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President: Mr. Ismat T. KITTANI (Iraq).

AGENDA ITEM 22

The situation in Kampuchea: report of the Secretary-General

1. The PRESIDENT: The first speaker in the debate is Mr. Carlos Romulo, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Philippines and former President of the General Assembly.

2. Mr. ROMULO (Philippines): Today we begin consideration of item 22 of the agenda on the situation in Kampuchea. I have just returned from an official visit to London and Paris, but I made it a point to come back to the General Assembly because I consider this a question of vital importance to our region, South-East Asia. It is important to recall that this item was on the agenda of the Assembly at its last two sessions. On each occasion, the Assembly, by an overwhelming majority, adopted resolutions [resolutions 34/22 and 35/6] in which it expressed its deep regret at the armed intervention in Kampuchea by foreign forces and called for their immediate withdrawal from Kampuchean territory in order to lead to the exercise of self-determination by the people of Kampuchea.

3. Why did these resolutions receive the resounding endorsement of the Assembly? At the risk of being repetitive—and at the risk of not winning the award that you, Mr. President, have offered to the briefest speaker, which I think is good only for students in college—let me reiterate the reasons for the action of the Assembly.

4. First, the invasion and occupation of Kampuchea by foreign forces constitute a gross violation of the Charter of the United Nations and accepted principles of international law. Secondly, the Assembly cannot reward open aggression. Thirdly, to condone such action would set a precedent having grave implications for the security of the weaker States, which constitute more than three quarters of the globe. Fourthly, open or tacit acquiescence in violation of the norms of international conduct would set the stamp of approval on the discarded principle that might makes right.

5. Two years have passed since the first of those two resolutions was adopted overwhelmingly by the Assembly, yet the situation in Kampuchea has not changed. The aggressor forces that invaded Kampuchea remain to this day in unlawful occupation of that hapless country, in cavalier disregard of the resolutions of the Assembly. The Kampuchean people continue to be deprived of the free exercise of their right to self-determination.

6. It has been argued that the people of Kampuchea, in “free and general elections”, held at the beginning of May 1981, have elected the régime now in Phnom Penh. This is false.

7. Let us ask some questions of those who advance this argument. Can it be said with any amount of credibility that the people of Kampuchea could freely exercise their right to the ballot in the menacing presence of 200,000 invading foreign troops in their midst? Would it not be more accurate to say that the so-called elections in Kampuchea were stage-managed in order to confer the mantle of legality on a régime which in reality does not command the allegiance of the Kampuchean people?

8. Surely these are rhetorical questions. The attempt to make the Assembly believe that the elections in Kampuchea were free and were exercised without constraints, and were therefore valid, strains to the utmost the credulity of the Assembly. There is absolutely no basis for the claim of free elections in the absence of impartial international observers—a necessary condition in the environment of terror prevailing in Kampuchea. Fidelity to the facts compels us to draw the conclusion that the people of Kampuchea, regardless of the views of Phnom Penh and its sponsors, are in the process of making a choice. The hard evidence is the increasing armed resistance to the Phnom Penh régime; that existence is exacting a heavier toll from the invaders, so that, while they are in command, their troops are beginning to show signs of demoralization and of a deterioration in quality.

9. The other hard evidence is the continuing efforts of patriotic Kampuchean people to forge a coalition and unite forces in the common struggle to expel the foreign foe. This is not easy; it is a hard task. The history of nations will show that in the initial stages of their founding there are always intramural fights. Read the history of the great nations—the United States, France, Germany, the Soviet Union. In the initial stages it was not easy to form a coalition, therefore we must understand the difficulties faced in forming a coalition in Kampuchea. The recent joint statement in Singapore by the main Kampuchean nationalist groups expressing their determination to unite in order to end the foreign armed occupation is fresh proof of this fact.

10. From the outset the international community, through its always overwhelming votes in the Assembly, has sought a political settlement in Kampuchea, where armed conflict not only has laid waste the already precarious productive resources of that country but has also brought death and incalculable misery to the Kampuchean people. Although the food situation in Kampuchea has markedly improved, the prospect of another famine cannot be discounted. Not all the assistance so generously donated on humanitarian grounds finds its way to the ultimate recipient. According to rough estimates, some 30 per cent of the international assistance for Kampuchea is diverted for the use of the occupation forces and of Viet Nam itself.

11. Indeed, even to the military occupier, the cost in lives and resources is considerable—resources that it can ill afford to divert from the supremely important tasks of rehabilitation and development of its own war-torn country. In its statement at the 10th meeting of the Assembly my delegation noted that the Kampucheans, hard-pressed as they are, are in fact living in better conditions than the Vietnamese. In Viet Nam the food supply is well below the minimum requirements set by WHO, and vivid testimony to this fact is the appeal sent by Viet Nam to the international community for assistance. It is unlikely to receive that assistance. Its patrons have cut their food assistance by more than a quarter as compared with previous aid, preferring to extend military assistance. Possibly to its sorrow, Viet Nam now is beginning to discover that assistance can have a dark side: the so-called hated capitalist profit motive. The Vietnamese now pay more for the fuel requirements of their engines of war; in the situation in which they find themselves, they are hardly in a position to object and must pay through the nose for their ill-conceived adventure in Kampuchea.

12. In this context, the better part of valour is clearly to accede to a negotiated political settlement in sheer self-interest and in the larger interest of world peace. Towards this end, the International Conference on Kampuchea was convened in New York last July by the Secretary-General in compliance with General Assembly resolution 35/6. It is an important step in this quest for a political settlement of the Kampuchean problem. The Declaration adopted by the Conference¹ identified the elements for a comprehensive settlement: an agreement on a cease-fire and withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea in the shortest possible time under United Nations verification; the holding of free elections in Kampuchea under United Nations supervision; and appropriate arrangements for the maintenance of law and order prior to the establishment of a new Government resulting from the elections.

13. Recognizing the legitimate security concerns of all States of the region, the Conference deemed it essential for Kampuchea to remain non-aligned and neutral and for all States in the region and outside the region to respect Kampuchea's status as a non-aligned and neutral State and to refrain from interfering in its internal affairs. The Conference also decided to establish an *Ad Hoc* Committee entrusted with the task, among others, of assisting the Conference in seeking a comprehensive political settlement of the Kampuchean question.

