



Monday, 25 October 1982,
at 11.05 a.m.

Official Records

NEW YORK

President: Mr. Imre HOLLAI (Hungary).

In the absence of the President, Mr. Lusaka (Zambia), Vice-President, took the Chair.

AGENDA ITEM 3

Credentials of representatives to the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly (continued):*

(b) Report of the Credentials Committee

1. The PRESIDENT: I call upon the representative of the Lao People's Democratic Republic to introduce an amendment [A/37/L.8 and Add.1] to the draft resolution recommended by the Credentials Committee in its first report [A/37/543, para. 25].

2. Mr. SRITHIRATH (Lao People's Democratic Republic) (*interpretation from French*): Once again this year the question of the representation of the people of Kampuchea, which is a matter of utmost importance as regards both the prestige of the Organization and the ideals of peace and justice that it defends, has been put before the General Assembly for consideration. This problem, which, through the ill-intentioned encouragement of the imperialist and hegemonist forces, has already for three successive years hampered the efforts of the United Nations in its role as the defender of the rights of the peoples, could place it in an even more embarrassing situation if a misguided solution of the kind adopted in previous years were adopted without due account being taken of the will of all the parties most directly concerned.

3. My country, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, which is known for its devotion to peace, equity and justice, would like to put forward the following considerations concerning the representation of the martyred Kampuchean people, in the hope of making the most effective contribution possible to finding a just and honourable way of strengthening peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia.

4. It is with deep concern that we have read the first report of the Credentials Committee. This report clearly shows the highly questionable character of the credentials of the delegation of the so-called coalition government, which basically is merely a disguised Pol Pot government whose leaders have unfortunately become celebrities because of the shameful, barbarous crimes perpetrated against their own people. The endorsement of such a report would in our view be tantamount to supporting the bloody policy of the Pol Pot butchers, who during their four years in power undoubtedly behaved like worthy descendants of

the Nazis. It is certainly not by again embarking upon that slippery path that the United Nations can regain its glory. On the contrary, it will undoubtedly lose it, and lose all its credibility and moral authority.

5. Have the ardent supporters of maintaining the representation of the so-called Democratic Kampuchea not realized that their unfortunate, erroneous and unrealistic solution has in no way advanced the cause of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia but on the contrary has made the already very difficult relations among the countries of the region even more difficult?

6. Concerning the maintenance of the representation of the so-called government of Democratic Kampuchea, which turned itself into a so-called coalition government between one day and the next, to which the imperialist mass media are applying the final polish, my delegation would like to express the views of our country, which I hope will help the Assembly better to understand the true face of those actors from the so-called coalition government and show the dark designs of its professional stage managers.

7. At the outset, I should like to read a passage from the 30 June 1982 edition of the Indonesian newspaper *Merdeka*. It says:

"This coalition, together with ASEAN as the midwife, is made up of clowns who are attempting to set up a Kampuchean alliance... Peking, Washington and ASEAN are the stage managers, while Khieu Samphan and Sihanouk are the actors."

8. We must note at the outset that Sihanouk, the so-called President of this coalition, was kept under house arrest by Pol Pot for several years and was only able to leave his country thanks to the overthrow of the murderous régime of Pol Pot, Ieng Sary and Khieu Samphan in 1979 by the people of Kampuchea. From that time on he repeatedly stated that he had no intention of joining in the activities of those criminals, but he has now become their accomplice.

9. Even more categorical and perhaps in some ways more recalcitrant, was the so-called Prime Minister Son Sann, who reaffirmed tirelessly that he would in no way co-operate with the Pol Pot butchers. In making such statements, he hoped his past blood debts would be forgotten and to put himself forward as a wiser and better politician whose first care would be the interests of the people. He was mistaken if he thought that the Kampuchean people could be duped; the Kampuchean people has a very good memory of the background of Son Sann, that former Prime Minister of Sihanouk and one of those who plotted the *coup d'état* against him. He was simply a straw man, meekly carrying out the orders of the CIA, to the detriment of the interests of the Kampuchean nation. And finally he agreed to co-operate with Pol Pot.

* Resumed from the 1st meeting.

That co-operation led to the mutiny and mass desertion of his troops to join the forces of the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

10. With regard to the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary-Khieu Samphan clique, they massacred 3 million men, women, children, elderly people and Buddhist monks over a period of less than five years, that is to say, half a million people a year.

11. All these personal antagonisms and all these bloody activities against the people and against democracy were a major obstacle to the speedy establishment of the "coalition government" desired by the expansionists, the imperialists and the reactionary forces of the region. In the final analysis, under the growing pressure of the Peking authorities, with the support of Washington, these three political factions resigned themselves to coexisting within the so-called coalition government—which is nothing more than an unnatural marriage. While agreeing to participate in that coalition, each of them, aware of the fact that their ideologies and interests were incompatible, is hiding an unappeased desire for vengeance against the others and is simply awaiting a suitable opportunity to swallow up or eliminate them.

12. This is obvious from the statement concerning the establishment of the coalition government of Democratic Kampuchea, which states that "each of the three parties in the government reserves its right to act as it sees fit to ensure its own continuity should there be a deadlock which prevented the coalition government from functioning".

13. We wonder whether, if between now and the end of the session the three parties in the government should no longer agree, we might be able to discuss the matter again to see which one within that anti-people triumvirate has the right to represent Kampuchea.

14. In our view, because of its deeply eroded political and legal support, it is difficult to envisage how this "coalition", which is in fact dominated by the Pol Pot forces, could indeed serve those who are trying to repaint the hull of that shipwrecked vessel, "Democratic Kampuchea", to give it a shade of representativeness more acceptable to the international community.

15. It would be extremely naive to bet on this shabby parody. To support it is to play the game of the Pol Pot assassins and can no way contribute to the efforts currently being undertaken by the countries of the region to solve the problems of South-East Asia.

16. It cannot be denied that after overthrowing the monstrous Pol Pot clique the Kampuchean people freed themselves from the most abominable genocide in the history of mankind and thus embarked upon a process of rebirth. The Lao people, the Vietnamese people and other peace-loving people throughout the world have spared no effort to help the Kampuchean people, who, under the guidance of the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea and thanks to its determination, its hard work and its sacrifices, has obtained noteworthy results of particular significance for its dazzling re-emergence.

