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

AGENDA ITEM 22

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

1. Mr. SOURINHO (Lao People's Democratic Republic) (*interpretation from French*): It is not with gladness of heart that my delegation is speaking again this year at this rostrum to denounce the partial and illegal nature of the debate on the so-called situation in Kampuchea which the General Assembly began yesterday following, as was the case in the two preceding years, the skillfully hatched manoeuvres ceaselessly repeated by some of its members, with the encouragement and active support of two great Powers. I refer to China and the United States, which pursue similar goals in South-East Asia, in order to pit the members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations [ASEAN] against the group of Indo-Chinese countries, to achieve as far as China is concerned, its long-term hegemonistic and expansionist designs in all the countries of the region, and to preserve as far as the United States is concerned its former influence, which has been decreasing in that part of the world since the resounding defeat of its military adventure in Indo-China in 1975.

2. Together with the grim designs of those two major Powers, the ultimate objective of all these instigators, principals and auxiliaries alike, in maintaining the item entitled "the situation in Kampuchea" on the agenda of the present session of the General Assembly is to interfere cynically in the internal affairs of the people of Kampuchea and oppose the rebirth of that people, as well as to deprive the People's Republic of Kampuchea of its rightful place in the Organization, for the benefit of a genocidal band which the entire world has definitively condemned.

3. That, in truth, is the real significance of the present consideration of the so-called situation in Kampuchea.

4. It should also be noted that never before in the history of the Organization, which has just in honour and dignity passed the milestone of its 36 years of existence, has such open and clear-cut interference in the internal affairs of a Member State of the kind we are now witnessing been committed by the United Nations under any pretext whatsoever. The maintenance for three years now of the so-called question of the situation in Kampuchea on the agenda of the General Assembly and the present discussion of this question in this important forum in de-

fiance of the forceful opposition of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, which is the sole legal and legitimate Government of the Kampuchean people and the true master of the country, is not only a truly singular phenomenon but also extremely dangerous for peaceful coexistence among peoples.

5. For all those reasons, my delegation wishes clearly to affirm its sharp protest and deep indignation concerning the decadent and pernicious exercise into which some members of the Assembly have very cynically drawn the United Nations. We hope that, in the interest of this body as well as in the interest of peace and stability in South-East Asia and throughout the world, this exercise will come to an end at this session and that the General Assembly will in future devote all its valuable material and moral resources to the consideration of the urgent concrete questions facing the world which really do involve the self-determination of peoples, international peace and security and the economic and social development of third-world countries.

6. After all, we all know full well that a just solution cannot be found to a false problem or a problem artificially created. The so-called problem of Kampuchea is clearly in that category of invention.

7. For three years now it has been loudly proclaimed to one and all that the so-called situation in Kampuchea constitutes a grave threat to the peace and security of neighbouring countries, especially those of ASEAN and particularly Thailand. But three years have elapsed and the whole world knows that the peace and security of Kampuchea's neighbours and in particular the peace and security of Thailand, have never once been threatened or disturbed by Kampuchea; on the contrary, they have been threatened by attempted *coups d'état* within Thailand by its own higher officials and generals, the most recent of which occurred last April.

8. Moreover, the peace and security of Thailand and those of the other ASEAN countries are really threatened—as all the leaders of these countries know full well—by the undermining and subversive activities of pseudo-revolutionary groups of a Maoist bent operating within the borders of these countries with the help and unflinching support of China. To minimize that threat or attempt to blame others for shameful designs or ulterior considerations would be to allow ourselves to be drawn into the machiavellian manoeuvres of the Beijing hegemonists, whose talents for subversion are equalled only by their expansionist thirst.

9. As an immediate neighbour of the People's Republic of Kampuchea my country is just as interested and concerned as, if not more so than, most of the ASEAN countries by what happens in Kampuchea.

10. But what has happened in Kampuchea that has caused or, more precisely, justified the international community's agitating for three years now against the Kam-

puchean people, which, having for four long years endured harsh, genocidal trials, on the contrary deserve all our sympathy, not to mention our assistance, if only on the basis of human rights and morals. What happened exactly in Kampuchea on 7 January 1979 was that, unable to resign itself to certain extinction because of the systematic policy of extermination followed since its historic victory of 15 April 1975, by the Pol Pot clique, which was governing the country by means of bloodshed and with the assistance of untold numbers of Chinese advisers, the heroic people of Kampuchea rose up throughout the country and overthrew their executioners with the help of Vietnamese forces, which were fulfilling an international duty, just as Chinese volunteers did with regard to the Korean people during the Korean war at the beginning of the 1950s.

11. This type of military assistance by one country to a brother people victim of the policy of genocide practised on a large scale by tyrannical leaders is not unique to the peoples of Indo-China; the history of the past 30 years has shown that it was given also by other countries and other peoples at other times and in other parts of the world, including some who for three years have shamelessly joined their voices to those of the countries which, for well-calculated political designs, continue to raise a hue and cry concerning the invasion of Kampuchea by Viet Nam and clamour for the right to self-determination for the people of Kampuchea, while some of them obstinately persist in denying that same right to certain peoples and Territories which they have subjugated and conquered by force.

12. It suffices to look at the list of participants in the recent so-called International Conference on Kampuchea, about which there has been and continues to be a great deal of publicity, and at the list of sponsors of draft resolution A/36/L.3/Rev.1 to become aware of the well-founded nature of the statements I have just made. Among those sponsors—and this is the height of irony—we see the names of certain countries whose Governments have acceded to or been maintained in power thanks to the bayonets of foreign forces and, worse still, thanks to the help of mercenaries.

13. Therefore, this draft resolution, on which I shall have an opportunity to speak at a later stage, is for us totally unacceptable because of the legal and moral credibility of some of its sponsors, not to mention other considerations.

14. In any event, I wish to return to the so-called situation in Kampuchea, which is of interest to many of us. Having overthrown its executioners and swept away all the agents of genocide from the capital and the rest of the country, the people of Kampuchea founded the People's Republic of Kampuchea, which has resolutely opted for a foreign policy of peace, independence, friendship and non-alignment. Subsequently it has affirmed on many occasions its determination to establish relations of good-neighbourliness and co-operation with all the countries of the region on the basis of strict respect for the principles of independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, non-interference in internal affairs, the peaceful settlement of disputes, equality and mutual advantage.

15. This policy, which is in keeping with the Charter and with the purposes and principles of the non-aligned movement, has been pursued unswervingly by the People's Republic of Kampuchea since its inception, which has given growing international support, and now more

than 30 countries that love peace and justice recognize the People's Republic of Kampuchea. There are those who have not yet taken a decision, but the time will come when justice will inevitably triumph.