14. While the Conference was intended to set in train the process of negotiation towards a political settlement in Kampuchea, this must now regrettably await, for reasons that we all know, more favourable developments in the future. We cannot escape a sense of irony, however, in the argument that the Conference and its decisions must be rejected as unwarranted interference in the domestic affairs of Kampuchea, particularly when the argument is advanced by those who, having blatantly intervened by force in the internal affairs of Kampuchea, were responsible for creating the unfortunate situation that faces the international community.

15. It should be recalled that the International Conference on Kampuchea was attended by 93 States, as full participants or observers, representing more than 80 per cent of the world's population. The Conference speaks in a voice too powerful to be stifled even by those who choose not to hear. The international community has declared its readiness to negotiate an end to the intolerable situation in Kampuchea. We hope that those who have

remained unyielding will soon give us their positive response, in compliance with the wishes of the vast majority of the international community.

16. What we have by way of response is the memorandum of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Lao People's Democratic Republic [*see A/36/561*]. The so-called principles advanced in the memorandum are novel only in the sense that they mention, for the first time, certain potential problem areas in the relations among States in South-East Asia—for example, the exclusive economic zones and continental shelf, sharing of hydro-power resources and access of land-locked countries to the sea. Admittedly these are areas of concern. But nowhere in the proposal is there any mention of the situation in Kampuchea, which is everywhere admitted to be the main destabilizing factor in the region. The Lao proposal is the same regional conference proposal of the Indo-Chinese States attired for the occasion in new robes. It is but a camouflage.

17. Our position on the call by the Indo-Chinese States for a regional conference is well known. It was spelled out in my statement as Foreign Minister of the Philippines in June 1981 [*see A/36/338*]. The regional conference envisaged in the Phnom Penh proposals is not acceptable: first, because it is not intended to deal primarily with the conflict in Kampuchea; secondly, because that conflict, by Viet Nam's own admission, involves countries within the region as well as extraregional Powers and, therefore, would not offer an adequate framework for a comprehensive political settlement; and, thirdly, because it will be outside the aegis of the United Nations.

18. We continue to maintain that the International Conference on Kampuchea offers the most practicable way of achieving a political settlement of the Kampuchean problem. The modalities for the negotiation process itself must remain within the framework of the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Declaration of the International Conference on Kampuchea.

19. My delegation notes with a profound sense of disquiet the cynical observation that majority votes in the Assembly count for nothing in the scheme of international relations. That is the claim of some of those who vote on United Nations resolutions. What, so the childish argument runs, does a majority vote mean? They claim that on the questions of *apartheid* and of Palestine the Assembly has mustered thundering majorities without avail, that we have solved neither issue, with the implication that we can never solve either of them. On the basis of this line of argument, the Kampuchean problem will stay with us for ever.

20. My delegation is convinced that we should not allow this mistaken and false view to pass without argument. It strikes at the very heart of the concept of a United Nations. It implies—and indeed asserts—that the Organization is no more than a gentlemen's club, meeting periodically to pass the time of day, however bitterly its members may quarrel on certain occasions. That is untrue, and the record of the United Nations strongly belies it. We are visionaries, but with a strong sense of realism. To some problems there are no instant solutions; but the real test of the United Nations is its unremitting effort to provide solutions, if it takes a lifetime to do so.

21. We must admit that certain generations-old problems are still with us. The important thing is that we have not swept them under the carpet or washed them away; and

the incontrovertible proof is that we have kept those problems always in view, year after year. On behalf of peace, we do not yield; on behalf of peace, we call upon our resources of patience, perseverance and wisdom; on behalf of peace, we are certain that we will ultimately prevail.

22. A draft resolution on agenda item 22, contained in document A/36/L.3/Rev.1, is now before the Assembly for its consideration. In its operative paragraphs, the draft resolution seeks the adoption by the Assembly of the Declaration on Kampuchea, which contains the four major elements as a basis for negotiations with a view to reaching a comprehensive political settlement of the problem of Kampuchea. The draft resolution also seeks the Assembly's authority for the convening of the *Ad Hoc* Committee during this session, to enable the Committee to begin its work. The Secretary-General will be involved in nearly every aspect of the Committee's work, in accordance with the terms of the Declaration on Kampuchea.

23. It should be emphasized that the Declaration looks beyond the immediate need for a cease-fire, withdrawal of foreign forces and the exercise of self-determination. It envisages the longer-term goals of establishing a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in South-East Asia in a setting of social and economic development for all States in the region.

24. As we have so often stated, the gathering momentum for a comprehensive political solution of the problem of Kampuchea can lead to meaningful results once every South-East Asian State and other concerned parties agree to participate actively in the efforts to stabilize the region and restore peace to the world. We therefore urge Viet Nam and its friends to see their way clear to joining and participating in the negotiations, as much in their own interests as in those of the rest of the world.

25. All of us desire peace, stability and co-operation. The absence of stability in any region of the world affects the others and contributes to the serious dangers to global peace. South-East Asia in its present state of instability is such a region. Unless we can solve its problem, it will remain a tinder-box ready to explode in flames which will inevitably involve the rest of the world.

26. The bell that tolls in Asia tolls for all mankind, for it is as true today as it was a millennium ago that no man is an island entire of itself. If in our lack of wisdom we cannot live together, then we shall in our folly perish together.

27. My delegation urges the Assembly to adopt without demur or reservations the draft resolution which we are considering today and which has been sponsored by more than 30 delegations, and other delegations will be joining in sponsoring it.

28. Mr. KLESTIL (Austria): In the course of the last two years, the United Nations, in various organs has had to deal intensively with the situation in Kampuchea, and rightly so since the problem of Kampuchea touches upon fundamental principles of the Charter. The principle of the inadmissibility of the threat or use of force and the principle of equal rights and of self-determination of peoples, as well as non-interference in the internal affairs of States have been grossly violated. The people of Kampuchea has suffered human rights violations on an inconceivable scale—something that must never again be allowed to oc-

cur—and has been victimized by famine of catastrophic proportions.

29. The international community has responded to the plight of the Kampuchean people with solidarity and sympathy, and those feelings have been translated into an efficient and swift emergency relief programme. We understand that the situation in Kampuchea with regard to the food supplies and the basic living conditions of the people has much improved as a consequence of the determined effort of the United Nations. We should like to express our gratitude to all the donor countries, as well as to the two major organizations involved, UNICEF and the Red Cross, for that vital relief operation. We hope that this humanitarian obligation will continue to be recognized as long as the situation requires.

