadmissible manner in which that principle is being violated is evident from the fact that within the United Nations feverish efforts are being made to maintain the political equivalent of a rotting, stinking tree stump, while the genuine representatives of the Kampuchean people duly appointed by the People's Revolutionary Council, the delegates of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, are bereft of the possibility of participating in the work of the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly.

43. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR considers that the examination of the so-called "situation in Kampuchea", which has been forced on the General Assembly, furthers only the arrogant aims of its initiators and their followers and cannot promote the consolidation of the prestige and authority of the United Nations.

44. In recent times the United Nations has repeatedly confronted a similar situation and in each case the discussion of the "situation in Kampuchea" has boiled down to various kinds of political speculation concerning recent events that have taken place in that country in accordance with the will of the Kampuchean people themselves.

45. It is not surprising that the range of those that champion the discussion of this "question" is quite wide and their emotional slant quite varied. The process starts somewhere with the expression of a sort of general "concern" about the situation in the region, and they do not balk at using gross slander against the States of that region; it ends up with open claims by certain representatives from the United Nations rostrum, of the right to point out to a sovereign State and its Government and people how they can build a new life, with whom they should establish relations and what sort of relations those should be. Then they try to take control of the territory of that State and try to push through the United Nations ideas concerning a so-called "settlement" that have no future and have been refuted by the people of Kampuchea.

46. Apart from that, an objective discussion of the question of the situation in Kampuchea is out of the question, because the subject was forced on the General Assembly precisely at the time when the Kampuchean people themselves had successfully solved their problem, which is something that runs counter to the aims and aspirations of the creators of the so-called "Kampuchean problem". However, the problem really did exist once. There was a time when the situation in Kampuchea could not but give rise to legitimate concern.

47. At the beginning of the 1970s, that long-suffering people, like the peoples of the other States of Indo-China, suffered cruel armed aggression by American imperialism and experienced all the horrors of barbaric bombings carried out from foreign military bases on the territory of neighbouring countries in South-East Asia which are now trying to pass themselves off as "friends" of the Kampuchean people.

48. Then there was a period of obscurantism, the obscurantism of the Pol Pot régime, certain of the



leaders of which were delivered to Phnom Penh in the spring of 1975 by special aircraft from Peking. Much has been written and said in the United Nations also about the horrendous crimes perpetrated against the Kampuchean people by the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique that usurped power in Kampuchea with the military and political support of the Peking hegemonists. Suffice it to recall that as a result of the experiments of the gang of bloody dictators, as they carried out their delirious Maoist ideas of eliminating the social inequalities in the country by the total physical annihilation of "non-proletarian" elements and of creating a "pure race", over a period of less than four years, the butchers killed almost 3 million out of 8 million people in the country, and those who remained were the victims of serious physical and moral injury. The total destruction of the country was carried into the economic and cultural spheres too, in order to build in an empty place a new "civilization of the future", without towns, schools, hospitals, families or national culture. Under the Peking slogan blessed of granting a bright future to the revolution in South-East Asia the clique of criminals turned Kampuchea into a military bridge-head from which, to the liking of the strategists of hegemonism, armed conflicts and border wars with all the neighbouring countries were provoked, thus creating a constant threat to peace and stability in the region.

49. The case material of the People's Revolutionary Tribunal of Kampuchea, which sentenced to death the leaders of the clique—material that has been issued in United Nations documents—exposes in sufficient detail all the horrors of the crimes of that genocidal régime, as well as their still uncompleted malevolent plans for new sacrifices to their Peking protectors.

50. It is quite natural that in carrying out such a monstrous, anti-people and hateful policy with respect to the people of Kampuchea and in embarking upon a policy of aggression against the neighbouring States, the Pol Pot régime was doomed from the outset to give rise to general contempt and to provoke the well-deserved condemnation of history.

51. We have seen reports in the press according to which the butcher of the Kampuchean people, Ieng Sary, intends to sign the covenants on human rights. Surely that makes a mockery of common sense, a mockery of the memory of 3 million tortured Kampucheans, a mockery of the very meaning of human rights. The very idea of human rights being allied with that sort of "signature" would be a blot on the prestige of the United Nations and could only undermine the faith of peoples in the genuine defence of their basic rights by the United Nations.

52. From its very first days the genocidal despotic régime encountered the decisive resistance of the people of Kampuchea. Beginning with certain uprisings in various regions of the country and in army detachments, the people's struggle against the usurpers quickly grew into a mass movement which formed itself into the National United Front for the Salvation of Kampuchea, uniting the genuinely patriotic and democratic forces of the country.

53. On 7 January 1979, as a result of military operations by the Kampuchean patriots under the guidance of the National United Front for the Salvation of

Kampuchea, the bloody régime of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique was toppled. Its downfall was made easier by the military defeat of the Pol Pot militarists who had perpetrated acts of aggression against Viet Nam at the instigation of Peking.

54. The People's Revolutionary Council that was set up in the very first days, relying on the all-round support of the Kampuchean people and expressing that people's will, took under its control the whole territory of the country and saw to the effective conduct of all internal and external affairs through the people's organs of government it established.

55. The establishment of the People's Republic of Kampuchea solved one of the main questions: the exercise by the people of their right to life and to a nation and a State. That is patently borne out by the concrete results of the creative activities of the People's Revolutionary Council, supported by the absolute majority of the people of Kampuchea. Overcoming the unprecedented misery suffered by that country as a result of almost four years of domination by the total genocide and terror of the Pol Pot régime, the Kampuchean people have created in less than two years the basic conditions and guarantees for the all-round renaissance of the country, for democratic and full-blooded development. The institutions that have been established are now functioning successfully in the country. The industrial enterprises have been restored. Agricultural production is developing. Organs of national education and public health have been established. The national culture is being carefully restored. The recent decision by the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea to hold elections next year for the highest State bodies shows even more forcefully the irreversibility of the process of stabilization of the situation in the People's Republic of Kampuchea, whose people have once and for all defined their future by choosing their own path to development.

*Mr. Sarre (Senegal), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

56. The peaceful, creative work of the Kampuchean people, headed by the People's Revolutionary Council, has become a principal factor in defining the foreign policy of the People's Republic of Kampuchea. The People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea staunchly and consistently advocates friendship and co-operation with all neighbouring countries, peace and stability in South-East Asia and international peace and security, in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. Notwithstanding all the machinations of the enemies of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, its prestige in international affairs is growing relentlessly.

57. All the radical changes that have taken place in less than two years in the fate and in the standard of living of the Kampuchean people and of their homeland can be disregarded and misunderstood only by those who do not want to see those changes, who continue to view Kampuchea as a possible proving ground for their experiments and as a bridge-head for expansion in South-East Asia.

58. But it should be clear to every-one that regardless of whether or not the changes that have taken place in Kampuchea are to the liking of certain persons,

the content and direction of the changes are irreversible.

59. It would of course be naive to assume that all the consequences of the many years of systematic destruction by the Pol Pot régime of the bases of the life of the people have been fully eliminated.