17. Since the democratic general elections last year throughout the country, the National Assembly thereby established has become a guarantee for the people of its democratic rights and freedoms, which had been trampled underfoot during the time of Pol Pot. The first national constitution, drafted in accordance with the profound hopes and aspirations of the working people of the country at all levels, has become a fact. In accordance with that constitution, State institutions have been established with all the legitimacy and authority necessary to undertake the task of reorganizing the country. The Administration, elected by the entire people, is growing stronger every day and thus deserves the support and trust it is given.

18. Internal order and security have been assured, the national economy is developing in a remarkable manner, and in particular there has been a fundamental recovery in agriculture, which is its main base. The Kampuchean people, which has suffered so much, has thus ended the horrible famine inherited from the previous régime, and it is now moving into a new era in which culture, social action, public health and education are flourishing and in which hospitals, clinics and schools are open to all and are free. Currently one inhabitant in four attends school, an extremely impressive percentage that none of the previous Governments could achieve. Internationally, with its policy of peace, co-operation and non-alignment, the People's Republic of Kampuchea enjoys growing international support.

19. The achievements of the valiant people of Kampuchea, which are of remarkable political significance, are even more praiseworthy because they have been made despite the military, political and diplomatic pressure of the imperialists, hegemonists and reactionaries.

20. So as to put an end to the intolerable injustice that has been done to the people of Kampuchea and to the principles of law and ethics governing international relations, the General Assembly must reject the credentials of the terrible executioners now putting themselves forward under the new label of "coalition government", whose continued presence at the United Nations not only impairs its prestige but constitutes a serious challenge to the conscience of all progressive mankind. The General Assembly must recognize without delay the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, the sole authentic and legitimate representative of the Kampuchean people.

21. In our view, it would be unfortunate for the General Assembly to allow itself once again, this year, to be misused by the manoeuvres resulting from the adventurist Sino-American policy and to repeat the errors committed three years in a row, especially because the current trend towards dialogue between the countries in the region, while not yet at the level that the interested parties would wish, is solidly based and is developing positively. The era of distrust, lack of reality and misunderstanding must be followed by an era of common sense, sincerity and wisdom, during which the Assembly, by giving due consideration to the legitimate concerns of all the parties interested in the problem, can make an honest contribution to helping the peoples of the region find wise, beneficial and realistic solutions to their common problems.

22. Therefore, for the reasons that I have just given, I have the honour, on behalf of the sponsors, as well as my own delegation, to introduce an amendment [A/37/L.8 and Add.1] to the draft resolution recommended by the Credentials Committee in its report, which would add the words "except with regard to the credentials of Democratic Kampuchea". Thus the operative part of the draft resolution would read:

"Approves the first report of the Credentials Committee, except with regard to the credentials of Democratic Kampuchea."

23. Prince NORODOM SIHANOUK (Democratic Kampuchea) (*interpretation from French*): As President of Democratic Kampuchea and head of its delegation at the thirty-seventh session, I have the honour to thank the Credentials Committee for having, in a sense of true equity, accepted the credentials of Democratic Kampuchea and recommended that the General Assembly accept them.

24. I call upon the General Assembly to accept the Credentials Committee's recommendations, to the effect that the credentials of Democratic Kampuchea, the sole legal, legitimate State of Kampuchea, a Member of the United Nations, are in order and meet the requirements of the rules of procedure of the Assembly.

25. The General Assembly admitted Democratic Kampuchea and permitted it to retain the seat of our country even when in 1979, after the Vietnamese invasion, the Government of Hanoi and its allies urged Member States to accept the so-called People's Republic of Kampuchea, a régime installed by them in Phnom Penh.

26. I thank the Assembly for its understanding. I have the strong hope that a growing number of Member States want this year to declare themselves for justice against aggression, for independence against colonialism, for freedom against slavery.

27. As representatives know, a few months ago the Government of Democratic Kampuchea became, after frank and deep discussions between the different patriotic groups which form the base of the political life of our country, a coalition government in which each of those groups is fairly represented. That government is today the government of our whole nation. The only people who are absent are those few who chose to put themselves at the service of the occupier, who obey him in every way, and who could not remain in office without the essential support of 200,000 Vietnamese bayonets.

28. There is no need for me to say any more about the Phnom Penh puppet régime. The quarrel is not between it and us. Rather, it is between our Coalition Government and the current leaders of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, which has invaded our Kampuchea and now occupies and exploits it.

29. Viet Nam and its satellite, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, the Soviet Union and its allies and associates naturally contest my credentials and use any manoeuvre to try to prevent Democratic Kampuchea from retaining its seat in the United Nations, even though in order to achieve this they have not presented the candidature of their creatures

in Phnom Penh—knowing in advance what the result of the vote will be.

30. The Government that I have the honour to represent here is not, as some would claim, a government in exile. Its members are carrying on the struggle in large liberated zones in the north-west, south-west and north-east of our country, and the meetings of the Council of Ministers, over which I preside, are held, and will continue to be held, on national territory.

31. It is true that the Vietnamese army occupies most of the urban centres of our country; but, as is acknowledged by impartial observers, the occupying Power is not secure at all and must assemble strongly protected convoys to go from one town to another.

32. The struggle for liberation will obviously be long and difficult and very costly in human lives for both sides, although it is my earnest hope that the problem of Kampuchea will one day be solved peacefully. In the meantime, we have no choice but to wage a determined struggle. Our resistance combatants are fighting not only for the independence and freedom of our country: they are fighting also, with a spirit of self-sacrifice which I wish to emphasize, to prevent other demographically and militarily weak countries—and not necessarily countries of the third world—from falling under the domination of more powerful annexationist neighbours. They are fighting, moreover, to prevent other nations neighbouring Kampuchea from becoming, in their turn, the object of threats, followed by military aggression, on the part of Viet Nam. In so doing, our resistance fighters are decreasing tension in South-East Asia and serving the cause of stability and peace in this region.

33. To check the march by the conquering Vietnamese towards the west, the front-line Kampuchean fighters need, in the first place, the support of the largest possible number of members of the Assembly—those that refuse to put a premium on aggression and colonialism. To recognize the so-called Phnom Penh régime, or to support it by leaving Kampuchea's seat "vacant", would amount to the United Nations giving this premium to the occupying Power of a small, peaceful nation whose only "crime" is to love independence and to reject submission.

34. I am convinced that the vast majority of Members of the Organization dedicated to justice will pronounce themselves in support of the legality and representative character of my Government. For how can the United Nations favour a régime with no "legal" basis other than support from foreign authorities, a régime which, when it organizes a "consultation of the people", takes great care to make it clear that those who contest it or oppose it have no right to speak and, certainly, no right to vote?