30. But now that the life of millions of people is no longer threatened by extinction, the need for a solution of the political problems which still prevail becomes all the more apparent. In addition to the humanitarian relief operation, the international community has to assume the responsibility of restoring to the Kampuchean people its basic right of self-determination, its basic right to decide its own political future freely, without coercion and outside interference. As a tangible expression of this commitment to a negotiated political settlement of the situation in Kampuchea, the International Conference on Kampuchea was convened in July 1981 on the basis of General Assembly resolution 35/6.

31. That resolution also contained a clear and unequivocal mandate for that Conference to pave the way for a peaceful and negotiated settlement of the Kampuchean problem with the participation of all parties involved in the conflict and others concerned, as a reflection of the guiding principle of the settlement of international disputes by peaceful means. Such a political settlement, to the attainment of which Austria is firmly committed, not only would put an end to the untold suffering of the Kampuchean people but would also stabilize the situation in the whole region of South-East Asia and guarantee the progress of the region towards peace and prosperity.

32. In his capacity as President of the International Conference on Kampuchea, the Austrian Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Pahr, in his concluding statement² already expressed our regret that not all parties to the conflict had decided to be present at the Conference and appealed to them to take part as fully and as constructively as possible in future efforts. We regard their involvement in the future stages of the Conference as a pre-condition for a comprehensive political settlement. But, even so, the Conference has done valuable work and in the Declaration has laid out the elements necessary to an eventual peaceful solution of the Kampuchean problem. Those elements are, above all, the re-establishment of the political independence and territorial integrity of Kampuchea, a freely elected government and the effective safeguarding of the human rights and fundamental freedoms of the Kampuchean people. Those elements will serve as the guiding light of all future negotiations.

33. In addition, the Conference decided to set up an *Ad Hoc* Committee, which is to start its substantive work without any undue delay. Austria sees the mandate of the *Ad Hoc* Committee as pertaining to two different elements. It will have to elaborate concrete proposals for the solution of the problem of Kampuchea on the basis of the General Assembly resolution and the Declaration of the Conference. But it will also—and this is perhaps the

more important aspect—seek to involve those States and those internal factions which were not present at the Conference, so that genuine negotiations can be initiated which will finally result in the re-establishment of Kampuchea as a sovereign and independent State where its people can live in peace and security under a freely elected government without fear of a recurrence of human rights violations and free from the influence of foreign forces.

34. The stakes are very high. At stake is the future of the nation, but so is also the chance of a whole region for peaceful development, coexistence and mutually fruitful co-operation. A solution of the problem of Kampuchea would also improve the international political climate and give new impetus to international co-operation in order to reduce tensions and attitudes of confrontation.

35. In conclusion, I wish to commend the efforts of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative, Mr. Essaafi, who, exercising their good offices, have maintained close contact with all the parties to the problem. We express the hope that their efforts will continue as a necessary corollary to the endeavours of the International Conference and its *Ad Hoc* Committee.

36. Mr. THIOUNN PRASITH (Democratic Kampuchea) (*interpretation from French*): This is the third consecutive year that the General Assembly has before it the problem of Kampuchea. But the problem has been considered in various bodies of the United Nations more than three times. It has been considered on several occasions in the Security Council, in the Economic and Social Council and its subsidiary bodies and, very recently, from 13 to 17 July 1981, by the International Conference on Kampuchea, which was held in accordance with General Assembly resolution 35/6.

37. Three years of debates on all aspects of the problem and, at the same time, three years of fighting on the military and political front in Kampuchea itself and in the international arena have, despite the intensive campaign of slander, misrepresentation and disinformation ceaselessly carried out by the Vietnamese expansionists and their supporters, shown to the world the following undeniable facts.

38. First, the Hanoi expansionists have completely failed in their “blitzkrieg” designed to achieve a total, lightning victory over the forces of Democratic Kampuchea and immediately present the world with the *fait accompli* of their invasion. All their attempts at “Khmerization” of the war and the administration of Phnom Penh have failed. The 250,000 soldiers and 50,000 civilian officials from Viet Nam are hopelessly bogged down in Kampuchea. Despite all their stagings of “elections” or of a “constitution”, the régime installed in Phnom Penh still remains the shadow of the Vietnamese occupying troops.

39. Secondly, on the international level, the isolation of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam no longer has to be proved. The international community has exposed and condemned the half-century-old strategy of the Vietnamese “Indo-China Federation” and regional expansion of the Hanoi leaders—a strategy which is an integral part of the Soviet global expansionist strategy. By their actions and oath of allegiance and by making the military bases of Danang and Camranh available to the global expansionists, the Hanoi expansionists have shown that they are simply the pawns of those global expansionists in South-

East Asia. Everyone knows that the Hanoi expansionists are the main and permanent threat to peace, security and stability in the region and the major obstacle to the establishment of a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in South-East Asia.

40. Thirdly, in Viet Nam itself, the policy of expansionism and the war of aggression against Kampuchea are increasingly being denounced and condemned by the Vietnamese people, whose living conditions are now worse than they were before the “liberation” and are constantly deteriorating even further. The people’s armed struggle being waged in the south of Viet Nam and on the highlands of central Viet Nam is developing against the Hanoi authorities. The economic morass is widening because the natural, material and human resources are being channelled to the invasion and occupation of Kampuchea, since even the diversion of international humanitarian assistance to that end has proved insufficient. Political dissension within the leading team in Hanoi is increasing. Even Soviet aid, which now exceeds \$6 million a day, is unable to improve the situation.

41. Given the decline of the Vietnamese forces, and despite the still numerous difficulties and obstacles, the situation with regard to the struggle of the people of Kampuchea for their national survival is constantly improving.

42. These three years of resolute struggle have reaffirmed that victory is certain for the people of Kampuchea in their unwavering determination to be free and independent within the territorial integrity of their country, with their national identity and dignity, and freely to decide their own future.

43. The union of all the national forces against the Vietnamese invaders is developing both within the country and abroad. It strengthens the conviction of the people of Kampuchea and the Government of Democratic Kampuchea that continued correct and loyal implementation of the new strategic policy and political programme of the Patriotic and Democratic Front of Great National Union of Kampuchea is and will remain a fundamental factor in regaining and defending national independence and sovereignty. The Government of Democratic Kampuchea would like to repeat here its determination to continue working ceaselessly to build a national union that is solid and lasting because it operates in good faith and sincerity. That is the only hope for national survival.