60. Enormously important tasks confront the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea in providing for the vital needs of the people and further normalizing the development and functioning of the economy. To solve those problems the country requires foreign assistance and co-operation, and is prepared to accept that assistance and co-operation on a bilateral or multilateral basis, without any political conditions.

61. As is well known, the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community have given enormous effective assistance to the Kampuchean people; that fact is mentioned in official documents of the Economic and Social Council, the United Nations, UNICEF and other organs.

62. It is not the present situation in the People's Republic of Kampuchea that is a threat to peace and stability in South-East Asia. Rather, it is the unceasing attempts by the imperialist forces and the Peking hegemonists to interfere in the internal affairs of the Kampuchean people, exerting to that end pressure on certain countries of South-East Asia.

63. It is not the "refugee problem" that is of concern to those who initiated the consideration of this item on the so-called "situation in Kampuchea". Rather, it is the continued illusory dreams about the possibility of gathering up and using the remnants of the Pol Pot gang against the reviving Kampuchean people.

64. It is not the granting of effective humanitarian assistance to the Kampuchean people, which has lived through a nightmarish period of mass terror and extermination, that is the concern of certain representatives who have donned the garb of "well-wishers". Rather, their concern is to seek loopholes by which to penetrate the country.

65. The statements by some representatives of certain countries sound almost gloatingly blasphemous: they talk about the difficulties that still exist in Kampuchea while, at the same time, they give support to the nations which protect the well-flattened bandits of the country and do not recognize and are reluctant to have any contacts at all with the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

66. Draft resolution A/35/L.2/Rev.1 reeks of the arrogant self-assurance of a mentor. My delegation does not intend to go into detail about the obviously tendentious provisions of that draft resolution, which serves the interests of the imperialists and the hegemonists.

67. I would merely emphasize that this text has been drafted in obvious opposition to the interests of the people of Kampuchea, which have now found freedom, and is another attempt to interfere, under the cover of the United Nations flag, in the internal affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

68. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR therefore resolutely objects to the draft resolution and will vote against it.

69. Mr. BILINSKI (Poland): This is not the first time that the Polish delegation has spoken in order to present its point of view on matters relevant to the item now under discussion. Only a few days ago, from this very rostrum, we placed on record [35th meeting] our strong reservations about and opposition to the acceptance of the credentials of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique. We emphasized that the only authentic and legitimate representative of Kampuchea—the People's Revolutionary Council—had embarked upon a policy of peace and national reconstruction and the restoration of human dignity and basic rights to all the Kampucheans. We stressed that in its external relations the Government of People's Kampuchea was pursuing a policy of co-operation and good relations with all countries, and in particular with its neighbours. We underlined that the Government, headed by Heng Samrin and expressing as it does the will and aspirations of the Kampuchean people, had gained wide recognition and respect because of its vigorous efforts to get Kampuchea out of the disastrous situation brought about by the genocidal, inhuman Pol Pot clique.

70. The entire Polish people is following with the greatest interest, and is firmly supporting and showing solidarity for, the policies of the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea aiming at national renaissance, reconstruction, peace, non-alignment and good-neighbourly relations.

71. In the opinion of the Polish delegation, tireless and active work for the cause of peace and for the strengthening of security and stability in South-East Asia should be the common denominator of all efforts by the international community as represented in the United Nations. Guided by that very objective, the achievement of which is in the interest of all the countries of the region and in the interest of all the peoples of the world, the Polish delegation wholeheartedly supported the request of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to include the "Question of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia" [item 119] in the agenda of the Assembly's current session. Simultaneously, we wish to emphasize strongly that in our considered opinion the inclusion of the so-called situation in Kampuchea as an item of our agenda cannot but ill serve the aforesaid noble objective. It actually creates an opportunity for those who ceaselessly support the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique and provide it with money, arms and ammunition, to interfere in the internal affairs of a sovereign State, the People's Republic of Kampuchea, in flagrant violation of the Charter of the United Nations.

72. The achievements of the policy of reconstruction pursued by the People's Revolutionary Council in the political and administrative sphere, in regard to the national economy, as well as in the social, educational and cultural fields, provide the best testimony to the permanent progress made in stabilizing the situation in Kampuchea.

73. Suffice it to mention the establishment of all-level organs of people's administration in all provinces and districts; the democratic freedoms now enjoyed by all

the Kampucheans, including freedom of religion; the revival of the national economy, marked by a considerable increase in cultivable land, thus allowing for the growth of Kampuchea's agricultural production, which, although it still falls short of the actual needs, contributes significantly to preventing famine. The same can be said of the resumption of operations by many industrial enterprises and of road, railroad and sea transport.

74. The broad and rapid development of public education and the restoration of national cultural life constitute notable achievements of particular importance for the newly reborn country, especially since the criminal designs of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary régime were aimed first and foremost at the total physical elimination of the intelligentsia and the destruction of the national heritage and the educational system.

75. Today the 1 million students attending schools in the People's Republic of Kampuchea, the revitalization of the institutions of higher learning like the Medical Academy, the opening of new colleges, the protection of national art and architectural treasures like the Angkor temples, the reopening of the Phnom Penh museum, are all vivid illustrations of what has been accomplished by the people's authorities within a relatively short yet extremely eventful time.

76. It must be realized at the same time that the revival and transformation of the country, which for four years had been the site of the dreadful and inhuman experiment carried out by the genocidal régime, is not an easy task. The Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea has had to face numerous difficulties and obstacles. Many of those, unfortunately, have been raised by its neighbours, to say nothing of the constant hegemonistic pressures and attempts by the forces of international reaction to which Kampuchea is exposed.

77. The socialist States were the first to render fraternal and effective assistance to the people and Government of Kampuchea. Poland has not stood aloof from that noble undertaking. Our help includes food, medicines, medical instruments, clothing consumer goods and ambulances. There are also Polish medical personnel working in Kampuchea. The Government of Poland and numerous non-governmental organizations, such as the Polish Red Cross, the Polish Committee of Solidarity with the Peoples of Asia and Africa and youth organizations are actively involved in the programme of assistance to Kampuchea.

78. The achievements in the country's reconstruction have contributed significantly to the strengthening of the position of the People's Republic of Kampuchea in the international forum. Its political prestige and international standing are growing constantly, in spite of the efforts of those who do not remain idle even within the United Nations.

79. The far-reaching changes which have taken place in Indo-China, in Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea are irreversible. Indeed, they are in full conformity with the real interests of the respective peoples, with their profound aspirations to and striving for peace, security, stability and co-operation among all nations of the region.

80. The inspiring nature of those changes was reflected in the constructive and realistic proposals presented on 18 July last at Vientiane and adopted by the Conference of Foreign Ministers of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, the Lao People's Democratic Republic and the People's Republic of Kampuchea [A/35/347-S/14071 and Corr.1]. In fact, the attitude of other States to those proposals is a litmus test of their real intentions vis-à-vis the people of Kampuchea. Their acceptance and implementation would be in the vital interest of all countries of the region and in the interest of all nations in the world.