35. In concluding my statement, I have the honour and the duty to read out *in extenso* the text of a telegram, dated 16 October 1982, which Mr. Prom Ieng, a senior official of the Phnom Penh pro-Vietnamese régime sent me from Munich. I shall do so without changing one word or one comma. The telegram reads as follows:

"Prince Sihanouk,
"Harley Hotel,
"212 East 42nd St.
"New York

“Your Royal Highness,

“My name: Prom Ieng, former Director of the PRK—i.e., People’s Republic of Kampuchea—Information Office in Stockholm, entered the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the pro-Vietnamese Government in March 1979. In June 1979 I was named Chief of the Department of America and West Europe. In March 1980 I was commissioned to open the Office in Stockholm. Allow me, Sir, to inform you of the reasons why I have abandoned my work.

“1. I feel that if I continue to work with the Phnom Penh pro-Vietnamese Government, it would mean that I help the Vietnamese aggressors to occupy, colonize and swallow up our motherland, Kampuchea. When I was on duty in Stockholm, I received instructions to seek the most efficient means to justify the prolonged presence of the Vietnamese troops in Kampuchea. What is clear is that the Vietnamese want to stay forever in Kampuchea.

“2. I have refused all *faits accomplis* by Viet Nam. I have not accepted the special relations with Viet Nam. Allow me to make it clear to you that neither anyone nor anything has induced me to resign. I am convinced that my resignation is backed by at least 80 per cent of our compatriots working at present in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. There are many other senior officials in the pro-Vietnamese Government who are hostile to Viet Nam. But they are waiting only for a propitious occasion. As for the Vietnamese troops in Kampuchea, they are very numerous, they are everywhere, they have occupied all strategic provinces. There are also thousands of Vietnamese civil advisers in all Ministries. Today the Vietnamese are vietnamizing Kampuchea. The Vietnamese aggressors have forced Kampuchean girls to marry them. They have mobilized Kampuchians to learn Vietnamese.

“3. The Vietnamese aggressors have controlled all the Kampuchean administration. Even all diplomatic missions have also suffered pressure from the Vietnamese embassies. The Vietnamese diplomats are the ones who decide or give initiatives. They have monitored all communications with Phnom Penh, even private relations. The Kampuchean emigrants are also watched by Vietnamese diplomats. My wife and I wish that our dear motherland, Kampuchea, will be liberated from Vietnamese colonization. My sister-in-law, who was a diplomat in New Delhi, has left her job for the same reason as I.”

“Prom Ieng,
“care of International Rescue Committee,
“12 Houbeinstrasse (1 Stock)
“8000 Munchen 80, FRG.”

36. I have the original text of this telegram: Mr. Thiounn Prasith, head of the Permanent Mission of Democratic Kampuchea, will submit it to the President of the Assembly.

37. In the light of that telegram from Mr. Prom Ieng, a former senior official of the pro-Vietnamese Phnom Penh régime, I feel that any further comment is unnecessary.

38. The delegation of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and its Laotian satellite at this session may find some mistakes in French in the telegram—mistakes in syntax and in grammar. But that takes absolutely nothing away from the force of this final verdict against the Vietnamese colonialists.

39. On behalf of my country and its Government, I thank in advance all those delegations that cherish justice for the decision they will be taking on the subject of Kampuchea. They will have proved once again that the Assembly remains faithful to the Charter of the United Nations and dedicated to its principles.

40. In conclusion, I request all delegations to vote against the Vietnamese amendment, the Laotian amendment, contained in document A/37/L.8 and Add.1.

41. Mr. KASEMSRI (Thailand): There are two documents before us: document A/37/543, the first report of the Credentials Committee, which contains a draft resolution recommending to the General Assembly the approval of that report, and document A/37/L.8 and Add.1, sponsored by a number of delegations, which contains an amendment to the draft resolution requesting the General Assembly to make an exception with regard to the credentials of the delegation of Democratic Kampuchea.

42. The General Assembly has for the past three years repeatedly pronounced itself on the credentials of the delegation of Democratic Kampuchea, with an ever-increasing margin of support. This year my delegation will not repeat all the arguments already advanced in preceding years in favour of the acceptance of the credentials of Democratic Kampuchea. However, this year the Thai delegation can assert more forcefully that the Assembly should adopt the report of the Credentials Committee that is now before it, if only because the draft resolution proposed by the Committee was adopted without a vote in the Committee, albeit with the reservations of two out of nine members.

43. Paragraphs 22 and 23 of the first report of the Credentials Committee are quite explicit in this regard. Paragraph 22 states that the draft resolution proposed by the Chairman was adopted without a vote and paragraph 23 states that the Chairman then proposed that the Committee should recommend to the General Assembly the adoption of a draft resolution. The proposal was adopted without a vote. My delegation therefore believes that on the strength of the report alone the General Assembly should find the credentials of Democratic Kampuchea to be in proper order, in accordance with rule 27 of the rules of procedure, and should proceed to adopt the first report of the Committee without delay.

44. Thus my delegation could very well rest its case on the strength of this report. However, some arguments have been put forward by the other side, and I should therefore like to attempt to deal with a few important ones.

45. Principally, the effectiveness of the alleged *de facto* authority of the Heng Samrin régime has been cited as the overriding criterion against the legitimacy of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea. The Vietnamese mission recently circulated a

memorandum [A/37/549, annex] from so-called democratic lawyers containing such arguments. I should like to make the following observations in that connection.

46. First, the memorandum does not convincingly deny the legitimacy of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea. Indeed, its thesis is that "the overriding criterion is . . . an objective one—that of effectiveness—and not a subjective criterion of legitimacy" [*ibid.*].

47. Secondly, the memorandum does not adequately deny that the presence of 200,000 Vietnamese troops is helping to provide so-called effectiveness to the puppet régime in Phnom Penh. It merely argues that many countries have had foreign troops within their borders. My delegation would naturally refer this matter to the countries whose names are mentioned in the memorandum. However, the memorandum makes reference to the Second World War and draws the conclusion that "the Allies in 1940-1944 would have been the aggressors, and the Nazi Government would be the only one qualified to retain the seat of Germany" [*ibid.*].

48. In reply to that *reductio ad absurdum*, I would say only that the Phnom Penh régime is more comparable to the Vichy régime, which was sustained only by the Nazi occupation forces.