16. On the domestic level, having barely escaped final extermination, the heroic people of Kampuchea, although greatly weakened by four years of genocide, courageously set to work to bind its wounds and to build a new society. Thanks mainly to its own efforts and the various kinds of assistance of fraternal socialist countries, other friendly countries and international organizations, the people of Kampuchea has made remarkable progress in all fields. It has, especially at the economic and social levels, in spite of the vast difficulties left by the long and devastating war of aggression and above all the genocidal régime, achieved satisfactory results in developing agricultural production, as a result of the increase in cultivated land from 800,000 hectares in 1979, which is forecast at 1,800,000 hectares for this year.

17. During the past three years the valiant people of Kampuchea has also set in motion many industrial enterprises, restored all channels of communication and reopened and established schools, universities, hospitals and sanitary services throughout the country. It has, moreover, reopened its markets and circulated currency, which has contributed to the progressive normalization and improvement of its own living standards at a time of outstanding progress in science and technology.

18. As regards the political and security levels, together with operations to clean up the Pol Pot debris, in May last, in the presence of many international news media correspondents, the people of Kampuchea conducted the first general democratic elections throughout the country, following which State institutions were set up, including the National Assembly, the Council of State and the Council of Ministers.

19. In view of those accomplishments it is clear that under the banner of the People's Republic of Kampuchea the situation in Kampuchea is being normalized and strengthened constantly at the economic, social and political levels alike. In these circumstances we cannot understand why some among us here, to the detriment of the realism and logic that should characterize the mature spirit of the representatives in the General Assembly, persist in inventing "the Kampuchean problem", a problem that exists only in this Hall and in the capitals of some neighbouring countries, where there are feverish activities of subversion and open interference in the internal affairs of the people of Kampuchea. Eloquent testimony to that was provided by the recent summit meeting of the traitors Khieu Samphan, Son Sann and Sihanouk—which was, as may be seen from the statement by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea dated 16 October 1981 [see A/36/609], a meeting organized by the Government of Singapore which took place in the capital of that country—and the fruitless negotiations now taking place, as a result of that ignominious gathering, in Bangkok between the representatives of the three factions with the aim of establishing a so-called coalition Government opposed to the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

20. I ask all the representatives here whether those activities are not flagrant violations of the Charter and the basic norms of international law. I invite all those who hold dear respect for the time-honoured principles governing relations among States to give this matter serious thought.

21. In the course of the present debate and during earlier discussions in the General Assembly on the so-called situation in Kampuchea, some have talked about a *fait accompli* in Kampuchea to justify the interminable discussion of this question within the Organization and perhaps to justify still more pernicious actions in the future against that battered country.

22. In this connection I should like to ask them the following questions. How many *faits accomplis* have they seen in international relations since the creation of the United Nations? Have they never seen a case such as that of Kampuchea in other parts of the world, at other times? In asking these questions I am not trying to encourage *faits accomplis*; I do not want to give that impression. That is why I want clearly to state that my country condemns all—I stress “all”—*faits accomplis* wherever they may occur. Accordingly, we have firmly condemned the *faits accomplis* brought about by the South African racist régime within the framework of its contemptible policy of bantustanization in southern Africa and in the promotion of an internal settlement in Namibia. We have also energetically condemned the *faits accomplis* brought about by Israel in its policy of settlements in the occupied Arab territories. In the face of all these *faits accomplis* we have noted with great regret that the positions of some countries that today speak eloquently about a so-called *fait accompli* in Kampuchea are in complete contradiction of what they practise. We are swimming in a great sea of stagnant hypocrisy. For the some 30 sovereign States that have recognized the People's Republic of Kampuchea, what took place on 7 January 1979 in Kampuchea was well accomplished, a good *fait accompli*, since it made it possible for the people of Kampuchea to escape genocide.

23. For some 48 hours now the entire General Assembly, or at any rate my delegation, has been drowning in crocodile tears shed over the fate of the people of Kampuchea, which does not need this false compassion.

24. As was clearly stressed by the Vice-President of the Council of Ministers and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, Mr. Hun Sen, in his telegram dated 13 October to the President of the General Assembly and the Secretary-General, “there is no ‘Kampuchean problem’ and consequently no ‘global political solution’ to be found to it” [see A/36/596].

25. In the light of that categorical statement on the part of one of the highest officials of Kampuchea, it would be highly desirable, and consistent with the Charter, for the General Assembly to cease to discuss this question, which has been artificially created by some among us in order to place obstacles in the path of the rebirth of the Kampuchean people and to exacerbate tension in South-East Asia.

26. In order to reduce that tension and to restore peace and stability to the region, which would benefit all countries within it, the three countries of Indo-China, at conferences of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the three countries held in Ho Chi Minh City and in Phnom Penh in January and June of this year, proposed the convening of a regional conference that would include the members of ASEAN and the countries of Indo-China, with the participation with observer status, of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, in his own personal capacity, and representatives of a few other countries to be designated by agreement [see A/36/86 and A/36/328]. It would be that conference's task to find solutions to all the problems of common concern to the two groups of countries.

27. In making that proposal for the convening of a regional conference, which is in keeping with the practice observed in other regions of the world, the three countries of Indo-China are basing themselves on the concept that the problems of South-East Asia should above all be resolved by the countries of the region themselves without foreign interference. Moreover, the three countries of Indo-China have also proposed that at a later stage an international conference with broader participation, to be agreed upon by the two parties, be convened to endorse and guarantee the agreement reached during the regional conference. They have also stated their readiness to consider the possibility of that international conference being convened by the United Nations if the Organization ceases to recognize the Pol Pot clique.

28. It is regrettable that the reasonable and coherent proposals of the three countries of Indo-China have been rejected by the ASEAN countries, which have deliberately opted for the internationalization of the question of South-East Asia, thus playing Beijing's game of acting in close collusion with our former aggressor, the United States of America.

29. Thus, last July, although it was known in advance that the People's Republic of Kampuchea, the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and the Lao People's Democratic Republic, the three countries directly interested and concerned, would not participate in the so-called International Conference on Kampuchea convened pursuant to General Assembly resolution 35/6, which they had opposed, a great deal of pressure was exercised in order to convene that lamentable Conference. It goes without saying that the three countries of Indo-China have rejected and condemned that Conference and the results of its work as inadmissible interference in the internal affairs of the people of Kampuchea. It would be useless to hope to persuade by one means or another the three countries of Indo-China to associate themselves with those illegal and condemnable acts.

30. Therefore the results of that Conference, in which the ASEAN countries, contrary to their expectations, only played a humiliating, not to say derisory, auxiliary role, are nothing but the implementation of the diktat of Beijing concerning the three peoples of Indo-China, in particular the people of Kampuchea, for whose right to self-determination some claim to be fighting. The application of the decisions of that Conference could only promote the return to power of Pol Pot's bloody gang, which would undoubtedly then complete its brusquely interrupted policy of genocide.

31. We can see from the present debate that there is another problem of concern to many members of the international community, that is, the question of the presence of Vietnamese troops in Kampuchea. I shall not dwell on the reasons for their arrival in the country, which has been the subject of different interpretations in this Hall during the last three years. I do not think that a new elaboration of arguments in that respect on one side or the other would help matters forward.