81. Mr. CORADIN (Haiti) (*interpretation from French*): From 14 November 1979, when the General Assembly adopted resolution 34/22, until today, the situation in Kampuchea has not changed a great deal except that international assistance has become greater and the humanitarian operations set up by the United Nations system are being carried out more effectively. But there is still a war ravaging Kampuchea. There is still a civilian population fleeing from Kampuchea and seeking refuge in Thailand. The problem therefore remains unchanged.

82. What is the nature of the problem? At the end of December 1978 Vietnamese troops crossed the frontier and took up positions in Kampuchea. The reason given was that the Government of that country had been overthrown by a people's revolution and that the people had asked Viet Nam for military assistance to stabilize the revolution. Then that Government was forced to flee its capital and to dig in the hinterland, where it was carrying out a war of resistance.

83. The situation thus at first appeared to be rather complicated, since it reflected the antagonism of the sovereign States disputing among themselves domination over spheres of influence, with each State playing according to its own rules.

84. It is obvious that the United Nations, which does not pretend to be a super-State but rather a appropriate instrument for the resolution of conflicts, is not always in a position to prevent war since war is the very consequence of the balance of power which could give it a global dimension. However, there are grounds for hoping that the Organization will continue to play its role and in the long term find effective solutions, if not to solve the problems posed by the maintenance of international peace and security, at least to prevent their being exacerbated. Moreover it is to the Charter that the international community turns whenever it is a question of interpreting *de facto* situations or deciding on rules to be applied to resolve them. The Charter has such legislative authority that it is an easy matter to find among the principles set forth therein the elements necessary for the evaluation of conflicts.

85. As far as Kampuchea is concerned, those elements are established by successive violations of such fundamental principles of the Charter as those concerning non-interference in the domestic affairs of other States; sovereignty and territorial integrity; the right of peoples to self-determination and independence; the non-use of force in international relations; the obligation to settle disputes by peaceful means. Those principles impose an obligation on each State



Member of the Organization and any action contrary to them is condemned by the Charter. But they have been deliberately violated by the parties in this conflict, which makes it difficult for Viet Nam to offer any justification for its intervention in Kampuchea. It would also be very difficult for Democratic Kampuchea to try to free itself from the grave accusations levelled against it of carrying out genocide as Government policy. It was for that reason that in resolution 34/22 the General Assembly last November asked for the immediate withdrawal of all occupation forces from Kampuchea and called on parties to the dispute fully to respect human rights. That resolution did in fact lay the foundation for a just settlement of the situation.

86. Pending the attainment of that objective, widespread humanitarian work was undertaken by the international community and specialized agencies of the United Nations to relieve the suffering of the civilian population. This is referred to in the Secretary-General's report of 30 September 1980, in which he expresses his concern regarding the implementation of the recommendations contained in paragraphs 6 to 10 of the above-mentioned resolution. Foreign forces were still in Kampuchea and were still sowing destruction and death, and the General Assembly

"... 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" [A/35/501, para. 3].

87. That report showed that the recommendations contained in resolution 34/22 were not followed. The mandate of the Secretary-General had not been fulfilled because the forces confronting one another refused to comply with the decisions of the General Assembly. Confronted with a situation that is deteriorating and that continues to be a threat to peace in South-East Asia, a group of 26 States saw fit to present draft resolution A/35/L.2/Rev.1. The recommendations in resolution 34/22 are reaffirmed therein, and that concerning the convening of an international conference on Kampuchea was reinforced by becoming a decision of the General Assembly.

88. The draft, we believe, constitutes a decisive step towards a political settlement of the conflict by calling for an international conference, with the participation of the conflicting parties and other parties concerned, to negotiate the withdrawal of foreign troops from Kampuchea, the observance of human rights and the organization, under the auspices of the United Nations, of free elections that would allow the people of Kampuchea to choose their legitimate representatives. In operative paragraph 5, the draft resolution offers ways and means of reducing the tension along the Thai-Kampuchean border by stationing a group of United Nations observers there.

89. My delegation believes that this draft resolution contains the basic elements for a just and practical solution. It has, moreover, been submitted at a time when the situation is seriously deteriorating and threatens to spread over the entire region.

90. As we said when the Assembly was voting on the first report of the Credentials Committee [see A/35/

484], we are in favour of a comprehensive political settlement based on the principles of the Charter. Kampuchea is a Member of our Organization, as is Viet Nam. It is therefore imperative that those two States fulfil their obligations to the United Nations by agreeing jointly to study the possibility of finding a solution that will restore peace in Kampuchea and in South-East Asia.

91. Mr. MALILE (Albania) (*interpretation from French*): The problem of Kampuchea which we are discussing is one of the burning issues that quite justifiably gives rise to serious concern. In light of the events that have taken place successively in Kampuchea, the people of that country are still finding themselves in very difficult circumstances and are still prevented from normalizing the situation, reconstructing their country, and resuming a normal economic, cultural and social life. The difficult situation in Kampuchea and in the neighbouring region of Indochina and South-East Asia makes it an active centre of tension that might well threaten peace and stability in the region and all over the world.

92. A simple and objective analysis of the complex situation in Kampuchea reveals clearly that its roots go beyond the events of the end of 1978. The tragedy suffered by the Kampuchean people is above all the result of the aggressive activities and the plots and intrigues deployed on a wide scale by the American imperialists, the Soviet socio-imperialists and the Chinese socio-imperialists.

93. At the beginning of the 1970s the American imperialists, having suffered an abject rout in their barbarous aggression against the Vietnamese people, carried out another crime by spreading the flames of war over the territory of peaceful Kampuchea. Stubbornly pursuing their strategy of escalating the aggression in Indochina, the United States of America at the time invaded Kampuchea with its military forces and arrogantly declared that it was punishing that country for the assistance that its people and Government had given the people and the partisans of Viet Nam, who were fighting against the American forces of occupation in South Viet Nam and their paid puppets.

94. The people of Kampuchea thus had to resort to arms and carry out a long struggle for national liberation. They had to lose a great deal of blood and make enormous sacrifices to regain their independence and national sovereignty. While those people were dedicated to a struggle of national liberation against the American aggressors and their agents, other enemies fell upon them and attacked their cause. The Soviet socio-imperialists made common cause with the puppet régime that the United States of America had set up in Phnom Penh and tried to sabotage the struggle for the national liberation of Kampuchea in order to bargain from a position of greater strength with the American imperialists. Moreover, both life and the facts have proved that the Chinese socio-imperialists were already at that time themselves working to stab the people of Kampuchea in the back. They manipulated the Pol Pot clique and trained it to be a servile cat's paw for later use in attaining their chauvinistic and hegemonistic objectives in Indochina.

95. In their struggle against the aggression of the United States of America, the people of Kampuchea, Viet Nam and Laos helped and sustained each other and struggled shoulder to shoulder. It was thanks to their armed struggle and their sacrifices that those people won a great victory over the American imperialists. The historic victory gained by the three peoples of Indo-China filled with joy all the people who love freedom and peace and who had supported them sincerely and forcefully in the struggle for national liberation. That victory was also acclaimed as a new demonstration of the indomitable force of peoples who dare to take up arms to fight for their own freedom, and as testimony to the power the peoples possess when they act together against a common enemy.