49. Thirdly, the memorandum states:

"The Vietnamese troops entered Kampuchea after being subjected to repeated acts of aggression by the Pol Pot armies all along the frontier region and in the exercise of their right of self-defence. Moreover, the Khmer Rouge régime did not restrict these provocative acts in Viet Nam; at the time, Thailand also complained of them." [*ibid.*]

It seems that the so-called democratic lawyers have conveniently forgotten the principle of proportionality. Were border incidents to constitute a legitimate ground for an outright invasion and occupation of another country, the Israeli actions in Lebanon would have been praised instead of being condemned by the world. It is true that many Thai villagers were killed during that period. It is also true that many are still being killed today, this time by the Vietnamese forces from Kampuchea. The fact remains that Thailand did not invade Kampuchea, but that Viet Nam took the opportunity to do so.

50. Fourthly and finally, the memorandum cautions the General Assembly that "attempts to isolate Phnom Penh today strengthen its dependence on Viet Nam, which is denounced elsewhere as the worst of all vices" [*ibid.*]. I would naturally prefer to listen to the comment of the representative of Viet Nam on this point.

51. On 22 June 1982 the new Government of Democratic Kampuchea was formed under the presidency of His Royal Highness Samdech Norodom Sihanouk. We have just heard a very eloquent statement by His Royal Highness in his capacity as head of the delegation of Democratic Kampuchea. My delegation sees the formation of the New Government of Democratic Kampuchea as a very positive and encouraging development which deserves the support of all countries that cherish peace and justice, for the following reasons. First, the new Government of Democratic

Kampuchea was the outcome of long and arduous negotiations among the three Khmer parties, whose past differences are well known to the world. For reasons of patriotism, however, they decided to unite with a view to restoring to their motherland its sovereignty and independence, free from the yoke of foreign occupation and alien domination. Secondly, the formation of the new Government of Democratic Kampuchea was a peaceful internal change of Government. It came about as a result of the decision of the three Khmer nationalist parties themselves, and it was agreed that the new Government is under the legitimacy and within the framework of the State of Democratic Kampuchea, which is a State Member of the United Nations. Thirdly, the formation of the new Government of Democratic Kampuchea is a clear manifestation of the singleness of purpose of the Kampuchean people of all factions and their political will to rid their country of foreign armed occupation. Fourthly, the formation of the new Government of Democratic Kampuchea was in keeping with the objectives of the Declaration on Kampuchea.¹

Mr. Hollai (Hungary), President, took the Chair.

52. It is also important to note that the three Kampuchean nationalist movements constituting the Government of Democratic Kampuchea under the presidency of Prince Norodom Sihanouk have singly and politically endorsed the Declaration and the relevant United Nations resolutions.

53. It is the lawful right of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea to take its seat in the General Assembly because it is the sole legitimate and effective Government of Kampuchea, and its credentials are in proper form and have been considered valid by the Credentials Committee without even resorting to a vote, in accordance with the rules of procedure of the Assembly.

54. Therefore, on this issue of the credentials of Democratic Kampuchea, let us abide by the rules of procedure and at the same time defend the principles of the Charter. In doing so we shall be defending the right of the Kampuchean people to decide their own future and to live as a sovereign, independent and non-aligned nation.

55. My delegation strongly urges the Assembly to oppose the amendment submitted and to approve the first report of the Credentials Committee.

56. Mr. NISIBORI (Japan): First of all, Sir, I should like personally to extend my warmest congratulations to you on your election as President of the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly. I am confident that, in view of your abundant experience with the work of the United Nations and your manifest wisdom, this session will prove to be a most fruitful one.

57. As my delegation has stated on previous occasions, our position is that the competence of the Credentials Committee is limited to ascertaining whether credentials submitted by delegations are in conformity with rule 27 of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly. My delegation believes that the validity of credentials must be examined in an objective and impartial manner and solely from the legal and technical points of view. My delegation fully therefore

supports the recommendation of the Credentials Committee that the Assembly approve its first report, which records its decision to accept the credentials of the representatives of all the Member States mentioned therein, including Democratic Kampuchea.

58. As recorded by the Secretary-General and accepted by the Credentials Committee, the credentials of the representatives of Democratic Kampuchea are in order, and their validity is without question. There is, therefore, no basis for the rejection by the Assembly of those credentials. My delegation cannot accept the amendment to deny the credentials of the representatives of Democratic Kampuchea.

59. In this connection, my delegation would remind the Assembly that the rejection of the credentials of the representatives of Democratic Kampuchea would lead to the recognition as a *fait accompli* by the United Nations of the present situation, which has been created by the intervention of foreign troops in Kampuchea.

60. In closing, my delegation welcomes the formation of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea. We are pleased to note that Democratic Kampuchea has thus widened its base and hope that this development will lead to a comprehensive political solution of the Kampuchean problem.

61. Mr. LING Qing (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): The Chinese delegation supports the recommendations of the Credentials Committee to the General Assembly and rejects the amendment contained in document A/37/L.8 and Add.1. Whether in terms of principle or from a procedural point of view, Democratic Kampuchea is fully entitled to continue to occupy its rightful seat in the United Nations.

62. Democratic Kampuchea is an independent, neutral and non-aligned State. The Government of Democratic Kampuchea is the sole legitimate Government of that country. It was only due to the invasion and military occupation by a neighbouring country four years ago that the Government of Democratic Kampuchea had to leave its capital city temporarily for the vast rural areas to lead the patriotic armed forces and people in the struggle against the foreign invaders. The Kampuchean people are a heroic people and will brave all sacrifices and hardships in order to defend their national independence, freedom and survival. They have been carrying on a war of national liberation and have scored one victory after another under extremely difficult conditions. The recently established Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea under the presidency of Prince Norodom Sihanouk underlines the firm determination of the Kampuchean people to close their ranks in order better to fight against foreign aggression and defend their national independence and sovereignty. We are confident that they will win ever greater victories in their struggle until all the invaders are finally expelled from Kampuchean territory.

63. The perpetrators of aggression have sunk to absurdity in their attempt to repudiate the credentials of Democratic Kampuchea.