32. However, I should like to recall to the members of the Assembly that in order to resolve this problem the Foreign Ministers of the three countries of Indo-China, during their conference in Vientiane in July 1980,¹ proposed that a demilitarized zone be set up, under adequate international control, on the Kampuchea-Thailand border, following which Viet Nam and Kampuchea would envisage a partial withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from

Kampuchea. That initial step, of course, would be followed by others if the situation so allowed and we would therefore be moving progressively towards complete normalization.

33. In the same context, Mr. Hun Sen, the Vice-President of the Council of Ministers and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, also clearly reiterated in the course of his recent visit to New Delhi that:

“ . . . the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea will, in agreement with the Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, consider the partial withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea if Thailand ceases to support and help the Pol Pot clique and the other small reactionary groups in their activities aimed at undermining the People's Republic of Kampuchea and to give such groups sanctuary on its territory”.

34. As a result of all this we can ask whether the tension which now prevails in South-East Asia resides in the so-called situation in Kampuchea or in the interference in the internal affairs of Kampuchea by some ASEAN countries which are helping the criminal Pol Pot band and other reactionary cliques, armed to the teeth by Beijing with the collusion of the United States—which has caused an exodus of refugees—to provoke trouble in the Thailand-Kampuchea border zone. Impartial people will give a correct reply to that question. Those who, while fanning the flames, state that they want to fight the fire will sooner or later be hoist with their own petard.

35. Those are the true dimensions of the so-called situation in Kampuchea. If the United Nations in general and the General Assembly in particular want to contribute to the search for solutions to all problems of concern to the international community that involve South-East Asia, efforts must be made not to exacerbate tension in relations between the ASEAN countries and the countries of Indo-China, but rather to help to bring their positions closer together without any party, with external support, imposing its will on another.

36. We hope that the General Assembly, in the interest of the dynamics of peace and the direct negotiations, free of foreign interference, begun by the three countries of Indo-China, will make its contribution to the restoration of peace, stability and friendship in South-East Asia.

37. Mr. LING Qing (China) (*translation from Chinese*): A year has passed since the General Assembly adopted a resolution on the situation in Kampuchea at its thirty-fifth session. The Secretary-General has submitted a report on the implementation of resolution 35/6 [A/36/583]. Before us is a draft resolution on the situation in Kampuchea tabled by the countries members of ASEAN and other countries at the current session [A/36/L.3/Rev.1]. This, in our view, is another effort on their part to uphold the Charter and the norms of international relations and to maintain peace in South-East Asia and the world.

38. During the past year the people of Kampuchea have achieved new successes in their struggle against Viet Nam's aggression. Their strength has continued to grow and the various patriotic factions are making headway towards a coalition.

39. The Kampuchean people have had to fight against great odds, but their valiant struggle has gained them new

victories. They have often taken the initiative and attacked Vietnamese forces in selected areas and have wiped out many enemy positions. They have also stepped up guerilla warfare. Their widening fields of operations are extending deep into the occupied zones. Faced with rising casualties and low morale as a result of stiff resistance by the Kampuchean people, the Vietnamese aggressors are finding it hard to launch a full-scale offensive. The Kampuchean people have thus shattered Viet Nam's claim that the situation in Kampuchea is “irreversible” and also frustrated the scheme of making Kampuchean fight Kampuchean. The Vietnamese invaders are now hopelessly trapped in a quagmire.

40. Meantime, the policies and programme of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea and the Patriotic Front of Great National Union of Kampuchea have won the increasing support of the Kampuchean people. The various patriotic Kampuchean factions are moving towards a coalition in the interest of strengthening the struggle against the Vietnamese aggressors. The joint statement of the leaders of the three patriotic factions following their recent meeting in Singapore demonstrates the Kampuchean people's determination to close their ranks and carry through to the end the struggle against the aggressors. The *Ad Hoc* Committee of the three Kampuchean factions now meeting in Bangkok is striving to form a coalition against Vietnamese aggression. We are convinced that such a coalition will greatly strengthen the patriotic forces and give a powerful impetus to their struggle so that the situation will continue to develop in a direction favourable to the people of Kampuchea.

41. The Kampuchean people's struggle against the aggressors is a just cause enjoying the sympathy and support of all nations that uphold justice and cherish peace. It has frustrated the wild ambition of Viet Nam to annex Kampuchea and to establish hegemony over South-East Asia. Moreover, it has blocked Soviet expansion in South-East Asia as a part of its quest for world hegemony. Therefore, the Kampuchean people are fighting not only for their own national survival, but also for the maintenance of peace in South-East Asia and the world.

42. However, the aggressors never give up easily. Viet Nam is determined to continue its occupation of Kampuchea at all costs. It is resorting to all kinds of pretexts and lies in order to cover up its crime of aggression, to remain in Kampuchea and to extricate itself from its present difficulties. You will all recall that the justification used by Viet Nam at the beginning of its invasion of Kampuchea was that it did not like the policies of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea. That is totally absurd. If this argument is accepted, can there be any security for smaller and weaker nations with a bigger and stronger neighbour? Later, Viet Nam claimed that it had invaded Kampuchea at the “invitation” of a so-called Government there. In point of fact, the Government of Democratic Kampuchea was the legitimate Government when Viet Nam launched the invasion, and the purpose of the invasion was precisely to overthrow this legitimate Government. All this happened before the invaders had the time to install a puppet régime. Thus, it is simply impossible for Viet Nam to justify its aggression on the ground that it was “invited” to come in.

43. Such fabrications have been roundly refuted by representatives at previous sessions of the General Assembly. Viet Nam took great pains to stage an “election” farce in Phnom Penh earlier this year, hoping to give a semblance of legality to the Heng Samrin régime. Then it started to

proclaim loudly that “the Kampuchean issue exists no more”. This preposterous argument is further evidence of Viet Nam’s defiance. There are 200,000 Vietnamese troops in Kampuchea. The Heng Samrin régime is nothing but a puppet propped up with Vietnamese bayonets. Viet Nam’s flagrant violation of Kampuchea’s sovereignty and territorial integrity and its repeated armed provocations against Thailand have wrought havoc on neighbouring countries and caused serious unrest in the region. At stake are the authority of the Charter and the norms of international relations. This is a serious matter affecting world peace. The Vietnamese authorities try to dismiss all this by asserting that the question of Kampuchea “exists no more”. They can deceive no one but themselves.

44. Viet Nam’s claim that it invaded Kampuchea because of a “threat from China” or because of its disputes with China is another lie. It tries to present itself as a weak, small nation bullied by a big Power to the north and wants people to believe that it was left with no alternative but to invade Kampuchea. This is sheer nonsense and utterly false. The Vietnamese authorities seemingly became carried away by the victory in unifying their nation with the support of the people of the world. One Hanoi leader at that time brazenly boasted that Viet Nam was already the “No. 3 military Power” on earth. Hanoi thought that the time had come to establish an “Indo-Chinese Federation” by force.