96. The sincere friends of the Vietnamese people and of the peoples of Kampuchea and Laos hoped and expected that the victory gained in the battlefield would allow the three peoples of Indo-China to devote themselves completely to strengthening the freedom and national independence of their respective countries and to turn to the important tasks before them in order to staunch the wounds of war and create the indispensable conditions for progress in development and welfare.

97. More than five years have elapsed since the day of that great victory over imperialist aggression, but the peoples of Indo-China, and particularly the people of Kampuchea, are still the victims of aggressive attacks, of interference and of conspiracies on the part of the imperialist super-Powers. Kampuchea and all of Indo-China continue to be a zone in which the United States of America, the Soviet Union and China are engaged in relentless and growing rivalry for spheres of influence and hegemony. It is that rivalry that has been and remains at the root of the hardships suffered by the people of Kampuchea.

98. To attain their expansionist and hegemonic objectives, China, the Soviet Union and the United States still try to stir up trouble in Indo-China, sow discord and division among the people of the region and incite them to war among themselves. Once the American occupation armies had been ousted from Indo-China, China and the Soviet Union themselves frenziedly intensified their aggressive conspiracies and plans to fill the so-called vacuum that, according to their imperialist ideas, had been created in Indo-China.

99. The Chinese socio-imperialists used all means to support the Fascist Pol Pot clique and encouraged it to practise a policy of terror and genocide against the people of Kampuchea and to turn that entire country into a virtual concentration camp. They wanted at any price to make Kampuchea the spring-board for their hegemonistic and expansionist activities in Indo-China and South-East Asia. With the blessing, inspiration and support of the Chinese socio-imperialists, after having usurped power, the Pol Pot group carried out the most abominable crimes against the people of Kampuchea, wiped out the victories gained during the war for liberation and played into the hands of imperialism and socio-imperialism.

100. The Soviet socio-imperialists exerted and continue to exert every effort in order to penetrate even

deeper into Indo-China and Kampuchea, thus ensuring for themselves staging areas for their expansionist strategy. They constantly speak of the assistance that they claim they give to the people of Kampuchea at present and even claim the title of defenders of the rights and interests of that people. But all this misleading propaganda and these crocodile tears that are shed when they speak of the nightmare suffered by the Kampuchean people under the Pol Pot régime are just so many attempts to disguise their acts behind a smoke-screen and to continue their aggressive and hegemonist plans in Kampuchea and South-East Asia.

101. Despite their political and military rout in Indo-China, the American imperialists are not less involved or active than the other two super-Powers—China and the Soviet Union—in the rivalry to partition Indo-China into zones of influence.

102. The United States at present has not only built its hegemonic plans and based its activities on the staging areas and spring-boards it set up in South-East Asia a long time ago, but primarily now counts on the opportunities being offered by its alliance with China. The widening and ever closer Chinese-American co-operation on the matter of Kampuchea is, without any doubt, one of the main causes of the troubled situation that persists in that country and one of the factors that exacerbates the difficulties and increases imperialist conspiracies to the detriment of a solution of the problem of Kampuchea, and of the re-establishment of national sovereignty and true independence to that country.

103. The General Assembly has the question of Kampuchea on its agenda at a moment when the international situation has become even more tense and more explosive than it was a year ago.

104. The imperialist super-Powers have expanded and escalated their aggressive acts and their interference in the domestic affairs of other countries. They constantly and widely practise the sinister methods of "divide and rule" that they have used for many years in Indo-China.

105. Interference in the domestic affairs of peoples and sovereign States is an every-day practice and an integral part of the imperialist super-Powers' policy. It is at present not only the people of Kampuchea that suffer the effects of the interference, plots and aggressive threats of the super-Powers. The dreadful consequences of such an imperialist policy weighs heavily also on the people of Afghanistan, which is struggling courageously to evict from its soil the Soviet socio-imperialist forces and to recover its national independence and freedom.

106. It is precisely the imperialist super-Powers which have created and envenomed the situation in the Middle East and, more particularly, in the Persian Gulf. It is obvious to all eyes that the armed conflict between Iraq and Iran was prepared and provoked by the aggressive policy and manoeuvres of the imperialist super-Powers, in particular of the United States of America, which has spared no effort to stifle the Iranian revolution and to recover its position of domination over Iran. That is the reason that today the Iranian people has found itself forced to carry out a just struggle to safeguard the victories it had gained in its anti-imperialist revolution and to

defend the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of its country.

107. In the light of the international situation which is itself grave and complex, the dangers constantly threatening peoples and sovereign States, many of which have already fallen victims to imperialist aggression and interference, it becomes more than ever imperative and urgent that we vigorously and determinedly stand up to the aggressive and hegemonic policy of the super-Powers. It is all the more necessary that peoples redouble their vigilance regarding the schemes and plans of the United States of America, the Soviet Union and China and never allow themselves to fall victims to the traps of complex and fratricidal wars laid for them by the super-Powers.

108. The Albanian people and Government, which have in the past sincerely and firmly supported the just struggle of the Kampuchean people and of other peoples in Indo-China against American imperialism, condemn the acts of aggression and conspiracies being orchestrated at this very moment by the super-Powers against these peoples. The Albanian delegation continues to believe that it is imperative to put an end to all imperialist interference in Indo-China so that the necessary conditions will be met for setting the problem of Kampuchea on course towards a solution. The People's Socialist Republic of Albania supports the right of all peoples of Indo-China to live in freedom and independence. We are in favour of respect for the full sovereignty and territorial integrity of Kampuchea and we totally oppose any foreign intervention, whatever its source, in the domestic affairs of that country. No State is authorized to violate the sovereignty of that country or to dictate to the Khmer people the kind of government it should set up or the road it should follow towards development. Any act that tends to impose on the Kampuchean people solutions that are incompatible with its rights or national interests or any decision adopted otherwise than by its freely expressed will is unacceptable and constitutes a violation of the inalienable right of peoples to self-determination. Every people can and should exercise its right to self-determination in keeping with its own national aspirations and not according to the blueprints or models that are foisted on it from outside.

109. The people of Kampuchea is a valiant and peace-loving people with long historical and cultural traditions. Despite the harsh and difficult conditions in which it is living because of imperialist intervention in its country, it is in a position to solve its problems independently and alone if it is left in peace and freedom to plan and carry out its own destiny.

110. Mr. LESSIR (Tunisia) (*interpretation from French*): The General Assembly has resumed its discussion on an item which has been of abiding concern to the world for almost two years. I am referring to the situation in Kampuchea. Resolution 34/22, adopted by this Assembly on 14 November 1979, has, unfortunately, remained a dead letter, and there is nothing to indicate that we are nearing a solution of the Kampuchean tragedy in accordance with the principles and decisions of our Organization. Does this mean that we are impugning the authority of the United Nations or that the tangled web of events in that part of the world has rendered truth so indiscernible?

111. Whatever interpretation is placed by various people on the tragic events that have afflicted the Kampuchean people, there is one brutal fact that one cannot cover up: the intervention in Kampuchea by foreign armed forces.

112. The General Assembly cannot endorse the violation of the principles of respect for the national independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of all States, non-intervention and non-interference in the internal affairs of States and the non-use or threat of force.