64. First, they play on "legitimacy" by alleging that the puppet régime in Phnom Penh is the legitimate Government established by an "election". That is

simply a lie. Everybody knows that the Heng Samrin régime has been installed by the foreign invaders. The so-called "election" was nothing but a farce staged by the foreign invaders at bayonet point. *Jus ex injuria non oritur*—that is to say, a right does not arise out of a wrong. No matter how long this puppet régime may survive, it can have no legitimacy. By contrast, Democratic Kampuchea is a State Member of the United Nations and a victim of foreign invasion. But foreign invasion can by no means change the legitimacy of a sovereign State. Therefore, Democratic Kampuchea is fully entitled to continue to occupy its rightful seat in the United Nations. Moreover, Democratic Kampuchea's credentials have been submitted in accordance with the relevant stipulations of the United Nations and the rules of procedure of the General Assembly, and are completely valid. Viet Nam's challenge to the validity of the credentials of Democratic Kampuchea is aimed at legalizing its own aggression against that country. That would be a flagrant violation of the Charter and the norms of international relations, and can by no means be countenanced by the international community.

65. Secondly, it has been argued that the puppet régime in Phnom Penh is entitled to occupy Kampuchea's seat in the United Nations by virtue of its "effective" control of the territory and population of that country. Again, that is completely fallacious. It should be pointed out that the change of Government is a common occurrence in any country. But in any event one must distinguish whether such a change is brought about by foreign aggression or by the choice of the people of that country. It may be recalled that when many countries were subjected to foreign aggression or occupation during the Second World War, the international community recognized the Governments in exile as the true representatives of the national interests of those countries, rather than the puppet régimes which controlled the territories. In the case of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, it is not a Government in exile, for it is operating on Kampuchean territory and is effectively leading the patriotic forces and people in the fight against the aggressors.

66. The puppet régime in Phnom Penh is far from controlling, still less "effectively" controlling, the entire territory or population of the country. The real masters there are the 200,000-strong foreign aggressor troops and the hordes of foreign "advisers" now occupying and controlling the urban centres of Kampuchea. The Phnom Penh régime cannot survive a single day without the support of the aggressor troops. To recognize the legitimacy of this puppet régime would be tantamount to condoning and even rewarding aggression. In that case, what guarantee can there be for the independence and sovereignty of small and weak countries?

67. Thirdly, it has been suggested that Kampuchea's seat should be temporarily "vacated". That is all too transparent a manoeuvre to repudiate the valid credentials of Democratic Kampuchea and ultimately impose the Heng Samrin puppet régime on the international community. It is an attempt to make the United Nations accept the *fait accompli* of Viet Nam's aggression against Kampuchea. To do so would only set a dangerous precedent in international relations. It

would mean a militarily stronger country might feel free to invade or occupy a weaker neighbour by armed force and impose on the international community a puppet régime which it had installed at the point of a bayonet. In that case, could there be any truth or justice to speak of? However, we are confident that truth will triumph over power, and justice will be upheld by the international community.

68. In order to preserve the basic principles of the Charter and the norms of international relations and to safeguard the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of States against foreign aggression and interference, the Chinese delegation firmly rejects the amendment in document A/37/L.8 and Add.1 regarding the credentials of Democratic Kampuchea. We call on the Assembly to adhere to the correct decisions of its previous sessions by approving the recommendation of the Credentials Committee.

69. Furthermore, the Chinese delegation deems it necessary to reiterate that the military intervention in Afghanistan by the Soviet Union is unacceptable. The fact that Mr. Dost of Afghanistan has been allowed to participate in the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly should by no means be interpreted as our acquiescence in the situation created by the occupation of that country by foreign troops.

70. Mr. MORENO SALCEDO (Philippines): Because the subject matter we are now debating has repeatedly been discussed at length in the Assembly, I shall be very brief. Among the first acts of this body immediately after opening its session last September was the creation of a committee that would look into the credentials of the delegations participating in our deliberations and work. That Committee, composed of distinguished, experienced and knowledgeable persons, has now accomplished its task. It has recommended that the credentials of the delegations listed in its report, among them that of Democratic Kampuchea, be accepted.

71. Since the Committee has faithfully complied with its duty in accordance with our instructions, my delegation believes that we should accept its findings. Some delegations, however, challenge the Committee's recommendation by proposing that the credentials of Democratic Kampuchea be rejected.

72. My delegation fails to see why we should do so. The Government of Democratic Kampuchea has been recognized and accepted by the United Nations since 1975. Likewise, since that year the delegation of Kampuchea has participated uninterruptedly in the work of the Assembly. Why, then, should it now be excluded? The reasons adduced are not very clear, but the implication of illegality permeates the charges against the delegation of Democratic Kampuchea.

73. Illegal? But how can the Government of Democratic Kampuchea, hence also its delegation, be illegal when the members of this same Assembly voted in 1975 to recognize it? Many of the representatives present today will recall how these halls rang then with words of praise, encouragement and support for the Government and delegation of Democratic Kampuchea from no less than the representatives of Viet Nam and Laos.

74. Since that Government of Democratic Kampuchea, accepted by the United Nations in 1975, has never ceased to be a Member of the Organization and since its delegation has uninterruptedly participated in the work of the Assembly, my delegation submits that its credentials are as valid now as they were in 1975 and that the delegation of Democratic Kampuchea should be allowed to continue sitting in this body.

75. The present Government of Democratic Kampuchea is also accused of being unrepresentative of the Kampuchean people. How can we believe this when its President is no less than Prince Norodom Sihanouk, who is revered by his people and whose patriotism and devotion to his country are beyond question? How could Prince Sihanouk and the members of his Coalition Government have taken their oaths of office on Kampuchean soil if the long-suffering and heroic people of Kampuchea were not behind them? It is no secret—in fact, it is public knowledge—that the Government of Democratic Kampuchea, headed by Prince Sihanouk, is holding at bay within its territory 200,000 foreign troops and is exercising the rights of sovereignty on its own soil.

76. My delegation submits that the Charter of the United Nations should be observed by accepting the credentials of the delegation of Democratic Kampuchea, headed by Prince Norodom Sihanouk. In so doing we shall ensure the rule of law, which is the bastion of the rights of man.

77. Mr. ZAINAL ABIDIN (Malaysia): Over the past three years the Credentials Committee examined and endorsed the credentials of the representatives of Democratic Kampuchea. The recommendations of the Committee were subsequently debated and approved by an overwhelming number of votes in this very forum. Today, regrettably, we are again seized of this issue. Be that as it may, my delegation is convinced that the General Assembly will at the end of this debate reiterate its endorsement of the credentials of the representatives of Democratic Kampuchea in conformity with the rules of procedure.

78. At the risk of being repetitive, and lest we forget, I should like briefly to recount what has happened. The Assembly has heard numerous statements about the tragic events that took place in Kampuchea when some 100,000 Vietnamese troops marched into that country and forced the established Government to flee from Phnom Penh. Those foreign forces then installed a régime led by Heng Samrin, a régime that is at the beck and call of the dominating Power.