44. The struggle of the last three years has been encouraged by the growing support from the international community, which is becoming increasingly aware of the important role of the struggle of the people and Government of Democratic Kampuchea against Vietnamese expansionism in the defence of regional and international peace and security. This struggle is one of the major obstacles that has so far prevented the Vietnamese and Soviet expansionists from proceeding unchecked in South-East Asia and in other parts of the world.

45. The results of the fighting in the field and the many debates here and elsewhere have demonstrated the true nature of the war in Kampuchea, which is a war of aggression and genocide waged by Vietnamese troops against Democratic Kampuchea and its people. It is not a civil war; nor is it a war for the triumph of any ideology. It is a war in which what is at stake is the survival of a whole people and a whole nation. It matches the will of the people of Kampuchea to be independent against the policy of domination and annexation of the Hanoi expansion-

ists who want at any cost to absorb Kampuchea, just as they have already been able to absorb Laos in their "Indo-China Federation", which today they euphemistically call the "Group of Indochinese Countries".

46. That shows the true nature of the problem of Kampuchea. It is not a problem of decolonization, nor is it a problem of a trust territory. It is, as is stated in paragraph 3 of the Declaration of the International Conference on Kampuchea, a problem

"that has resulted from the violation of the principles of respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of States, non-interference in the internal affairs of States and the inadmissibility of the threat or use of force in international relations."

47. All countries that love peace and justice are deeply concerned over the problem of Kampuchea, just as they are anxious to preserve their national independence and sovereignty and to defend the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and of non-alignment and the rules governing international relations. This legitimate concern and the fact that Vietnamese aggression in Kampuchea, like Soviet aggression in Afghanistan, is an integral part of the global strategy of the global expansionists for world domination emphasize the international nature of the problem of Kampuchea. All the attempts of the aggressors to deny the existence of the Kampuchean problem or to transform it into a regional problem are doomed to failure.

48. These three years of successes won jointly by the people of Kampuchea and their many friends throughout the world have also been three years of devastation, grief and sorrow brought upon the entire country and every Kampuchean family by the Vietnamese invaders, who have massacred entire villages, deliberately sown famine as a means of extermination and intensively used toxic chemical weapons. All this immeasurable suffering and disaster, unprecedented in the history of Kampuchea, has lasted too long. It is high time that the Vietnamese war of genocide should stop so that the people of Kampuchea may at last, like all the other peoples of the world, live free and independent in peace within their frontiers and devote their efforts to developing their country and their well-being, in close and friendly co-operation with all the countries of the world. But being the heir to a glorious age-old civilization, to which the marvellous monuments of Angkor bear witness and which have also become the heritage of mankind as a whole, the people of Kampuchea categorically refuse to live under the yoke of foreign occupiers, whoever they may be.

49. Guided by those deeply felt and legitimate aspirations, the Government of Democratic Kampuchea has on several occasions proposed a peaceful, just and lasting solution based on three elements: first, the total and unconditional withdrawal from Kampuchea of all military and civilian Vietnamese forces; secondly, free general elections held under the supervision of the United Nations; thirdly, guarantees by the international community and the United Nations for an independent, united, peaceful, neutral and non-aligned Kampuchea.

50. That reasonable proposal is supported by all countries and peoples that love peace and justice because it accords with the principles of the Charter and of non-alignment, as can be seen from the overwhelming majority that voted in favour of General Assembly resolutions 34/22 and 35/6. Paragraph 6 of the Declaration of the

International Conference on Kampuchea stresses the Conference's conviction that

"the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea, the restoration and preservation of its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and the commitment by all States to non-interference and non-intervention in the internal affairs of Kampuchea are the principal components of any just and lasting solution to the Kampuchea problem."

51. The Conference also decided to set up an *Ad Hoc* Committee to assist it in seeking a comprehensive political settlement of the problem of Kampuchea in accordance with General Assembly resolution 35/6 and to act as an advisory body to the Secretary-General.

52. Of the three main elements I have mentioned, the withdrawal of all Vietnamese forces from Kampuchea—I emphasize the words "of all Vietnamese forces from Kampuchea—is the basic prerequisite. The conflict in Kampuchea is primarily a conflict between the aggressor and the aggressed-upon, and it can be resolved only through a halt to the aggression and the total withdrawal of the aggressor. Negotiations to that end can be entered into only by the parties to the conflict, and they are, on the one hand, the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, the aggressor; and, on the other, Democratic Kampuchea, the victim.

53. The Phnom Penh régime is of no reality at all and it is in no way a party to the conflict, for the following reasons.

54. First, that régime was set up by the Vietnamese invaders and its so-called leaders are simply imports from North Viet Nam. They were brought in by Soviet-made Vietnamese tanks. Those so-called leaders were brought to Hanoi by the Viet Minh in 1954 after the Geneva Agreements, and since then they have been brought up in, imbued with and educated in the spirit of the Vietnamese strategy of "Indo-China Federation" and have virtually become, in body and soul, the servile instruments of the Vietnamese expansionists of Hanoi.

55. Secondly, in the areas provisionally occupied by the Vietnamese troops, all matters are decided on by 50,000 Vietnamese civilians placed under the leadership of Le Duc Tho, a member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Viet Nam in Saigon. The few Kampuchean who have been recruited in exchange for international humanitarian assistance diverted by the Vietnamese army are there only to serve as a smoke-screen. Even at the level of propaganda it is the Vietnamese VNA agency which disseminates news under the name of the so-called press service of the Phnom Penh régime.

56. Thirdly, the so-called People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea, which was set up for purely opportunistic reasons, is simply a branch of the "Indo-Chinese Communist Party"—which later became the Communist Party of Viet Nam—to prepare for the absorption of Kampuchea into the Vietnamese "Indo-China Federation", just as in 1951 the "People's Revolutionary Party of Laos" was set up—the Laotian branch of the Communist Party of Viet Nam. Those two so-called Parties are placed under the actual management of the Political Bureau and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Viet Nam.