113. These principles, in which my country staunchly believes, constitute, in our opinion, the foundation for peace, security and co-operation among States.

114. No pretext, moral, political or otherwise, can justify the occupation of a sovereign country by another. We admit that the fallen régime in Democratic Kampuchea hardly distinguished itself by its respect for the human rights of its own people, but we disapprove of intervention which claims that it is necessary to suppress that régime by force and to occupy its territory, in violation of the recognized international rules and practices.

115. My country vehemently opposes the use of force in international relations and any attacks on the integrity and sovereignty of a country, because it believes that the "right is might" theory only leads in the end to catastrophe. By condoning a single precedent, one runs the risk of its becoming common practice, unless the international community strongly opposes it. The result would be that the weak and poor countries would in the long run be the logical victims.

116. Just as we, in Tunisia, are devoted to strengthening our relations of friendship and co-operation with the countries of South-East Asia, we are equally aware of our duty to express our unswerving devotion to the principles of the Charter.

117. In order better to prevent the establishment of a cycle of violence and war, we must once more reiterate our respect for the fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations that I have just cited. Tunisia has done so in the past and it does so again today by supporting draft resolution A/35/L.2/Rev.1.

118. Mr. KUČERA (Czechoslovakia) (*interpretation from French*): The Czechoslovak delegation categorically opposes the fact that the General Assembly is once more examining the so-called situation in Kampuchea, as this is contrary to the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations Charter, according to which interference in the internal affairs of sovereign States is explicitly and clearly excluded. There is no doubt that the situation in Kampuchea is the internal affair of the people of that country and of its sole legal representative, the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea. The obvious illegality of this discussion arises in particular from the fact that it is taking place without the participation of the legitimate representatives of the Kampuchean people. They were not allowed to attend and their protests were not taken into consideration, contrary to the rules of international law.

119. Notwithstanding all those who strive, under whatever pretext, to state the contrary, the truth remains indeed that the People's Revolutionary Council has effective control over the whole territory of the People's Republic of Kampuchea. The People's Revolutionary Council is also managing all the country's internal affairs and at the same time it is carrying out a foreign policy of peace with the aim of re-establishing peace and security in South-East Asia and developing relations of good-neighbourliness, friendship and co-operation with all countries of the region. While a large number of those who have taken part in this discussion have stated that their efforts were not directed at supporting the Pol Pot régime, it is difficult to understand why they are reluctant to recognize the Government that has been formed in the struggle against the Pol Pot clique, a Government which undeniably represents the Kampuchean people as well as its efforts towards progress and peace. The proof is found *inter alia* in the initiative that came as a result of the Conference of Foreign Ministers of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, the Lao People's Democratic Republic and the People's Republic of Kampuchea, held at Vientiane in July 1980, at which major proposals for the preservation of peace in South-East Asia were put forward. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic fully supports that initiative, as well as the measures put forward, because in our opinion it provides the only real and just way to normalize the situation in the region.

120. Therefore, if the United Nations wishes to achieve successfully the aims that it has set for itself and that are enshrined in the Charter and if it really is concerned about making its contribution to normalization of the situation in the region, the General Assembly cannot and should not consider the situation in Kampuchea. It should dwell exclusively on the problems of peace and security in the region as spelled out in another agenda item entitled "Question of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia". The United Nations should, at least in the interest of its own authority, take account in its work of the real situation and not let itself be guided by the manoeuvres of the Peking régime and of imperialism, which have unleashed a frenzied campaign against the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam in order to sow discord among the countries of Indo-China.

121. Regarding draft resolution A/35/L.2/Rev.1, I can only repeat here what has already been said regarding the work of the General Assembly. This is an attempt grossly to interfere in the internal affairs of a sovereign State. Although the draft resolution contains eloquent expressions on peace and security, and although it contains references to the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, in actual fact, whether the authors realize it or not, it amounts to rejection of the inalienable right of the people of the People's Republic of Kampuchea freely to decide its own future. In the final analysis, the real aim of the draft's initiators—among which are countries not sponsors of the draft—is demonstrated by the fact that a considerable number of the countries that initiated the draft took part, directly or indirectly, in the imperialist aggression against the peoples of Indo-China, which continued for many long years. Is that mere chance? Certainly not. The

territory of certain of those countries is being used by the remnants of the Pol Pot gang that have gone there to re-establish themselves, to muster their forces and to procure arms supplies, medication and food. Is that mere chance? Certainly not.

122. Furthermore the draft resolution does not take account of the commitment to contribute to the normalization of the situation in the region, nor of the interests of the Kampuchean people. On the contrary, it rather serves the interests of the Chinese Maoists, who are doing their utmost to attain their hegemonistic goals in that part of the world.

123. That is why no one can be surprised that the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea has condemned both the discussion by the General Assembly of the so-called situation in Kampuchea and the draft resolution as gross, inadmissible interference in the internal affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, and has called the discussion illegal and void. My delegation fully shares that point of view, and consequently it will vote against draft resolution A/35/L.2/Rev.1.

124. In conclusion, I should like once more clearly to stress that the situation in Kampuchea is an internal affair of the Kampuchean people and its sole legal representative, the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea, and that therefore it is desirable for all States to be guided in their relations with the People's Republic of Kampuchea by the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, which they should abide by scrupulously. It is likewise essential fully to respect the right of the Kampuchean people to independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, and not to take—in the United Nations or outside it—steps that would violate that right.

125. Mr. TARUA (Papua New Guinea): Once again we are obliged to consider the sad and grave situation in Kampuchea. It is a sad situation because, while the political struggle for power continues, innocent civilians suffer and continue to be deprived of the peace and tranquillity they so richly deserve. They have been constantly placed under tension for the last few decades. Like all freedom-loving peoples, they deserve a rest from the constant pressures that have been brought upon them without their direct involvement. In the present situation the people have not been given the opportunity freely to participate in the choice of their Government. They have been ignored and continue to be used as pawns in the struggle for supremacy. They deserve much better, especially from their own leaders and others who publicly proclaim that they speak for the people of Kampuchea.

126. The plight of the Kampuchean people has been made worse and has been complicated by the interference in their internal affairs of a strong and powerful neighbour. With Viet Nam pouring its troops into Kampuchea and changing the Government by force, a new and dangerous element has been introduced into the difficulties that confront the Kampucheans. The people of Kampuchea have been forced to accept a Government in which they have no say. Worse still is the fact that the people have been made to live under a Government that they themselves have not established in accordance with their own constitutional and political system. In effect, a stranger



has intruded into their homeland without their invitation, taken away their own Government and forced a new Government upon them. In fact, it is a Vietnamese Government with Kampucheans acting for them. That puppet Government continues to exist without popular support and is continually kept in office by force, with the continued presence of more than 200,000 Vietnamese troops.

127. Like all freedom-loving countries, Papua New Guinea looks to the day when peace and harmony will return to Kampuchea. Such peace can be achieved only if the cause of the unfortunate situation in Kampuchea is removed. We believe that the continued presence of Vietnamese troops on Kampuchean soil is a stumbling-block to the normalization of the situation. Until the Vietnamese forces withdraw the conflict is likely to continue. The withdrawal of the Vietnamese forces can take place with honour if the proposals in draft resolution A/35/L.2/Rev.1 are accepted and implemented.