79. The presence of the foreign Power still continues today, with 200,000 of its forces remaining entrenched in Kampuchea. This so-called intervention of good intentions has deprived the Kampuchean people of the right to determine their own future and destiny, has led to the dislocation of hundreds of thousands of ordinary Kampucheans and has caused them to run into Thailand as refugees. These refugees are still there in Thailand and are scattered along the Thai-Kampuchean border. They are still being chased around and shot down by these foreign forces.

80. When these circumstances are taken account of, how could this body reject the credentials of the representatives of Democratic Kampuchea? The inva-

sion and occupation of Kampuchea by foreign forces constituted a gross violation of the Charter of the United Nations and the accepted norms of international behaviour.

81. The Assembly cannot reward aggression by denying the aggrieved party the right to represent its country. To condone such action would be tantamount to accepting the law of the jungle, where might is right. To acquiesce in these acts of aggression would mean the rejection of the principles of non-interference in the internal affairs of States, and the non-use of force in international relations and the obligation to settle international disputes by peaceful means—principles which are held sacrosanct by the United Nations to ensure international peace and stability.

82. The Government of Democratic Kampuchea—a Government that commands substantial support among the Kampuchean nationalist forces—now comprises the three nationalist factions, under the leadership of His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk. This is a clear manifestation of the deep and abiding desire on the part of the Kampuchean people to correct the wrongs imposed on them and to restore freedom, independence and dignity to their beloved country. Charges have been made that the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea is a mere cosmetic change or illusion. These are the most unfortunate and irresponsible allegations that could come from any quarter, bearing in mind the bitter struggle that is still continuing against the invading forces and the lofty principles that we are all committed to uphold as responsible States Members of the Organization. In fact, what could be more cosmetic and illusory than the régime that was set up through the intervention of a foreign Power—a régime that would inevitably collapse without the presence of the 200,000 fully armed foreign troops that are still harassing nationalist forces in Kampuchea and along the Thai-Kampuchea border.

83. The determination, wisdom and, above all, abiding sense of patriotism of the Kampuchean nationalist forces that lead them to stand together to face the tragedy besetting their country deserve our profound admiration. Malaysia welcomes this development and, in fact, perceives it as a positive and important step towards the attainment of a comprehensive political solution of the Kampuchean problem. It is regrettable that Viet Nam persists in its effort to impose a military solution to the Kampuchean situation. In the circumstances, the legitimacy of the Kampuchean nationalists' attempt to free their country from foreign domination must therefore be recognized.

84. It is gratifying to note that the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea is now under the leadership of His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk, a patriot who commands considerable respect internationally. The Prince, who is well loved by the Khmer people, is also a founding father of the Non-Aligned Movement. He has undergone bitter experiences in his struggle to establish a truly non-aligned and neutral State for Kampuchea. The Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, comprising the three nationalist factions, provides an opportunity whereby the parties concerned can genuinely work for a comprehensive political solution of the Kampuchean problem. Indeed, it is the only

political alternative available. Viet Nam should seize this opportunity.

85. The international community, as evidenced by the adoption of General Assembly resolutions 34/22, 35/6 and 36/5, has unanimously urged the complete and total withdrawal of foreign forces from Kampuchea. It has further called for the implementation of the exercise of self-determination in Kampuchea to enable the people democratically to choose their own Government, free from outside intervention and coercion. This position was also confirmed by the International Conference on Kampuchea, which met in New York in July 1981. It is a complete framework for a solution that would meet the interests of all parties concerned. These appeals, unfortunately, have been disregarded by the occupying Power, which is obsessed with its efforts to impose a military solution of the political quandary of that tragic country.

86. South-East Asia is a region made up of small countries whose people desire nothing more than to be left alone to carry out the tasks of nation building and economic development. We ask for nothing more. But if peace and stability are to prevail, strict adherence to the principles of the Charter must be observed. We see the developments in Kampuchea as running counter to this. The problem needs to be resolved in order to bring back peace and harmony to the region, so that we can live with each other without distrust and suspicion and so that we do not become the pawns of outside Powers in their ideological struggles. Our ultimate objective is the establishment of a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality.

87. The political situation in Kampuchea has not changed, despite claims from some quarters that a partial withdrawal has been enforced. Kampuchea remains under foreign occupation and its régime is being sustained by the presence in that country of more than 200,000 Vietnamese troops—the biggest concentration of invasion forces anywhere in the world. The choice before the Assembly is clear. Rejection of the credentials of Democratic Kampuchea would imply recognition by the United Nations of that situation in Kampuchea as a *fait accompli*. However, continued support for the seating of Democratic Kampuchea will reinforce our commitment to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and our faith in international law.

88. My delegation supports the acceptance of the credentials of Democratic Kampuchea and rejects the amendment contained in document A/37/L.8 and Add.1.

89. Mr. LOS (Papua New Guinea): My delegation fully supports the recommendations of the Credentials Committee.

90. As we have stated on previous occasions, Papua New Guinea considers the Government of Democratic Kampuchea to be the only legitimate representative of its people. We therefore fully support the credentials of the delegation of Democratic Kampuchea.

91. Whilst my delegation does not in any way condone the actions of the previous régime in Democratic Kampuchea, where much human suffering and loss of life was caused, we consider Viet Nam's inva-

sion of that country to be a flagrant violation of the Charter of the United Nations and seriously to threaten peace and security in that region and in the whole world.

92. In line with the need for peace and security in the region, we have already expressed our pleasure in welcoming the formation of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, under the presidency of Norodom Sihanouk. As long as the Vietnamese forces are still there, my delegation will strongly support the credentials of Democratic Kampuchea.

93. Mr. GOLOB (Yugoslavia): There is no need for me to comment extensively on the issue of the credentials of Democratic Kampuchea in the United Nations, since the delegation of Yugoslavia has by its vote already expressed its opinion on various occasions. However, the amendment under consideration has two aspects: procedural and political. My delegation cannot and will not vote for the amendment from either point of view.

94. Speaking of procedure, the Credentials Committee considered the full powers of Member States, among them Democratic Kampuchea, and found them valid. In the Committee's report we can see that the credentials of Democratic Kampuchea were the subject of a debate and that the recommendation of the Committee is clear; in our opinion it is fully justified. It is obvious that the Committee reached the conclusion that the credentials of Democratic Kampuchea are in accordance with article 27 of the rules of procedure and, consequently, on the basis of article 28, submitted its report to us. This was the mandate of the Committee and it discharged it fully. The Committee, under the chairmanship of the representative of the Bahamas, Mr. Davidson L. Hepburn, did not exceed its authority.