45. The Vietnamese authorities were further emboldened by the full backing of the Soviet Union. It is worth pondering that after the treaty of “friendship and co-operation” with the Soviet Union was hastily signed, they lost no time in launching a massive invasion of Kampuchea. That was by no means a coincidence. The so-called threat from China was fabricated by Viet Nam when its invasion of Kampuchea met with universal condemnation. China is to the north. If Viet Nam really felt a threat from China, why then should it invade a much weaker neighbour to the south? And why should it adamantly refuse to join China and others to guarantee the independence and the neutral and non-aligned status of Kampuchea? Viet Nam simply does not have a case.

46. There exist time-honoured friendly relations between China and Viet Nam. China consistently opposes aggression and expansion by imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism. Therefore, China extended all-out support to Viet Nam during its national liberation struggles. By the same token, when Viet Nam openly invaded neighbouring Kampuchea, China was naturally opposed to such a move. That was why Viet Nam has come to regard China as an obstacle to its quest for regional hegemony and has turned against China. The myth about a “China threat” is obviously designed to conceal Viet Nam’s own acts of aggression and expansion and to sow discord between China and South-East Asian countries. It is also designed to force China into supporting Viet Nam’s reckless policy of establishing regional hegemony in Kampuchea and the whole of South-East Asia.

47. Another tactic used by Viet Nam is the claim that it would consent to a partial withdrawal of its troops from Kampuchea if the other countries cease to support Democratic Kampuchea. This is like a gang of robbers who, having broken into and looted a house and committed murder, offer to reduce the number of the gang in the house if the neighbours refrain from helping the distressed owner to drive out the criminals. How can anyone be expected to accept such an absurd condition? Viet

Nam’s offer of partial withdrawal of its troops is no different from such a gangster logic.

48. Viet Nam has been clamouring for a so-called “regional conference” to counter the resolutions of the General Assembly and the International Conference on Kampuchea and to cover up its criminal aggression against Kampuchea. Such is obviously the ulterior motive behind its call for negotiations between the three States of Indo-China and those of ASEAN and between the former and China respectively. By lumping the three Indo-Chinese States together as one side, Viet Nam hopes to gain recognition before anything else for the *fait accompli* of its invasion of Kampuchea. By reducing an issue that affects international peace and stability to a regional or bilateral matter, Viet Nam hopes to remove the question of its invasion of Kampuchea from the agenda of the international community and thus create a legal basis for its long-term occupation of Kampuchea. We must guard against this.

49. At its thirty-fourth and thirty-fifth sessions the General Assembly adopted by an overwhelming majority of votes resolutions on the situation in Kampuchea [*resolutions 34/22 and 35/6*] calling for the immediate and complete withdrawal of foreign troops from Kampuchea so that the Kampuchean people can decide their own destiny without foreign intervention, and calling for respect for the independence, neutrality and territorial integrity of Kampuchea. These principles were reaffirmed in the Declaration adopted by the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi last February [*see A/36/116 and Corr.1*] and the Declaration adopted by the International Conference on Kampuchea,² attended by more than 90 countries in New York last July. Upholding the purposes and principles of the Charter and the norms of international relations and reflecting the desire of all peace-loving countries and peoples, these resolutions and declarations carry a tremendous moral force in the international community. Viet Nam, however, with the backing and connivance of the Soviet Union, has been adamantly defiant, even calling those resolutions and declarations “illegal” and “null and void”.

50. It is the purpose of the United Nations to oppose aggression, uphold justice and maintain international peace and security. The United Nations has the bounden duty to stop any aggression against a sovereign State. Being a Member of the United Nations, Viet Nam has the obligation to comply with and carry out the resolutions of the Organization. Instead, it has denounced those correct resolutions as “illegal” and “null and void”. This shows that Viet Nam is bent on a policy of aggression.

51. The Chinese delegation clearly expounded its position on the Kampuchean question during the general debate in the General Assembly [*10th meeting*]. The Chinese Government is of the view that Viet Nam must withdraw all its troops from Kampuchea immediately and unconditionally so that the Kampuchean people can be free to choose their own political system and government without outside intervention and under the supervision of the United Nations. Following a settlement along this line, the countries concerned should join in an international guarantee not to interfere in the internal affairs of Kampuchea in any form, to respect its independence and neutral and non-aligned status, to refrain from occupying the territory of Kampuchea or otherwise using it as a base for invading or intervening in other countries, and to respect the result of the free elections by the Kampuchean people under United Nations supervision. We wish to see

Kampuchea an independent, neutral and non-aligned country maintaining friendly relations with all its neighbours and becoming a factor of peace and stability in South-East Asia. Aside from this, China seeks no other purposes or selfish interests.

52. We hope that the General Assembly will stand by the principles contained in the resolutions of its previous sessions and renew its efforts towards the solution of the Kampuchean question. In conclusion, we appeal to all States Members of the United Nations to vote in favour of the draft resolution submitted by the States members of ASEAN and by others.

Mr. Tarua (Papua New Guinea), Vice-President, took the Chair.

53. Mr. ABDEL MEGUID (Egypt) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Almost three years have elapsed since the beginnings of the Kampuchean problem—a problem of complicated political and humanitarian dimensions which has led to the victimization of a whole people that has been exposed to repression, homelessness and foreign invasion. It is indeed deplorable that, despite continuous international efforts to put an end to aggression and to restore peace to Kampuchea, the problem, in all its dimensions, still exists, thereby leading to an escalation of tension in South-East Asia.

54. In spite of all the positive aspects of the constant endeavours of the United Nations to provide a solution to this problem, some negative elements have stood in the way of those endeavours, with a view to obstructing them. These negative factors have been manifested in the positions adopted by some countries, such as the position taken by a super-Power in 1979 to obstruct a draft resolution by the Security Council calling for an end to the aggression in Kampuchea and for the withdrawal of foreign forces from the territory of that country. The latest of these negative developments was the boycott, by some of the main parties to the dispute, of the International Conference on Kampuchea held last July.

55. Aware of the sufferings of the Kampuchean people and of the cruel circumstances through which they are passing, and convinced that a continuation of this situation would pose a threat to the security of the countries of South-East Asia, we are of the view that the achievement of a comprehensive political solution to this problem is an urgent matter which can brook no delay and which imposes in all the parties concerned the need to steer away from such negative attitudes.

56. At the thirty-fourth and thirty-fifth sessions the General Assembly drew international attention to the need to reach a comprehensive settlement of this problem—but with no results. This was reflected in two General Assembly resolutions—34/22, of 14 November 1979, and 35/6, of 22 October 1980—which were adopted by overwhelming majorities. In 1981 a preliminary step was taken along the path of solving the Kampuchean problem, when the praiseworthy efforts of the Secretary-General culminated in the convening of the International Conference on Kampuchea on 13 July, pursuant to resolution 35/6.