57. Fourthly, and lastly, the sham "elections" and "constitution" have changed absolutely nothing in the nature

of that phantom Party and that régime, which is still nothing but the shadow of the occupying Vietnamese forces. This is a fact which is widely known. In this connection, the Foreign Ministers of the countries of the Association of South-East Asian Nations [ASEAN] declare¹ in their joint communiqué of 18 June 1981 [see A/36/337] that those “so-called elections . . . constituted a desperate attempt to confer legitimacy upon the Vietnamese-installed . . . régime in Kampuchea. They firmly emphasized that these fraudulent elections did not constitute a genuine expression of the free will of the Kampuchean people, for these elections were held under the shadow cast by the presence of 200,000 Vietnamese soldiers. They restated their firm belief that as long as the Vietnamese occupation forces remained in Kampuchea, the Kampuchean people could not pursue their national interests, form a government of their own choice or freely elect their leaders.”

58. The International Conference on Kampuchea, in paragraph 7 of its Declaration, made it most clear that as long as “ . . . foreign armed intervention continues and . . . the foreign forces have not been withdrawn from Kampuchea . . . [it will be] impossible for the Kampuchean people to express their will in free elections.”¹

59. It is clear that after the total withdrawal of Vietnamese forces and Vietnamese civilian agents that régime and Party will simply disappear along with their master.

60. General Assembly resolutions 34/22 and 35/6 and the Declaration of the International Conference on Kampuchea, supported by two thirds of the States Members of the United Nations, were described by the Hanoi expansionists as “illegal” and as “distorting” the situation in Kampuchea and South-East Asia, while all the Member States which voted for the resolutions were described as a “misled majority”. For Hanoi only those that support its policy of aggression and expansionism, only those that support its law of the jungle, are those that “cherish peace and justice” and deserve its praise. On the other hand, the overwhelming majority of peoples and States, that is all those that oppose its expansionist designs, its “Indo-China Federation” and its invasion and occupation of Kampuchea, are accused of being imperialists and reactionaries. It is true that the gangsters have their own logic and their own special vocabulary that are not to be found anywhere in the codes of conduct of the civilized world among States that respect the Charter of the United Nations.

61. In their attempts to justify their aggression against Kampuchea and their refusal to withdraw all their forces from Kampuchea, the Hanoi expansionists first of all quoted the so-called invitation to free them supposedly addressed to them by the people of Kampuchea, but in fact the so-called treaty setting forth the so-called invitation saw the light of day only on 18 February 1979, which was one and a half months after the invasion. Since that pretext was rejected by the international community and contradicted by the facts, they then pulled out the “Chinese threat”, trying to lay at someone else’s door all the evil deeds which they themselves had committed and are still committing. The international community quickly exposed that example of pure machiavellianism. It clearly saw that the more the Vietnamese expansionists referred to the “Chinese threat” supposedly coming from the north, the more they intensified their invasion of Kampuchea and their expansionist push towards the countries in the south. The international community also emphasized that the Vietnamese pretext was similar to the

pretext given by the invaders of Afghanistan to justify their armed occupation of the country until the so-called outside threat ceased.

62. The bitter experiences of the past have shown us that the use of force has always been the main recourse of the Hanoi expansionists in their attempts to attain the objectives set forth in their strategy of “Indo-China Federation” and expansion throughout South-East Asia. It is only when the people of Kampuchea, uniting all their national forces, inflict on the military and political fronts even harsher defeats, and it is only when all the countries that cherish peace and justice in the world exercise economic and diplomatic pressure in such a way that the Vietnamese can no longer bear it, that the Hanoi expansionists will be forced to withdraw all their forces from Kampuchea and to respect the demands of the international community. Bitter experience and the lessons of the past have shown that it is dangerous and even fatal to make concessions to the Hanoi expansionists in the hope that they might become more flexible. To those expansionists negotiations are only opportunities for carrying on delaying tactics in order to sow division in the ranks of those they negotiate with and to obtain what they have not been able to obtain by force of arms.

63. At the present time the people of Kampuchea are still suffering bitterly because of this. Indeed, while efforts are made to try to make the Hanoi expansionists more reasonable and to obtain by “gentle means” total withdrawal of the Vietnamese forces from Kampuchea, Hanoi has already on its new maps included the whole of the so-called Bec de Canard region in Viet Nam. Moreover Viet Nam has already sent to Kampuchea half a million Vietnamese to set up settlements in the eastern provinces of Kampuchea after having driven the Kampuchean peasants from their lands. Its intention is that after it has been obliged to withdraw all its forces from Kampuchea, it will be able to present that *fait accompli* of the presence of its Vietnamese nationals in Kampuchea and then use them in the electoral college at the time of general elections supervised by the United Nations.

64. Until the Hanoi expansionists withdraw all their forces from Kampuchea and respect the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly, the people of Kampuchea, their national army and the Government of Democratic Kampuchea have no choice but resolutely to continue their struggles on the military, political and diplomatic fronts, co-ordinating them closely and doing all that is necessary to develop their fighting forces in the field. In calling upon all countries and peoples that cherish peace and justice to increase their aid and support for our just struggle, we ask them to do nothing that could jeopardize the development of those armed forces in the field. If this fundamental struggle were to be eliminated, there would be no reason for our debates here, because the Hanoi expansionists would already have achieved in the field the *fait accompli* of their invasion of Kampuchea.

65. After the total and unconditional withdrawal of Vietnamese military and civilian forces, it will be up to the sovereign people of Kampuchea to organize themselves to exercise their sacred right to determine their own future and to elect a government of their own choice in free and general elections, through direct and secret ballots, without any coercion by any armed or other forces. Although the exercise of that sovereign right is a purely internal matter for the people of Kampuchea, the Government of Democratic Kampuchea, demonstrating its sincerity and good faith, has already agreed of its own accord that

those elections should be placed under the strict and complete supervision of the United Nations. It has undertaken on several occasions commitments to ensure that those elections shall take place in an atmosphere of national union, the only objective being to ensure national survival and to defend for ever national independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity once they have been regained. The Government of Democratic Kampuchea reaffirms that it will respect the results of those loyal and sincere elections, and that, because of its geopolitical situation and for its own survival, Kampuchea can establish only a liberal parliamentary régime that will build neither socialism nor communism.