128. Papua New Guinea is a sponsor of that draft. We believe it contains some very important principles, principles that all countries that love peace and justice respect. In our view those principles would lead to a just and lasting peace in Kampuchea.

129. First of all, the draft resolution advocates the bringing together at a conference of all parties involved in the conflict. That is vital; it would encourage genuine exchanges of views in an atmosphere of goodwill; it would help to bridge any misunderstandings and misconceptions. Such a conference would not be an imposition on anyone; nor would it be an interference in the internal affairs of another country. It would be a genuine attempt by the civilized world to resolve a situation that has already involved the international community in one way or another. Viet Nam is involved, and so is Thailand, the United Nations, and others. Besides, the conference is envisaged as including representatives of the so-called People's Republic of Kampuchea and Democratic Kampuchea. Thus representatives of the various factions in Kampuchea would be participants. Their participation would depend largely on themselves. The decision would be theirs. Even so, lasting peace could not be achieved by boycotting or avoiding discussion of the issues among themselves.

130. This is a golden opportunity for reason to prevail. Bringing together the conflicting parties does not necessarily mean the recognition of one or another of the groups as the sole and legitimate Government of Kampuchea. That is a decision that can only be made by the people of Kampuchea.

131. Another important principle reflected in the draft resolution is that solutions to the situation in Kampuchea must be entered into by agreement of the conflicting parties. It is clear that the proposed conference will not take any decisions without such agreement: that is very important to the success of the implementation of any decision that is taken. Again, no party will be forced to accept a decision in which it did not participate. In fact, the vital factors for peace and stability in Kampuchea cannot be brought about without the agreement of the parties concerned. The withdrawal of Vietnamese troops cannot be achieved without the agreement of the Vietnamese,

nor can the taking of measures to ensure law and order and the holding of free and democratic elections.

132. It is also worth noting that all the issues which concern the supporters of the People's Republic of Kampuchea are also included in the items to be discussed. Their concern about non-interference in the internal affairs of Kampuchea is reflected in the idea that measures will be adopted to ensure the preservation of the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Kampuchea. The stationing of a United Nations observer team along the Thailand-Kampuchea border, to ensure that relief aid reaches only civilians and not military personnel, meets the allegations and unfounded accusations levelled by some at Thailand. Proponents of the draft resolution have also shown their concern for peace, stability and co-operation by including in the draft references to their aim to work for "peace, freedom and neutrality" in the region.

133. Surely the so-called People's Republic of Kampuchea and its supporters are interested in and concerned about the plight of the people of Kampuchea. Let them demonstrate this and join us in helping to create a suitable climate in which the displaced Kampuchean population can return in safety to its homes. Only when such a suitable atmosphere is created can the people of Kampuchea exercise their right to choose a Government of their own without interference or coercion. The type and form of Government chosen by the people are not our concern, provided that the choice is made by the people without outside influence. They are an independent and strong-minded people and should be allowed to make a choice of their own.

134. It is our belief that once the Kampuchean people choose their own Government they should be allowed to rebuild their country after the disruption and destruction of the last few years. To this end we wholeheartedly support the work of the Secretary-General and others in their efforts to help the people of Kampuchea.

135. Mr. ROA KOURÍ (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Today the General Assembly is discussing the subject of the so-called situation in Kampuchea in the absence of the legitimate representatives of the Cambodian people and despite the protest raised by the People's Revolutionary Council, the sole real and legal Government of Kampuchea. In this perverse way, the Assembly is sinking into a debate which lacks all potential, for purely propagandistic purposes.

136. Basically, the furor raised by these extempore champions of the Cambodian people can ill hide their true motives. We are living through a stage, as José Martí would have said, of "redressing and recasting", of profound historical changes in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Those who yesterday were the pitiless enemies of the social revolution in Indo-China now pin their hopes on manoeuvres to smother it. Through the machinery of votes and resolutions in the United Nations they are trying to achieve what they could not achieve by means of the most unjust, cowardly and destructive war of the present era.

137. The imperialists—the obvious puppeteers in this Grand Guignol show—are motivated by their primitive hatred for revolution, and by their profound rancour and powerlessness at the historic victory of Viet Nam,



Laos and Cambodia. In short, however much they try to act the part of Christians and democrats, they cannot prevent the appearance above their well-tailored City gentlemen's overcoats of the furry ears of a racist and arrogant Mr. Hyde, who scorns our indomitable peoples.

138. Behind this sham, I repeat, is craven hatred for heroic Viet Nam, whose fighting people set the seal on human dignity, defending with their lives the lives of all peoples.

139. This is what those who are attempting to paint Viet Nam as an aggressor and falsely to accuse it of intervention in Kampuchea cannot forgive.

140. Who are the prosecutors of this shameful "lawsuit"? Does Yankee imperialism—which has shed the blood of the peoples not only of Indo-China, but also on both sides of the ocean—have any right to call Viet Nam's conduct into question? Do the renegades of the former Great Helmsman, who tried to teach "lessons" to the people of Ho Chi Minh and are now striving to brush up on their market economy in the Coca-colonial edition? Or do those who meekly lent their territories to the imperialist war machine thus serving as spring-boards and pawns for the aggression against the peoples of Indo-China? Or—the greatest shame of all—do the followers of Pol Pot, who are seated in this Assembly in mockery of the world, dare point the accusing finger?

141. No, the blood of the peoples of Indo-China is choking those gentlemen!

142. I do not doubt that there are today those who, in good faith, think that they are defending the right of peoples and naively join in the efforts of these self-proclaimed "saviours" of Kampuchea.

143. But facts are more stubborn than the more or less empty rhetoric of the international organizations. And the facts prove clearly that Viet Nam was and is the faithful defender of the Indo-Chinese revolution. The history of the last 30 years shows this clearly. But it was the war of national salvation of the recent decades that, above all, gave the most vigorous impetus to the liberation of the Indo-China peninsula.

144. No one can any longer be misled: the revolutions of Laos, Kampuchea and Viet Nam have a single, socialist character; their ideologies and aspirations have common roots; their historic future is one, as has been the commitment of the revolutionary parties of all three countries.

145. Despite the terrible battle it was waging against imperialist aggression, Viet Nam redoubled its assistance to the revolutionaries in Laos and Kampuchea, thus contributing to the people's victory in both countries.

146. Later, the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique, a mere robot of the Peking band then in office, repaid that generous assistance with aggression. Those who rose up in Kampuchea against that sorry handful of murderers were the 3 million men, women and children exterminated by Pol Pot; they were the symbol of the dignity of the Cambodian people. How could Viet Nam withhold its assistance from its comrades-in-arms? How could it not respond to the aggression fomented in Peking by the new mandarins?

147. Not even the bourgeois concepts of international law can possibly question the right of self-defence, including pursuit of the aggressors within their own borders. It is the supreme right of the revolution to help revolutionaries when a traitorous clique, supported by a foreign Power, tries to divert, confuse or suppress them.