57. It is unfortunate indeed that, in spite of the participation of 79 countries and 14 observers in the work of that Conference, Viet Nam boycotted it and was joined in that position by a number of other countries. That fact had a negative influence on the outcome of the Conference.

58. Egypt was among the countries which participated in the work of the Conference; it has declared its support for the Declaration and the resolution the Conference adopted, because of their positive elements, which could serve as a practical and acceptable basis for a comprehensive settlement of the Kampuchean problem. The Declaration is based mainly on the need to protect the legitimate rights of all the parties concerned and to provide them with the necessary guarantees.

59. In reaffirming its support for the just cause of the people of Kampuchea, Egypt is not trying to defend certain régimes or certain rulers but is motivated by the established principles to which it has always adhered and has always been committed—principles which reject foreign occupation and renounce the use of force in international relations. It was in conformity with these principles that the Egyptian delegation, at the outset of the current session, voted in favour of accepting the credentials of Democratic Kampuchea. That position, which is a confirmation of the position we have held in the past, stems from our adherence to international law and from our refusal to recognize a régime which was imposed on the people by a foreign military Power.

60. The delegation of Egypt supports the efforts at providing an equitable political solution to this problem, and is therefore convinced that draft resolution A/36/L.3/Rev.1 contains extensive, positive elements that represent an equitable basis for a comprehensive solution to the problem. The draft resolution contains a number of operative paragraphs which may be regarded as a confirmation of resolutions 34/22 and 35/6, as well as of the Declaration² and resolution³ adopted by the International Conference on Kampuchea. All those resolutions were supported by Egypt and by an overwhelming majority of other countries. Operative paragraphs 4, 5, 6, 8 and 9 of the draft resolution specify a number of important measures, the implementation of which would contribute to a solution of the Kampuchean problem. Operative paragraph 10 urges all the States of South-East Asia and other concerned States which declined to attend the Conference to attend future sessions of the Conference on Kampuchea, to be held at a date to be determined in accordance with resolution 1 (I), adopted at the first session of the International Conference.

61. My delegation would like to reaffirm that a comprehensive settlement of this problem cannot be achieved without the effective participation of all parties concerned, and that all parties to the problem, particularly the countries which have boycotted the work of the International Conference, should reaffirm their goodwill by responding to the invitation to participate in it.

62. My delegation supports also the humanitarian objectives set forth in operative paragraphs 12, 13 and 15. They are of paramount importance to the Kampuchean people, which is being subjected to the worst forms of repression and suffering.

63. It behoves me, in this connection, to express Egypt's appreciation for the efforts exerted by UNICEF and the International Committee of the Red Cross in providing relief to Kampuchean refugees. We also express our appreciation for the role played by the European Community in helping to finance relief operations for the benefit of that unfortunate people.

64. As regards operative paragraph 14, which urges the countries of the region to establish a zone of peace and

neutrality in South-East Asia, there is no doubt that the establishment of such a zone of peace, if it materializes, would be a positive factor in achieving political and economic stability in a region which is considered one of the greatest hotbeds of tension in the world.

65. Therefore, and in the light of the positive elements of the draft resolution, the delegation of my country will vote in favour of it. Egypt has previously declared its support for the United Nations resolutions on the situation in Kampuchea, as well as for the Final Declaration adopted at the New Delhi Conference of the non-aligned countries, which decided the position of the non-aligned countries on this problem. We should like to reaffirm once again our adherence to those resolutions. We call for a cease-fire and the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchean territory, in accordance with the time-frame to be determined by the United Nations.

66. Egypt also reaffirms the right of the Kampuchean people to choose their system of government without any foreign interference, because we cannot keep silent in the face of foreign invasion and because we believe in freedom and independence. We cannot but oppose repression, convinced as we are of the right of peoples to self-determination and justice and of the supremacy of law. The policy of Egypt with regard to this question is governed by our commitment and adherence to the principles set forth in the Charter concerning respect for the independence and territorial integrity of all States, non-interference in their internal affairs, the non-use of force in international relations, recognition of the right of peoples to self-determination and respect for the fundamental principles of human rights. Our position is uniform and consistent because it stems from our belief that peace in this great world is indivisible. Thus aggression against the sovereignty and territorial integrity of any country represents a flagrant violation of international peace and security—a fact which places direct responsibility on the United Nations and its Member States to adopt collective and effective measures to prevent and terminate all acts of aggression.

67. The situation in Kampuchea cannot be condoned by the international community; if it were, we should be advocating the use of force in international relations. Egypt, believing in peace and in the right of the Kampuchean people to self-determination and to choose their own régime without any foreign interference, calls upon the United Nations and the Governments of peace-loving countries to make further efforts to bring about a comprehensive and equitable settlement of the problem that will guarantee the Kampuchean people their freedom, independence and sovereignty over all their territory.

68. Mr. OTT (German Democratic Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): Against the will of the lawful Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea and without the participation of that Government a debate on the so-called situation in Kampuchea has once again been included in the agenda of the General Assembly. The advocates of the inclusion of this unlawful item in the agenda claim to seek what they call a "global political solution" of the problem. It might be thought that by that they mean a condemnation under international law of the ousted and expelled Pol Pot clique, which has been responsible for the killing of more than 3 million men, women and children. In fact that is not at all what they mean. It is clear that they intend once again to impose that genocidal régime on the people of Kampuchea. That is the only way in which the demands and formulations

contained in draft resolution A/36/L.3/Rev.1 can be understood. Could the authors of that document really be concerned about the need to put an end to the financial and military support provided by those in foreign reactionary circles to the remnants of the predatory terrorist bands of Pol Pot? Not at all. Far from it, they are even saying how necessary it is to secure international recognition and assistance for those forces in camps along the border with Kampuchea. Nor is there any evidence of concern about the need to provide effective assistance to the long-suffering Kampuchean people which, under the leadership of their lawful Government, have embarked upon their national rebirth. In the document to which I have referred there is not a word about assistance to the People's Republic of Kampuchea. On the contrary, the authors of the document clearly intend to continue and, under the United Nations flag, even to legalize meddling in the internal affairs of that country. Therefore it is understandable that my Government will provide no resources for such instruments of interference, which clearly violate the provisions of the Charter.

69. The delegation of the German Democratic Republic wishes to state once again that nobody has the right to interfere in the internal affairs of the sovereign State of Kampuchea and to impose yet again on its people the hated ousted régime of Pol Pot. Therefore my delegation rejects any attempts, by the use of the formula of so-called neutralization and the so-called withdrawal of foreign troops, to disrupt the traditional friendship and cooperation among the three Indo-Chinese peoples of the Lao People's Democratic Republic, Viet Nam and Kampuchea.

70. For many decades the people of Kampuchea have had to fight for their freedom and independence and for a peaceful life. The Kampuchean people have suffered incalculable losses in the fight against imperialism and hegemonism, against the genocidal régime propped up by foreign Powers, and it is unthinkable that now, in the light of that, it should allow the door to be opened for Pol Pot to return. Therefore any decisions adopted by any self-appointed bodies on the internal affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea must be regarded as unlawful. This applies fully to the so-called International Conference on Kampuchea.