95. However, those who deny the validity of the credentials of Democratic Kampuchea do so on other than procedural grounds. They are raising political considerations. It may serve a useful purpose to say a few words about this aspect as well.

96. Democratic Kampuchea is a Member of the United Nations and the representatives of its Government are legitimate representatives of Democratic Kampuchea. This has been reaffirmed in the General Assembly on various occasions.

97. The people of Democratic Kampuchea and their legal Government have for years been struggling for the liberation of their country, for independence and for sovereignty. The people of Democratic Kampuchea and their legitimate Government fight against both the forces of occupation and the régime established, maintained and supported by the invader, a régime which represents only the invading war machine itself.

98. There has been a very significant and very positive development. The Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea has been created. The forming of that Government is an expression of the sacred and inalienable right of each people to unite all its forces with the aim of expelling the foreign invader and to decide on its own destiny.

99. The establishment of the Coalition Government has strengthened the unity of all Kampuchean forces

struggling against foreign intervention and occupation. Its goal is to establish anew the independence and sovereignty of non-aligned Democratic Kampuchea. It is headed by the President of Democratic Kampuchea, His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk. Prince Sihanouk is one of the founding fathers of the non-aligned movement and was a participant in the First Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Belgrade 21 years ago, as well as in other conferences of non-aligned countries. His commitment to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and to the policy of non-alignment has been proved in various instances and in difficult circumstances, and he is known, respected and recognized far beyond the borders of his country.

100. We are about to accept the credentials of the Government of a country that was invaded and is occupied. What would become of us if we were to condone the right of a neighbour to establish the Government and the régime of its choice in a neighbouring country? Recalling precisely the Charter, as well as the principles of non-alignment, among which one of the most fundamental is the prohibition of the use of force in international relations and consequently the unacceptability and inadmissibility of situations created by foreign military intervention, we cannot accept the rights of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea being called into question; on the contrary, we ask that they be confirmed.

101. Mr. VC ANH TUAN (Viet Nam) (*interpretation from French*): Once again this year the General Assembly has met to do something it ought not to do, that is to discuss the question of the representation of Kampuchea, because this is a matter which was resolved on 7 January 1979, a day on which the Kampuchean people rose up to overturn the genocidal régime and to take its future into its own hands. Since then progressive mankind once and for all has made a choice between, on the one hand, the butchers of the defunct genocidal régime of Pol Pot, which with unparalleled cruelty, sought to take the Kampuchean society back to the time of slavery and, on the other hand, the Kampuchean people, which, surviving that genocide, is now rebuilding the Khmer nation, famous for its brilliant civilization of Angkor.

102. If the General Assembly once again has to debate the question of the representation of Kampuchea it is because there are people who proclaim far and wide that they are "defending human rights", to disguise the fact that what they are really doing is defending the genocidal criminals, the Zionists, the racists and the neo-Fascists. For there are people who claim to be defenders of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations in order to oppose, under the banner of the United Nations, the right of peoples to self-determination, violating independence and sovereignty and intervening in the internal affairs of other countries. These are the same people who instructed the Pol Pot clique to massacre 3 million Kampuchean people and waged a war of aggression using arms and military material of the most sophisticated type, with the exception of nuclear weapons, against the Indo-Chinese peoples and countries.

103. Nevertheless, despite all the professions of faith of those who vote in favour of the Pol Pot clique, their arguments are becoming less and less convincing.

That is why this year they had hastily to put together the so-called "Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea", describing it as a "new alliance" which, according to the affirmations of its creators, had nothing to do with the defunct genocidal régime of Pol Pot.

104. Where, then, is the truth to be found? In reality, what we have here is the Pol Pot group in disguise. In its edition of 17 July 1982, the Japanese daily *Asahi Shimbun* stated the following in this connection:

"Something disgusting has been done, but it had to be done. Son Sann's mask and Sihanouk's hat have been clapped on to the corpse of the Democratic Kampuchea of Pol Pot, an odious criminal who was condemned for his indiscriminate massacres, and this has been termed the 'Coalition Government'."

105. Immediately after the overthrow of the Pol Pot clique by the Kampuchean people, Peking drew up a long-term plan to regain Kampuchea and to impose a new genocidal régime, to undermine the independence and sovereignty of the three Indo-Chinese countries and to cause tension in South-East Asia. The Chinese authorities have equipped and maintained the remnants of the armed bands of Pol Pot in sanctuaries along the Kampuchea-Thailand frontier in the hope of helping him to return to Kampuchea through the force of arms. Furthermore they have sought to disguise the hateful image of Pol Pot by encouraging him to form an alliance with other reactionary Khmer factions.

106. Five scant days after the overthrow of the Pol Pot régime, Deng Xiaoping himself gave the criminal Ieng Sary instructions to this effect:

"In order to win the sympathy of many people you should form a united front with Sihanouk because that will have an impact on a number of people and on the Son Sann liberation front, those forces that are now in the United States and in other countries such as Thailand".

Deng Xiaoping also warned Ieng Sary "not to slacken his vigilant watch on Sihanouk" and emphasized that such an alliance would have tremendous strategic importance.

107. The above quotations are taken from the record of the meeting on 13 January 1979 between Deng Xiaoping and Ieng Sary. Since then China and the United States have colluded in order as quickly as possible to form an alliance among the three reactionary Khmer factions. Nevertheless, deep-rooted contradictions divide them. After all, has not Sihanouk himself frequently declared that co-operating with the Pol Pot clique would be tantamount to co-operating with the butchers of the Kampuchean people?

108. But time is not on the side of the Pol Pot clique and its patrons. Their annual military plans for the rainy season, particularly that of 1981, the purpose of which is the gradual nibbling away—if things turn out as they wish—of certain parts of Kampuchean territory, have been hanging fire. Thus any illusion that a foothold can be gained on the territory of Kampuchea has been dissipated. In the meantime, in the international arena, the trend in favour of driving out Pol Pot's clique from the United Nations is growing. In the face of this situation the Peking authorities

have been forced to create this alliance at all costs. Thus the so-called "Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea" was formed in Kuala Lumpur. In the 24 June 1982 edition of *Die Welt*, a West German newspaper, it was quite properly pointed out that "this alliance is designed entirely to serve the foreign-policy considerations of China".