66. We cannot say often enough that the genuine union of all national forces is the fundamental element in swiftly putting an end to the current war and ensuring the perpetuation of Kampuchea as an independent nation with its national identity. The Government of Democratic Kampuchea will never abandon this vital path, at present or after the liberation, in the national reconstruction for which Kampuchea and its people will need urgent aid and the co-operation of all countries of the world in all areas, based on equality and mutual benefit.

67. We wish also to reaffirm here that, after its liberation from the Vietnamese occupation, the only way for Kampuchea to ensure its survival in the concert of nations is to remain independent, united, peaceful, neutral and non-aligned, without any foreign military bases in its territory, with the guarantee of the United Nations and the international community. We therefore welcome with satisfaction paragraphs 11 and 12 of the Declaration of the International Conference on Kampuchea.

68. As for our relations with the Vietnamese people and with Viet Nam itself, the people of Kampuchea and its Government, once we have freely chosen it, will have no interest in hatred or bitterness, or even in demanding war reparations, after the total withdrawal of Vietnamese forces from Kampuchea. We are determined to live in peace and on good terms with our neighbour in the east and with all our other neighbours in the region.

69. During this debate the General Assembly will be considering draft resolution A/36/L.3/Rev.1, which has just been eloquently introduced by our respected dean, General Romulo of the Philippines, an illustrious defender of the sacred principles of the Charter, of which he himself was a signatory. My delegation wishes once again to express its heartfelt thanks to all the sponsors of the draft resolution, including in particular the five ASEAN countries, which continue to spare no effort to find a comprehensive political solution to the problem of Kampuchea, which, as paragraph 8 of the Declaration of the International Conference on Kampuchea emphasizes, "is vital to the establishment of a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in South-East Asia".¹

70. The people of Kampuchea and its current and future legitimate Government will not forget these efforts within the context of the Charter of the United Nations and the principles of non-alignment aimed at restoring Kampuchea's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. They will remain worthy of their trust and solidarity.

71. My delegation would like to thank most warmly Mr. Willibald Pahr, Federal Minister for Foreign Affairs of Austria, who, guided by his noble ideals of peace and justice, presided over the International Conference on Kampuchea and guided it to its successful results. We

should also like to express again our great appreciation of, and thanks to, the Secretary-General and his representatives for their tireless efforts to ensure the implementation of the relevant United Nations resolutions and particularly the convening of the International Conference on Kampuchea.

72. Draft resolution A/36/L.3/Rev.1 is in keeping with resolutions 34/22 and 35/6. Under its terms, the General Assembly would endorse the Declaration¹ and the resolution³ of the International Conference on Kampuchea. All these documents set out the framework for a peaceful, just and lasting settlement of the problem of Kampuchea in accordance with the Charter and within the framework of the United Nations.

73. We appeal to all Members of the Organization anxious to ensure respect for the Charter and to help strengthen the role of the Organization in the maintenance of international peace and security by peaceful means, in accordance with the principles of justice and international law, to support the draft resolution. Their vote in favour will play an important part in making the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam follow the path of reason, resume its place in the civilized world and participate, as the Declaration of the International Conference on Kampuchea emphasized in its last paragraph, in

"a peaceful solution of the Kampuchean problem and . . . the restoration of peace and stability to the region of South-East Asia. This will enable all the countries of the region to devote themselves to the task of economic and social development, to engage in confidence-building and to promote regional co-operation in all fields of endeavour, thus heralding a new era of peace, concord and amity in South-East Asia."¹

74. My delegation thanks all those Members most deeply and warmly in advance for their invaluable support, which will remain engraved in the hearts of all the people of Kampuchea.

75. Mr. NISIBORI (Japan): As an Asian nation, my country is profoundly concerned over the situation in Kampuchea, which is adversely affecting the peace and stability of South-East Asia.

76. The core of the Kampuchean problem lies in the fact that the Kampuchean people have been denied their right to self-determination owing to foreign military intervention, and that as a result the peace and security of South-East Asia have been threatened and its stability and prosperity disrupted. Although a considerable amount of time has passed since the deplorable situation in Kampuchea arose, the problem remains unsolved. Japan has been steadfastly maintaining its basic position that the only way to restore lasting peace to Kampuchea and to ensure the peace and security of the region is by allowing the Kampuchean people freely to choose their own political future without fear of foreign intervention.

77. In accordance with this basic position, Japan co-sponsored the draft resolutions which became General Assembly resolutions 34/22 and 35/6, which contain various elements necessary for the settlement of the problem, including a demand for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Kampuchea and a reaffirmation of the right of the Kampuchean people to self-determination. The resolutions also defined a fundamental framework for a possible political settlement acceptable to the international community.

78. Japan, in co-operation with the members of ASEAN, undertook various diplomatic efforts for the implementation of those resolutions and proposed the convening of an international conference on Kampuchea in which all parties and countries concerned would participate.

79. We are deeply gratified that as a result of those efforts, as well as of those of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative, Mr. Essaafi, the International Conference on Kampuchea was convened last July as a first step towards a solution of the Kampuchean problem, in accordance with resolution 35/6 and with the participation of two thirds of the States Members of the United Nations. My delegation heartily welcomed the adoption by consensus of the Declaration and resolution of the Conference.

80. Japan firmly believes that the best way to achieve a just and lasting solution of the Kampuchean problem is by promptly initiating negotiations and pursuing them vigorously in accordance with the Declaration and resolution adopted with the overwhelming support of the international community. Therefore, my delegation strongly urges that the negotiations be started as soon as possible, with the participation of all parties and States concerned, for the withdrawal of foreign forces and the holding of free elections under the supervision of the United Nations, so that the Declaration and resolution can be implemented and a comprehensive political solution of the problem achieved at the earliest possible date.

81. In this connection, it is extremely regrettable that in spite of those efforts of the international community Viet Nam, which is one of the parties concerned, boycotted the International Conference on Kampuchea and still refuses to join negotiations for a comprehensive political solution of the problem. Japan implores all parties and countries concerned to take part in negotiations aiming at a peaceful solution of the problem in response to the voice of the overwhelming majority of the world public as clearly reflected in the Declaration and resolution of the International Conference on Kampuchea.

82. As I mentioned earlier, Japan, together with the ASEAN countries, has been making diplomatic efforts to realize the implementation of relevant General Assembly resolutions. Japan played a positive role at the International Conference on Kampuchea last summer and joined the *Ad Hoc* Committee established by the Conference. Through the activities of the *Ad Hoc* Committee, as well as through other channels, Japan intends to continue its efforts in the hope that peace will be restored to Kampuchea as soon as possible.