71. My delegation wishes to draw attention to one more alarming aspect. Attempts are being made to make the restoration of the Pol Pot régime in Kampuchea a condition of, even a prerequisite for, peace and security in South-East Asia. But it is essential to state quite clearly in this regard that to await the restoration of the rule of the Pol Pot clique in Kampuchea would be a complete waste of time. It would be, moreover, a dangerous illusion to expect from the imperialist and hegemonist forces behind that clique any progress towards peace, security and stability in the region.

72. The People's Republic of Kampuchea has now been in existence for almost three years, and that has been long enough to demonstrate that the normalization of political, economic and cultural life in the People's Republic of Kampuchea poses no threat at all to the peace, stability and security of South-East Asia. Events show unmistakably that the reasons for the existing tension in the region are to be found exclusively in the policy of certain Powers intent on interference in the internal affairs of Kampuchea and on blackmailing and bringing pressure to bear on all the States of the region.

73. That selfsame imperialist Power which for many years waged a savage war against Viet Nam and the other peoples of Indo-China is now in the front ranks of those causing harm to Kampuchea. By way of an illustration, I refer to the statement of official representatives of the United States Government on the need to strengthen the military pressure on the People's Republic of Kampuchea by supplying weapons to the murderous bands of Pol Pot operating in the border zone. In this respect, it is not irrelevant to bear in mind the exercises of the United States Seventh Fleet in that region.

74. The hegemonistic policy of Beijing poses a serious threat to peace and security in South-East Asia. Beijing is lavish in its support for the Pol Pot clique and, at the same time, is carrying out acts of armed aggression against neighbouring countries to teach them what it calls "lessons". There is every reason to fear that Beijing's access to the Pentagon's military arsenals within the framework of the so-called strategic partnership is an encouragement to the hegemonistic ambitions of Beijing and a cause of new danger to the peoples of South-East Asia.

75. The normalization of the situation in South-East Asia and the creation of a zone of peace in the region are possible only through a constructive dialogue between the States of Indo-China and ASEAN.

76. During the general debate at the 3rd meeting, the Foreign Minister of the Lao People's Democratic Republic once again set forth a constructive programme. The proposals contained in the seven-point plan [see A/36/561] reflect the desire of Kampuchea, Viet Nam and the Lao People's Democratic Republic to live in harmony with their neighbours. They reject whatever divides them and focus their attention on questions which are of common interest and which can and must be resolved.

77. Has not the time now come for all those who sincerely desire peace in the region to respond positively to those reasonable proposals? Do not the ASEAN countries have every reason to abandon their unwarranted distrust, even hostility, concerning their neighbours in Indo-China and to treat them as partners in negotiations? Is not a responsible dialogue the most sensible alternative to the present state of tension and danger?

78. The delegation of the German Democratic Republic wishes to restate its view that the so-called Kampuchean question simply does not exist. Unceasing attempts to have a discussion of this bogus issue will bring nothing but harm and aggravated tension. The only questions that exist are those of the recognition of the historic transformations in Kampuchea, the recognition of the lawful Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea and the granting to that Government of its lawful place in the Organization. In this regard, the delegation of the German Democratic Republic fully endorses the telegram of the Foreign Minister of the People's Republic of Kampuchea dated 13 October 1981 [see A/36/596].

79. The national uprising of 7 January 1979 means that the people of Kampuchea has made its choice. It is successfully moving forward along the difficult path of national and social rebirth. The free general elections held on 1 May of this year have completed the formation of the democratic organs of authority. By expressing through its vote its trust in the policy of the People's Revolutionary Council, the population of Kampuchea has expressed at the same time its endorsement of the course of social development chosen by that Council. Thus the people of

Kampuchea have exercised and continue to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination.

80. Life is returning to normal in all spheres: in agriculture, in industry, in the crafts and, in the development of education, public health and national culture. This is attracting attention everywhere and receiving increasing recognition, as we heard in statements made in the general debate. For example, the Foreign Minister of one country, speaking on behalf of a number of Western States, drew attention to this process. He emphasized that

"Thanks to the admirable efforts of the international emergency relief operation led by UNICEF and the International Committee of the Red Cross, the physical condition of much of the population of Kampuchea has been transformed in the last two years." [8th meeting, para. 73.]

My delegation shares that assessment of the humanitarian activities of the international organizations.

81. However, we must admit that tangible progress in Kampuchea would have been impossible without the active participation of the Government in Phnom Penh. For example, the Executive Director of UNICEF, in connection with international aid operations, has repeatedly drawn attention to the exemplary actions of the local authorities.

82. Would it not be logical for all States to draw from those facts the conclusion that recognition should be accorded to the lawful Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea?

83. The German Democratic Republic will continue, as in the past, to stand at the side of the people of Kampuchea and to provide that people with strong support and solidarity. It will continue to give active support to the legitimate struggle of the People's Republic of Kampuchea for general international recognition and to provide effective assistance to that people in overcoming the very grievous inheritance left by the ousted terrorist régime.

84. The foreign policy of the young State, based on the principles of the Charter and designed to secure peace and stability in South-East Asia and good relations with its neighbours, shows ever more clearly that the stability of the People's Republic of Kampuchea is an inalienable component of peace, security and stability in South-East Asia as a whole.

85. If, at its thirty-sixth session, the General Assembly takes into account the real state of affairs which has been created, it will truly be acting in a responsible manner.

86. Mr. ZAINAL ABIDIN (Malaysia): From 13 to 17 July this year more than 80 countries gathered in this very Hall to participate in the International Conference on Kampuchea, convened pursuant to resolution 35/6, which was adopted by an overwhelming majority at the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly. True to its purposes, the Conference adopted a Declaration and resolution which laid down the framework for a comprehensive political solution to the Kampuchean problem, on the basis of the withdrawal of all foreign forces and respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and neutral and non-aligned status of Kampuchea, as well as the right of the Kampuchean people to self-determination, free from outside interference. The major elements for negotiations between the conflicting parties—the steps to be taken be-

tween themselves, the obligation of neighbouring States of Kampuchea and of the major Powers—which are necessary to ensure peace and security to Kampuchea and its neighbours were clearly identified. Truly, the Declaration and resolution of the International Conference represent a fair, balanced and practical approach that would restore to Kampuchea its independence and sovereignty and, at the same time, obviate the concern of all its neighbours. They represent an approach that has long been shared by the States of ASEAN, of which Malaysia is a member.

87. My delegation is naturally encouraged by the support and the attention that the international community has given to the search for a comprehensive political solution and by its endorsement of the approach to which ASEAN is committed. We are grateful to the Secretary-General and to all those who have given us their understanding and support; we are grateful for the sense of urgency which they attach to the early solution of the Kampuchean problem.