148. Cuba has full confidence in Viet Nam, in the purity of its revolution and in the extraordinary calibre of its people, proved in a thousand years of struggle.

149. Similarly, Cuba has full confidence in the leaders of the People's Republic of Kampuchea and in the justice of their cause. For this reason, we have no compunction in contributing, albeit it modestly, to the consolidation of the new Cambodian homeland, free from oppression, genocide and torture.

150. The situation in Kampuchea is the exclusive concern of the Kampuchean people, and nothing can change that, no matter how powerful the forces or influence used.

151. The People's Revolutionary Council is achieving enormous success in the restoration of peaceful life in the country, with the assistance of the socialist community and international organizations. Great progress has been made in restoring the national economy, ravaged by war and the destructive fury of Pol Pot; education is returning to normal, as are working conditions and family life. Counter-revolutionary bands seek and obtain refuge in neighbouring countries but those operating within the country are defeated every day. In the midst of these many difficulties, hope is reborn.

152. However, this process will not be crowned with victory, at least in the near future, while Kampuchea's enemies continue to offer asylum to the Pol Pot gangs, lending them all manner of support, helping them to carry out, directly and with foreign military assistance, all sorts of provocations against the People's Government.

153. The peoples of South-East Asia have the right to live in peace within secure borders and on the basis of mutual respect for independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. It is only the imperialists, the reactionaries and the hegemonic clique in Peking that are engaged in sowing discord, rejecting the reasonable offers made by the peoples of Indo-China of negotiated and peaceful solutions.

154. Let no one have any doubts: peaceful coexistence among the States of South-East Asia will never be achieved if it is to be based on the sacrifice of the revolution in Indo-China. Kampuchea will never again be the exclusive hunting ground of operetta princes, remote-control cliques or a traitorous bourgeoisie.

155. My delegation favours true understanding among the peoples of South-East Asia on the basis of mutually acceptable conditions. In this connexion, we wish to declare our unambiguous opposition to the so-called international conference on Kampuchea which some would convene without the participation of the sole legitimate representative of the Cambodian people: the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea.

156. The United Nations must do nothing whatsoever to encourage the holding of that conference without

the agreement of the said Government, since that would violate the principles of the Charter and the most elementary tenets of international law.

157. Cuba is ready to make its active contribution to the cause of peace, stability and peaceful coexistence among the States of South-East Asia and to prevent the blindness of some and the hegemonic cupidity of others from triggering a new war or blocking the road towards genuine solutions that are in the interests of all peoples.

158. Mr. ADAN (Somalia): As this is the first time I have come to this rostrum since the election of Mr. von Wechmar as President of the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly, I wish to begin my short intervention by congratulating him on his election to his high office. I know that he enjoys the respect and admiration of his colleagues and that his presidency augurs well for the successful completion of the important work of this session.

159. My delegation wishes to associate itself with those previous speakers who have expressed condolences to sister Algeria in the calamity which has befallen the residents of the town of El Asnam. We ask the Algerian delegation to convey our deepest sympathy to the Algerian Government and people and to the families that have lost their dear ones in the earthquake, as well as to those who have lost their property.

160. Much has been said about the wrongs and rights of the tragic situation which has continued to prevail in Kampuchea since that unfortunate country was overrun by foreign troops in 1979. There are some who advance the argument that the Heng Samrin régime, which supposedly is in physical control of the country, is the lawful Government of Kampuchea. But those who take this line ignore the illegal manner in which that régime came into existence and the circumstances now surrounding its presence in those areas which happen to be under its so-called physical control at the present time. The fact of the matter is that the Heng Samrin régime was imposed on the Kampuchean people and is kept in power by foreign military intervention. That being so, according to international law it has no legitimate right to rule Kampuchea, and is therefore no more than a puppet régime.

161. The argument is also put forward that the Pol Pot régime committed intolerable atrocities against the Kampuchean people, for which it deserved to be overthrown, having forfeited its right to rule that country because of its dismal human rights record. This would be perfectly normal had that régime been overthrown by the Kampuchean people themselves. Alas, this was not the case, nor, I am convinced, was it the sole reason for the tragedy which befell the Kampuchean people. If indeed the human rights record of Governments were to be taken as the sole criterion for recognition by the international community and membership of the United Nations, then many Governments which are represented here today would have no place amongst us.

162. But the question is not one of the human rights record of this or that régime, however laudable such a qualification would be were it to be used as a yardstick for membership of this world Organization. The question is whether it is permissible for one or more

Member States to arrogate to themselves the right to depose the Government of another Member State, particularly through military intervention, and to replace it by their own puppets in blatant contravention of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. This is the crux of the matter before us and to which we should address ourselves. The fact is that Kampuchea was invaded from outside its territory and that its Government was replaced by a puppet régime by force of arms. Moreover, some 200,000 foreign troops continue to be stationed in Kampuchea in order to hold down the Kampuchean people.

163. We are all well aware that this is not the only instance in recent times where the Government of a small country has been ousted by foreign military intervention. Indeed, the tragic case of Afghanistan is still fresh in our minds. Those two instances taken together represent an ominous trend in international relations and a dangerous precedent for the security and even the existence of small countries.

164. It is self-evident therefore that this dangerous trend should be brought to a halt before other nations fall victim to the strategic interests of the new forces of expansionism. Respect for the principles of the Charter regarding territorial integrity, sovereignty and national independence must be reaffirmed and the rights of every people must be respected. This is a sacred right for each and every people and no other country should permit itself to exercise that right for them. The plight and sufferings of the Kampuchean people must be brought to an end and their sovereignty and national independence must be restored.

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

165. In that regard, my delegation wishes to commend the efforts of our Secretary-General for having mobilized, in implementation of United Nations resolutions, humanitarian relief aid to alleviate the sufferings of the Kampuchean people and for having used his good offices in order to contribute to a peaceful solution of the question of Kampuchea and related political problems. It is to be regretted that, although the Secretary-General's efforts have met with success in the field of relief aid, the political situation in the area continues to represent a source of great danger to international peace and security.

166. It is therefore incumbent upon this Assembly to renew its endeavours in furtherance of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations. In that regard my delegation joined the member countries of the Association of South-East Asian Nations [ASEAN] in the sponsorship of draft resolution A/35/L.2/Rev.1. We support the convening of an international conference with a view to negotiating the withdrawal of foreign troops from Kampuchea, the observance of the fundamental principles of human rights in Kampuchea, the non-interference by outside Powers in the internal affairs of Kampuchea and the holding of free elections in Kampuchea under the auspices of the United Nations. The attainment of those just goals would in our view greatly contribute to the peace and security of the region of South-East Asia as a whole.

167. Mr. MISHRA (India): Since our independence, we in India have had very friendly relations with the countries of South-East Asia. Those relations are based

upon the closest cultural, intellectual and linguistic links over the past several centuries between India and the countries of the region. In their struggle for freedom and independence, we extended our sympathy and support to them as they did to us. Together with the countries of South-East Asia, India has sought to establish for the emerging countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America an independent voice in world affairs and the eschewing of outside interference in the fulfilment of their own national aspirations. Together we have strongly supported the struggles of peoples all over the world against colonialism and for national liberation, independence and sovereignty. The people and Government of India followed with deep admiration the progress of the valiant struggle of the peoples of Indo-China against the forces of imperialism and foreign intervention. We had hoped that after the defeat of foreign intervention, the States of Indo-China and South-East Asia could embark upon a new path of peaceful reconstruction and economic development in an atmosphere of friendship and co-operation, ushering in a new millennium.