83. The major objective of the General Assembly in its current deliberations on the Kampuchean problem is to gain the endorsement by an overwhelming majority of the Member States of the Declaration and resolution adopted at the International Conference. Thus it is hoped that by repeating the international community's call for a peaceful settlement of the conflict and its rejection of armed intervention in another country, and by presenting once again a basic framework for such a settlement, the General Assembly will create an international environment that will bring the countries concerned to the negotiating table. From that point of view, Japan fully supports and indeed has joined the ASEAN countries in sponsoring draft resolution A/36/L.3/Rev.1.

84. We believe that all Member States which respect international justice and seek world peace will support that draft resolution. At the same time, we strongly appeal to Viet Nam to respond positively to the voice of the overwhelming majority of Member States as reflected in the Declaration and resolution of the International Conference.

85. In this connection, I should like to reiterate the suggestion made by Mr. Sonoda, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Japan, in his statement at the current session of the General Assembly [8th meeting] that the Secretary-General should continue to use his good offices and undertake initiatives—for example, by dispatching his Special Representative to the countries concerned—so that a peaceful settlement of the problem may be achieved.

86. Japan highly appreciates the United Nations joint relief activities for Indochinese refugees, including those from Kampuchea, and hopes that the United Nations will play an even greater role in the future. We have contributed to the best of our ability to those activities, for purely humanitarian reasons and in the hope of alleviating the burden borne by Thailand and other countries in South-East Asia.

87. It is our belief that such joint relief activities should be continued as long as the need for emergency relief assistance exists and refugees are imposing a burden upon the countries of South-East Asia, especially Thailand. Japan, for its part, will continue to co-operate in such activities. In addition, in order to solve the refugee problem it is of urgent importance not only to provide relief assistance to refugees, but also to find ways to eradicate the root cause of the refugee problem. In this context, Japan appeals to those countries from which refugees are fleeing to make further efforts to restrain their outflow.

88. The Kampuchean refugee problem, however, is only one aspect of the multifaceted problem in Kampuchea. Its fundamental solution, therefore, can never be achieved unless a comprehensive political solution is found. From this viewpoint, too, Japan renews its appeal to Viet Nam to abandon its pursuit of a military solution of the Kampuchean problem, to consider seriously the conclusions reached at the International Conference, and to take part in negotiations aiming at a solution of the Kampuchean problem. Only then can peace and prosperity be restored throughout the entire South-East Asian region.

89. Mrs. KIRKPATRICK (United States of America): Our purpose in meeting here today is both clear and urgent: to uphold the right of the Kampuchean people, as of all people, to self-determination; to restore Kampuchea's sovereign identity and national independence; to bring stability, peace and development to South-East Asia, an area that has suffered destruction, violence and death for too long.

90. At each of its two preceding sessions the General Assembly, by overwhelming majorities, has found the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam in violation of fundamental provisions of the Charter: the inviolability of the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of nations, of non-interference in the internal affairs of other nations and the inadmissibility of the threat or use of force in international relations. A Conference mandated by the Assembly last year has reaffirmed these findings and proposed a programme to restore Kampuchea's independence, territorial integrity and sovereignty and to allow

the Kampuchean people freely to choose their own Government.

91. Almost three years have passed since the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, supported and financed by the Soviet Union, first invaded and occupied Kampuchea, and nearly 200,000 Vietnamese troops still occupy that grief-stricken nation. The people of Kampuchea, ravaged by a succession of horrors, including three decades of war and the savage rule of Pol Pot, must now endure conquest and occupation by their historic adversaries. Vietnamese forces and administrators stand above the law in Kampuchea. They deny all human rights to the conquered Khmer people. Vietnamese penetration of the country is broad and deep. Vietnamese advisers work in Phnom Penh and in rural areas; each Khmer province has a sister province in Viet Nam to "assist" it. All ministries have Vietnamese advisers, who hold final decision-making power. Kampucheans willing to work for the Vietnamese puppet régime have been paid in internationally provided relief commodities; rural Khmer not employed by the régime are left to fend for themselves. Naturally, economic breakdown has accompanied Viet Nam's alien, imperialistic Government. An unofficial landbridge spanning the Thai-Kampuchean border, and established over the objections of Vietnamese authorities, has rescued some 1 million Khmer from starvation.

92. But while the people of Kampuchea are the principal victims of Viet Nam's aggression, they are not its only victims: the people of Viet Nam itself—indeed, all the people of South-East Asia—suffer from the oppressive tyranny of the Vietnamese Government. The pursuit of an unpopular war has caused widespread misery within Viet Nam, and imperialist adventures have necessitated escalation of the already scandalous level of oppression inside Viet Nam. Not surprisingly, then, thousands of Vietnamese continue to flee their country each month, risking pirates, storms and rejection, citing government repression, unreasonable controls on daily life, stepped-up military conscription and deteriorating economic conditions as their reasons for leaving. Once again misery and insecurity engulf the region and the people of non-communist South-East Asia, having only recently emerged from a conflict of 30 years' duration, face a precarious future as their Governments divert resources sorely needed for development to strengthen their defences against the possibility of further Vietnamese expansionism.

93. Viet Nam's aggression also confronts the rest of us here in the United Nations with a grave challenge. If Viet Nam can invade, subjugate and occupy a neighbouring State by brute force and with impunity and retain the prize of its aggression, then the security of all Members is substantially diminished. Aggression feeds on aggression. It is the great lesson and the warning of history. It is hardly necessary to note that aggression is no more tolerable because its perpetrators claim to have been "invited in" by a régime that did not exist until it was set up by those selfsame aggressors. Viet Nam's actions threaten to establish an ominous precedent whose consequences should be of very special concern to the smaller, non-aligned Members of this body.

94. How has the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam justified this travesty against the Kampuchean people? What defence has it offered for this threat to its other neighbours in South-East Asia, this affront to the vital principles of international order, reaffirmed in this case specifically at two sessions of the General Assembly? It has

answered, as tyrants always do, with a great lie, for tyranny abhors truth and is sustained only by lies.