88. The need for an early solution could not be over-emphasized, as any undue delay will exacerbate the situation in Kampuchea, where the forces of the legal Government of Democratic Kampuchea are waging an armed guerrilla resistance struggle against the occupation forces of Viet Nam. The human toll has been heavy. The ravages to the economic life of the country have been unprecedented, causing enormous hardship and deprivation to the people. Had it not been for the selfless efforts of the international community, which rallied together to set up an enormous emergency relief aid programme, hundreds of thousands more people would have perished. The inescapable fact is that for so long as the fighting continues the innocent people of the country will continue to suffer in misery and want.

89. Today about 200,000 Vietnamese troops are still stationed in Kampuchea. Huge concentrations of these troops are located along the Thai-Kampuchean border, causing serious concern to Thailand over its security and territorial integrity. The potential for further spill-over of the fighting into neighbouring States, especially Thailand, therefore remains real and serious, as it has been shown to be in the last two and a half years since Vietnamese forces marched into Kampuchea and overthrew the legitimate Government of that country.

90. The continuation of the hostilities also carries the risk of greater involvement and entrenchment of external Powers in the affairs of South-East Asia. The potential for countries of the region being drawn into the big-Power conflict, with serious repercussions on their security and stability, is thus enhanced. This is what we, countries of the region, wish to avoid. What we should like to see is an orderly development of relations among countries of the area, free from external interference or intervention and free from the threat of the use of force from any external Power, either directly or through any country in the region.

91. The solution of the Kampuchean problem is the key to the peace, security and well-being not only of Kampuchea and its people but also of the region as a whole. We regret, however, that Viet Nam and the Lao People's Democratic Republic, two members of the South-East Asian region, continue to pretend that there is no problem in Kampuchea, and continue to reject any proposal made by the Assembly for negotiations leading to the withdrawal of foreign troops and a comprehensive political solution in Kampuchea. General Assembly resolutions

34/22 and 35/6, overwhelmingly supported by Member States, and numerous other calls made by the international community have been ignored.

92. Equally regrettable is the absence of Viet Nam from the International Conference on Kampuchea. As the country that is most directly concerned in the problem in Kampuchea, Viet Nam's absence makes us wonder whether it is indeed desirous of peace and stability in South-East Asia, as it claims it is. Indeed, one sees today attempts by Viet Nam to sidetrack us from the real issue facing the region, namely, the armed intervention and occupation of Kampuchea by Vietnamese forces. Suggestions have been made to the effect that the question of peace and security in South-East Asia should be solved on a regional basis through regional consultations, with the countries of Indo-China—Kampuchea, the Lao People's Democratic Republic and Viet Nam—on the one side, and the countries of ASEAN, on the other. Such suggestions, which are clearly intended to legitimize Viet Nam's action in Kampuchea and to gain recognition for the Heng Samrin régime in Phnom Penh, are not acceptable to us and to those others who value the principle of non-intervention and non-interference in the internal affairs of States, and thus cannot be a substitute for a comprehensive political solution of the Kampuchean problem, as envisaged by the Declaration of the International Conference on Kampuchea. The Declaration represents a consensus that best assures the restoration of the independence and sovereignty of Kampuchea and, at the same time, ensures the security and territorial integrity of all its neighbours, including Viet Nam itself.

93. What is now required is a sincere effort by all concerned to get together and negotiate the various elements already identified by the International Conference. The framework established by the Conference has provided sufficient flexibility to ensure that negotiations can lead to meaningful progress towards a comprehensive political solution beneficial to the long-term interests of all States in the region. It would also have the advantage of enabling countries of the region to disengage from super-Power involvement and lead an independent and non-aligned existence in harmony with one another. We deem it in the best interest of Viet Nam to join together with its South-East Asian neighbours and participate in the negotiations for their common benefit.

94. We wish to reiterate that any attempt to force the acceptance of the Heng Samrin régime in Kampuchea and to perpetuate the presence of Vietnamese forces in the country, contrary to the resolutions of the General Assembly, can only prolong the Kampuchean conflict and the resultant instability of the entire region. The path towards long-term peace and stability lies not in sweeping the Kampuchean problem under the carpet but in facing it squarely through sincere negotiations. It is in that spirit that my appeal to the delegation of Viet Nam is made. We wish that they would respond in the same spirit.

95. We have before the Assembly draft resolution A/36/L.3/Rev.1, sponsored by more than 30 countries, including my own. It seeks to endorse the report of the International Conference on Kampuchea, and also to establish an *Ad Hoc* Committee which would act as a working group between sessions of the International Conference. We see the creation of the *Ad Hoc* Committee as necessary to maintain the momentum in order to achieve the aims for a comprehensive political solution. The draft resolution seeks neither to condemn nor to punish any country, but merely to get the process of negotiations going in the in-

terest of an early solution. As a sponsor of that text, I wish to appeal to all members of the General Assembly for support and approval.

96. Mr. ROA KOURÍ (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Our times and the Assembly have witnessed, now as in the recent past, innumerable acts of political miracle-working. Without looking back to the era of what is called "McCarthyism"—which is once more baring its Pleistocenic claws in the governing circles of the United States—or to the warmongering madness of the Dulles brothers, we cannot fail to see the overwhelming avalanche of propaganda of the imperialist subworld against any revolutionary change—or attempt at change—in any part of the world.

97. Every day the capitalist mass information media spew out to the world their flow of half-truths, gross falsifications and mediocre wiles, hatched by mediocre authors, for the ears of naive gumchewers or worn-out cowboys.

98. The "big bad wolf" of communism—a sort of leviathan for arteriosclerotic grandmas and TV addicts—opens wide its jaws around every corner, to swallow up the little red riding hood of capitalist "democracy" which, with her little basket of MX missiles, neutron bombs and B-1 bombers, modest and timid, sweetly offers wonderful "rapid deployment forces", backbone of tottering tyrannies, idyllic balms of free enterprise and investments to the supposed "little lambs" of the third world, threatened by hunger, illiteracy, poverty, premature death and other niceties which abound in the panglossian garden of the "free world" and which, they proclaim, we should defend at all costs with the nineteenth century remedies of "Mr. Danger".

99. With the ease of mythomaniacs, they describe Poland's anti-socialist reactionaries as "revolutionaries"; the Salvadorian geophagists and Fascists are dubbed "reformists"; the betrayers of the Palestinian people are commended; the racist aggressors of Pretoria become dear friends and needed allies; United States liberals are branded as nothing less than traitors, while rank adventurers are praised as "patriots" and the prophets of war become "enlightened" visionaries. In a word, for these latter-day followers of George Orwell, who, characteristically, attributed to a vague future "socialist society" the moral decay that existed in his own world long before the "fateful" 1984, the enemies of the people are their saviours.

100. Such humbug, though adorned with futile professional airs, remains pure humbug.

101. However repugnant are the attempts of bourgeois ideologues to convert the irrational into reality, more repulsive still is the wedding of imperialists and their band of allies in the war they wage against the peoples of Indo-China with the new Beijing mandarins.