168. My delegation therefore takes part in this debate on Kampuchea with deep distress and concern. India's relations with that country have been traditionally those of close friendship and co-operation. If those relations were interrupted for a while, it was the result of a historical aberration perpetrated within that country by a cruel and barbarous régime against its own innocent and defenceless people. We do not intend here to catalogue the calculated and heinous crimes committed by the previous régime in Kampuchea during the short time it ran amuck in the country. Indeed, no nation professing even elementary respect for the dignity of man as man can condone the unmitigated brutality of that régime.

169. In addressing itself to the question of Kampuchea my delegation has two concerns. In the first place, our concern is addressed to alleviating the terrible situation brought about in so calculated and deliberate a manner. The relief operations of considerable magnitude launched by the international community, as well as the equally large bilateral efforts directed to the reconstruction of the economy of Kampuchea do give some cause for hope, optimism and satisfaction. Despite our own problems and pressing needs we have also undertaken a modest bilateral effort to ameliorate the situation in Kampuchea. While the assessment of the joint mission of UNICEF and other agencies is that a disaster of major proportions has now been averted in Kampuchea and that the psychology of scarcity and starvation has been overcome in that country, much still remains to be done in order to heal that nation of the bitter ravages of the Pol Pot terror and to instil in its people a hope for the future. The efforts of the present Government of Kampuchea in that direction have received the commendation of the international community as well as of the various United Nations agencies operating in Kampuchea. The establishment by India of diplomatic relations with the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea represents as much the overwhelming expression of public opinion within India as our general assessment that the reality of the political situation within Kampuchea has changed irrevocably and that this Government has

succeeded in rekindling hope for the future in that troubled land.

170. Our second concern is with the tensions prevailing in South-East Asia and their relationship to the question of Kampuchea. Lest there be any misunderstanding let me restate that the Government of India is against the presence of foreign troops or foreign bases in any country. Furthermore, we are not oblivious to the concerns of our neighbours in South-East Asia including the preoccupation of the countries of ASEAN with regard to the implications of developments in the region. But we are convinced that the adoption of positions which could conceivably lead to the *status quo ante* has not helped ease tension in the region. If anything, it has resulted in the hardening of positions and the development of attitudes of confrontation. The adherence to such positions carries the risk of a further deterioration in the situation. As the Minister for Foreign Affairs of India stated in this very hall a few days ago [23rd meeting, para. 159], if we desire to move towards finding a positive solution, what is required is an assiduous and continuous effort to devise suitable package solutions which take care of the concerns of all and succeed in eliminating outside intervention and interference. It is our firm conviction that only a political solution can bring the countries of the region out of the present stalemate and give to each of them greater strength and security, and thus lead to a collective sense of self-confidence.

171. Not only would a dialogue among the parties concerned be the best approach to a resolution of immediate questions, but it could serve to build the framework for an over-all settlement. We already see the beginnings of a dialogue between the parties concerned. We are gratified to note that in the last 12 months or so several official high-level contacts have taken place among the countries of the region. The latest of them was here in New York, with the good offices of the Secretary-General. It is our conviction that through that modality the contours of a political solution could be attained.

172. Attempts to disturb the developing atmosphere of a dialogue through the interposition of unrealistic pre-conditions or of one-sided value judgements may only take us back to a situation of confrontation. It is also necessary to avoid the temptation of rushing into an international conference based upon resolutions rejected by countries directly concerned. Ultimately it may become possible to hold an international conference, attended by all concerned, to guarantee any agreement worked out by the parties most directly concerned. However, it would require an over-all agreement on the need for such a conference, as also a great deal of preparatory work, to make it successful.

173. Mr. MONDJO (Congo) (*interpretation from French*): I cannot begin this brief statement without expressing the sincere, heartfelt condolences of the delegation of Congo to our Algerian brothers. At this time of profound sadness and national mourning, they deserve all the sympathy of their many friends throughout the world. The international community, which has been given so much by that people of genius, now being so sorely tried, is duty bound to

provide it with specific testimony of the solidarity of all of us.

174. The delegation of the People's Republic of Congo, while respecting the various opinions voiced here, does not see the point of this discussion, since nothing remains to be proved. Furthermore, it is a discussion which seriously impugns one of the fundamental principles of the Charter of our Organization: non-intervention in the internal affairs of States. In my delegation's opinion, it is for the people of Kampuchea, and that people alone, to decide in full sovereignty on the institutions of its choice. That choice was, to our mind, freely and clearly made in January 1979, when, under the banner of the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea, that heroic people decided to embark on the titanic work of reconstructing a nation from the still smouldering ashes of the atrocities perpetrated by the criminal Pol Pot régime, which, despite what it has done, still enjoys complicity and support within this Assembly. That gigantic effort of national rebirth has already begun to bear fine fruit. That is why the people of Kampuchea do not wish to live once again through the long nightmare of the bloody régime of Pol Pot and Ieng Sary. That heroic people now sees the prospect of a very promising future.

175. The anti-Vietnamese coalition is making feverish efforts to turn Kampuchea into a neo-colony of the United Nations. But they misjudge the will of the Indo-Chinese peoples, all of which have a glorious past of anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist struggle. The current of history is irreversible in Kampuchea. To feign ignorance of that is to harbour touching but vain illusions. As for those who are striving to demonstrate—but without any real conviction—that the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam has annexationist

designs on its Indo-Chinese neighbours, we think that the solemn statement made by the representative of Viet Nam to this thirty-fifth session will suffice to extirpate that slanderous campaign designed to throw mud at the Vietnamese army which came to the aid of a people threatened by genocide and which remains in Kampuchea on the basis of agreements freely entered into by these two brother countries. So long as there is, around the frontiers of Kampuchea, which has suffered so much from colonialist and imperialist wars, a ring of aggressive encirclement fuelled by imperialism and the anti-Vietnamese coalition, which constitute a direct threat to Kampuchea's independence and to peace in South-East Asia because of the risks that the conflict might spread, it will be difficult to find a solution to this problem that will be just and acceptable to all the parties concerned.

176. My country, the People's Republic of Congo, hopes that the countries of South-East Asia, that troubled region of the world, will once again find the path of dialogue in peace, concord and understanding amongst all the peoples of that region.

177. Draft resolution A/35/L.2/Rev.1, now before the Assembly, does not meet the concerns of the delegation of the People's Republic of Congo. That is why it will be difficult for our delegation to support it.

178. The PRESIDENT: In view of the lateness of the hour, we shall hear the remaining speakers on this item on Tuesday afternoon 21 October, prior to the vote on the draft resolution before the Assembly. The report of the Fifth Committee on the financial implications of that draft resolution is expected to be available by Tuesday afternoon.

*The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.*