95. Representatives of Viet Nam have responded to the clearly expressed will of the overwhelming majority of the Members of the Organization by accusing that majority of interference in Kampuchean affairs. They have rejected the legitimate role of the United Nations in seeking a solution to this international tragedy and have attempted to portray Viet Nam's aggression as a rescue mission undertaken at the behest of the Heng Samrin régime. Vietnamese efforts to justify their invasion and occupation of Kampuchea are both disingenuous and incredible, and only serve to bring their nation into further disrepute.

96. Viet Nam's claim to have acted at the behest of the Heng Samrin régime is absurd on its face. The Heng Samrin régime, which according to Hanoi invited Vietnamese forces into Kampuchea and whose permission Hanoi piously claims is required in order to withdraw Vietnamese forces from Kampuchea, is, of course, a Vietnamese creation, whose power is maintained by Vietnamese weapons. That Government did not even exist at the time of the invasion; its so-called invitation to the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam had to be issued retroactively, after the Vietnamese forces had already invaded and occupied Kampuchea. In this as in other respects, the Vietnamese invasion of Kampuchea is strikingly, tragically analogous to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. Indeed, the new imperialism can be recognized everywhere by its aggressiveness, its violence, its contempt for truth.

97. Viet Nam's attempt to pose as the liberator of the Kampuchean people is a particularly clumsy masquerade that has fooled no one. All of us remember that it was precisely that Government of Viet Nam that assisted the accession of the Pol Pot régime to power in the first place. All of us remember that, at a time when many of our Governments were bitterly critical of the Pol Pot régime for its notorious human rights violations, it was the Government of Viet Nam that staunchly defended Pol Pot's human rights record. In this and in other forums, Viet Nam persisted in its defence of the Pol Pot régime, right up to its invasion of Kampuchea late in 1978. Thus, Viet Nam's contention that its invasion of Kampuchea was prompted by a solicitude for the human rights of the Kampuchean people is the kind of falsehood that is as offensive as it is egregious.

98. Instead of rescuing the Kampuchean people from oppression, the Vietnamese have demonstrated a cruel, cynical disregard for their welfare. It was Viet Nam's invasion which precipitated a massive famine throughout Kampuchea, bringing starvation and further devastation to a people that already had suffered too much. It was Vietnamese-imposed authorities who then endeavoured, first, to deny the very fact of the famine to potential donors of relief outside Kampuchea and, then, to obstruct the efforts of international organizations and other donors to provide desperately needed relief to the people of Kampuchea. That callous policy has forced hundreds of thousands of Khmer to flee their ancestral homes for Thailand and for the border no-man's land. By in effect hurling these Khmer on their neighbour's doorstep, Viet Nam and its Kampuchean puppet régime have abdicated the most basic responsibilities of a Government. That the refugees who have left Kampuchea for Thailand, or for the relative safety of the Thai-Kampuchean border, remain there for fear of returning to Viet Nam-dominated Kampuchea is

the clearest possible demonstration of the true character of Viet Nam's self-styled "liberation".

99. It is a marvellous tribute to the United Nations that the specialized agencies have been able to meet this massive humanitarian challenge. When I visited the border camps last August, I felt then and have said repeatedly that seeing their good work made me proud of the United Nations and proud of my country's contributions to the agencies that carry out that great work. I was, therefore, especially pleased when that great honour, the Nobel Prize for Peace, was awarded to the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. The High Commissioner, Mr. Poul Hartling, and those who assist him deserve the gratitude of the international community for their efforts on behalf of the victims of war and political tyranny.

100. Reviewing the arguments advanced by Hanoi to justify its aggression, one can only marvel at their lameness, their utter lack of plausibility. In fact, no arguments, however artfully constructed, could possibly obscure the reality that the Government of Viet Nam, financed and supported by the Soviet Union, has conquered a State Member of the United Nations. It has refused to comply with repeated General Assembly resolutions calling on it to withdraw its forces. It has refused to attend the International Conference on Kampuchea mandated by the General Assembly to seek a solution to the Kampuchean problem. It has profoundly compromised its own integrity and independence by making itself an instrument of Soviet ambition in Asia.

101. A majority of the nations of the world have clearly asserted and reiterated that they will not acquiesce in Viet Nam's aggression. Neither will they forget it. They have rejected Viet Nam's threadbare rationalizations and have formulated a concrete programme to restore Kampuchea's independence, territorial integrity and sovereignty, a programme which will allow the Kampuchean people to choose their own government. The Declaration of the International Conference on Kampuchea judiciously addresses the needs of all parties and provides a reasonable, practical and wholly honourable basis for a negotiated settlement of the Kampuchean problem.

102. It calls for a United Nations-supervised withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea. It makes full provision for the legitimate security needs of all the countries of the region, including Viet Nam. It contains safe-

guards to ensure that armed Kampuchean factions would be unable to prevent, disrupt, intimidate or coerce the outcome of free elections. It emphasizes the need for an independent Kampuchea to remain neutral and non-aligned. And it calls upon the Government of Viet Nam to participate in the negotiating process that can lead to a peaceful solution to the Kampuchean problem and a restoration of peace and stability to South-East Asia. In addition, through its *Ad Hoc* Committee, and through the possibility of its reconvening whenever needed, the Conference represents a continuing mechanism to negotiate a settlement in Kampuchea.

103. The Declaration of the International Conference on Kampuchea was formulated by the countries of the region with the advice and unanimous approval of the delegations present, which comprise a majority of the United Nations membership. We believe the General Assembly should now formally express its strong support for the Declaration by its vote on the present draft resolution. We call upon the Government of Viet Nam and its Soviet patron to heed the Assembly's urgent plea for justice and compassion and to join in negotiations designed to resolve the tragic plight of the people of Kampuchea and end the threat to the peace and stability of South-East Asia. Surely the Kampuchean people, and all people of South-East Asia, are entitled to more from life than endless conflict and constant turmoil. Surely they deserve our unremitting efforts to restore peace, independence and security to their strife-torn region.

104. The principles of self-determination, of national independence, of non-aggression—the principles on which the Organization was founded—have never been more centrally involved than here, in the continuing occupation of Kampuchea. The integrity of the United Nations and the well-being of the Kampuchean people are therefore at stake this morning.

The meeting rose at 12.30 p.m.

NOTES

¹ See *Report of the International Conference on Kampuchea, New York (13-17 July 1981)* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.81.I.20), annex I.

² *Ibid.*, annex III.

³ *Ibid.*, annex II.