102. Just like the assassins and torturers of Batista's tyranny, today indistinguishable from the mercenaries and outcasts welcomed into the imperialist fold, they all band together, strengthened, in the dunghill of the anti-Viet Nam campaign.

103. Those who in the past overthrew the gallant Prince Sihanouk—subsequently a reconciled collaborator of the genocidal Pol Pot—to enthrone the tyrannical régime of Lon Nol—Sirik Matak in Kampuchea; those who defoli-

ated the forests of Viet Nam, killed its children, destroyed its properties, decimated its animals and depleted its means of subsistence; those who for years subjected the Lao people to a devastating war, are presenting themselves before the Assembly—with the impudence of bedecked Pharisees—as the champions of the Kampuchean people and of who-knows-what rights they themselves never respected.

104. But they have managed to win over a new ally to their shameful transvestism: the one-time vociferous defenders of the purity of Marxism-Leninism, the followers of the "Great Helmsman", the bold inventors of the little "Red Book" and the "paper tiger", the champions of the anti-colonialist cause—in spite of carefully preserving the profits they obtain from the colonial enclaves on their own territory—the new invaders of Viet Nam, the patrons of Pol Pot, high priests in the task of liquidating the Kampuchean people, the unquestionable ones, the true historic enemies of the peoples of Indo-China, are today "close comrades in arms" of the imperialists.

105. They pay lip service to spurning Pol Pot but they maintain his hired assassins in the United Nations. They shed crocodile tears over the Kampuchean "refugees" but they do not say that 300,000 Khmer citizens have returned to their homeland since the liberation. They curse the so-called intervention of Viet Nam while they finance the counter-revolutionary bands that operate from neighbouring territories against the people's power. Who can be fooled by their schemes? Since when do the imperialists have moral authority? Whom do they want to frighten with their drums of war, their empty preaching, their belated *mea culpas*? If this is not a display of monstrous hypocrisy, let Tartuffe be the judge.

106. The revolutionary Government of Cuba recognizes as the sole legitimate representative of the Kampuchean people the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea with headquarters in Phnom Penh and control over the entire territory of that country. It rejects as spurious any manoeuvre aimed at presenting the Pol Pot clique and the Son Sann-Sihanouk reactionaries as representatives of that people. We condemn any attempt to return Kampuchea to the status of a Beijing appendage or a part of the imperialist retinue—such as the attempt made at the so-called conference on Kampuchea stamped with the same seal of legitimacy as those who attacked Korea under the protective mantle of the Organization.

107. Within the non-aligned movement—which of course is out of bounds to the insults of those who consider the sovereignty of others as their own affairs—we have been and are in favour of finding a solution to the problems of South-East Asia—whose fundamental cause is the expansionist and hegemonistic policy of Beijing and imperialism, with the connivance of those who lend their territory as a sanctuary for the Pol Pot clique—through direct negotiations between the countries of the region on the basis of mutual respect for the principles of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of all States and their peaceful coexistence regardless of their respective political, economic and social systems.

108. That is the only appropriate way to clear the path towards the creation of a zone of peace, stability and cooperation in South-East Asia. The course proposed by the authors of the draft resolution A/36/L.3/Rev.1 will only lead to confrontation with the Kampuchean people and therefore to the certain overthrow of reactionary forces and imperialism.

109. Mr. THUNBORG (Sweden): only three months ago an attempt was made to find a way for a political solution of the Kampuchean conflict. An International Conference was convened and a Declaration outlining elements for a political solution to the Kampuchean conflict was adopted.

110. Sweden joined in that consensus because the Declaration reflects the principles that must, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, apply to any acceptable solution of the conflict. Above all it calls for the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea and for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Kampuchea to be fully respected. It affirms the right of the people of Kampuchea to determine its own destiny free from coercion and interference. Sweden subscribes to those principles and supports the Declaration even though we find it too detailed in certain parts to be realistic at the present stage.

111. The Conference obviously suffered from the absence of Viet Nam and those other States that share Viet Nam's standpoint of essentially denying the basic premise of the Conference, namely, the fact of a Vietnamese invasion and continuing military occupation of Kampuchea. My Government deeply regrets the refusal so far of Viet Nam and its allies to take part in the work of the Conference.

112. The first priority, therefore, is, as it was before the Conference, to promote a dialogue between the parties concerned. Only an improved political climate that may result from such a dialogue can lead to real progress towards an acceptable negotiated settlement of the conflict. All avenues must be tried to bring about that dialogue. The dialogue must involve not only the neighbours of Kampuchea but also others whose interests are directly concerned. In particular I am referring to China, whose co-operation is essential for any lasting settlement.

113. The Soviet Union and the United States should facilitate a solution by allowing their attitudes and actions to be guided by a search for lasting stability in the region rather than by the pursuit of strategic advantage.

114. Life in Kampuchea can never be considered normal so long as there are Vietnamese troops in that country. Their presence is a continuing violation of international law. All foreign troops must be withdrawn. We must insist on respect for the principle of the non-use of force against the territorial integrity and political independence of any State.

115. The recognition of the Kampuchean people's right to determine their own destiny without coercion or interference takes on a special significance in the light of its

recent history. The régime that was displaced by the Vietnamese invasion was singularly repugnant in its oppression of the people and its total disregard for human rights. Support in any form for the Pol Pot régime cannot, as we see it, serve the interests of the people of Kampuchea. If the United Nations aspires to find a solution based on the exercise of the right of self-determination for the Kampuchean people in free elections, it is open to question whether the continued recognition of the Pol Pot régime by the United Nations is not an obstacle to a solution of the Kampuchean problem within the framework of the United Nations. Sweden does not consider any Government to be the legitimate representative of the people of Kampuchea. Our hope is that free elections will be held to produce such a Government.

116. It is our firm conviction that continued international humanitarian assistance to the suffering Kampuchians is still needed, be they inside or outside their country. A lasting solution for displaced Kampuchians relates directly to living conditions in their home country. Therefore, appropriate humanitarian assistance inside Kampuchea, beyond its primary aim of meeting survival needs, also constitutes a vital base for reducing the number of afflicted Kampuchians along the border. I should also like to emphasize my country's support for the repatriation programme of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the aim of which is to allow all Kampuchians in exile who so wish to return to their home areas.

117. It is our hope that international assistance to Kampuchea will continue. My Government is convinced that the international community as a whole has a collective responsibility to help the suffering Kampuchean people.

118. Taking into account what I have stated, my delegation is in agreement with the general thrust of the draft resolution before us. We support the request to the Secretary-General to continue to exercise his good offices. Our reservations about some parts of the text do not prevent us from supporting the draft resolution as a definition by the international community of the framework within which a solution to the Kampuchean conflict should be sought.

The meeting rose at 1 p.m.

NOTES

¹ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fifth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1980*, document S/14071.

² 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.

³ *Ibid.*, annex II.