109. One merely has to glance at the declaration that formed this "Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea" to realize that the Government is still that of Pol Pot, since all its powers remain in the hands of Pol Pot, Ieng Sary and Khieu Samphan. Furthermore, that declaration could not hide the vast contradictions between these rival factions and makes it easy for us to predict that the prospects of this alliance between "bedfellows with different dreams" are extremely flimsy. Indeed, the Kuala Lumpur declaration which formed the "Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea" explicitly stipulates that

"each of the three parties participating [in the coalition] reserves the right of freedom of action to guarantee its own continuity should there be a deadlock that renders the Coalition Government inoperative. In such a case the present State of Democratic Kampuchea, headed by Mr. Khieu Samphan, would be entitled to reinitiate its activities as a State Member of the United Nations to ensure the continuity of Democratic Kampuchea."

110. As far as Pol Pot's clique is concerned, progressive humanity will never forget its genocidal crimes, with 3 million Kampucheans savagely massacred. Under Pol Pot's régime Kampuchea was strewn with the communal graves of the victims of genocide. Even today, from time to time new ones are found. We can give some examples. A communal grave containing the remains of 1,450 persons was discovered a short while ago in the Sway Toenr commune, in the province of Sway Rieng, more than 100 kilometres south of Phnom Penh. Quite recently, according to information dated 20 October 1982, from the SPK press agency, approximately 100 communal graves containing the remains of approximately 16,000 persons were discovered on the island of Koh Thmei, in the Saang district, 50 kilometres south of Phnom Penh.

111. Many foreigners who have been to Phnom Penh have had occasion to visit the former Toul Sleng prison, which has gained sinister ill fame because of the massacres perpetrated by the Pol Pot clique against tens of thousands of persons, including foreigners. During a press conference held on 1 October last, the Ministry of Culture and Information of the People's Republic of Kampuchea stated that the Pol Pot clique had imprisoned, tortured and massacred in that prison at least 110 foreigners, 85 of whom were identified, comprising 31 Thais, 24 Pakistanis, 14 Indians, 5 Americans, 4 Laotians, 3 Frenchmen, 2 Australians, 1 New Zealander and 1 Englishman.

112. The genocidal nature of the Pol Pot clique has thus been brought into daylight. It is difficult to see how the Chinese authorities could make use of the formation of the so-called "Coalition Government" in order to attempt to mislead public opinion and to disguise the unchanged nature of Pol Pot and his cohorts. Whatever the pretext used, supporting the

“Coalition Government” would be tantamount to supporting Pol Pot himself, aiding and abetting the leaders in Peking or encouraging them in their attempts to reimpose Pol Pot’s genocidal régime on the Kampuchean people and to impede any dialogue between two groups, the countries of Indo-China and those of the Association of South-East Asian Nations, aimed at achieving a peaceful settlement of the problems persisting in the South-East Asian region.

113. It should be emphasized that the fact that representation in the United Nations has been granted to a group of people who claim to be a coalition government formed abroad is in itself a very dangerous precedent for the States Members of the United Nations. It is regrettable that certain countries helped China to maintain the Pol Pot clique and to form the “Coalition Government” in exile in order to oppose the rebirth of the Kampuchean people. That act is certainly not likely to contribute to the restoration of peace and stability in South-East Asia. On the contrary, it establishes an extremely dangerous precedent for the very countries of that region at a time when China is continuing to maintain groups of Maoists in various parts of the region in order to carry out acts of subversion against them.

114. At the present time a vast popular movement is gaining ground throughout the world and demanding the expulsion of the Pol Pot clique from the United Nations. This movement is becoming increasingly widespread in several countries, including the United States. The American national committee to oust Pol Pot from the United Nations sent an open letter to President Reagan containing a petition with 3,000 signatures from various sectors of the American population requesting the Government of the United States not to vote to keep the seat of Kampuchea in the hands of the so-called tripartite alliance.

115. On 15 September of this year, speaking at a meeting of three sub-committees of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives of the United States, Mr. Don Bonker criticized the inconsistent attitude of the Reagan Administration regarding the question of the representation of Kampuchea. During his electoral campaign as a candidate, Mr. Reagan criticized the policy of the Carter Administration concerning human rights, which he described as “gross hypocrisy” since the Carter Administration voted in favour of maintaining Pol Pot’s seat in the United Nations. But now the Reagan Administration in its turn has sought to convince Congress of the reasons which prompted it to vote in favour of maintaining Pol Pot’s seat in the United Nations.

116. In a telegram addressed to the Secretary-General and to the President of the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly, dated 17 September 1982, Mr. Hun Sen, Vice-President of the Council of Ministers and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the People’s Republic of Kampuchea, voiced his strong

“protest against the presence of these genocidal criminals or their accomplices in this Assembly. That presence is immoral, illegal, contrary to the spirit of the United Nations Charter and contrary to the aspirations and interests of the reascent Kampuchean people; it is an insult to the memory of

over 3 million Kampucheans who were savagely massacred and an affront to the conscience of the world” [A/37/481, annex].

117. We believe that it is high time the United Nations took account of the legitimate aspirations of the Kampuchean people and the urgent demands of people throughout the world to put an end to its mistaken position regarding the representation of Kampuchea in its midst. To continue to support Pol Pot’s clique, in whatever guise, would be not only to incite a handful of criminals and their masters to undermine the work of peaceful reconstruction by the Kampuchean people, but at the same time to encourage reactionaries of all persuasions, the new Fascists throughout the world, to compete with Pol Pot and outdo him in criminal acts against their peoples.

118. It is necessary only to look at the unprecedented atrocities cold-bloodedly committed by the Israeli forces of occupation and their agents against Palestinian civilians—defenceless old people, women and children—in the massacres in the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps in west Beirut on the night of 17 September last to appreciate the heavy responsibility—morally, at least—borne by the United Nations. From Hitler to Pinochet, from Pinochet to Pol Pot, from Pol Pot to Begin, the logic of events will continue this inexorable process if it is not halted in time by resolute and effective measures in accordance with the human conscience and international law, in place of crocodile tears or high-flown words which disguise subtle and cruel manoeuvres.

119. The Organization should expel the Pol Pot clique from its midst in order to break the deadlock which has been imposed upon it for more than three years now regarding the question of the representation of Kampuchea. The United Nations cannot continue indefinitely to act against the principles of its own Charter and in contradiction of international law and morality by keeping in its midst a handful of genocidal criminals who have been overthrown by the Kampuchean people, denounced by world public opinion and condemned by the People’s Revolutionary Tribunal of Phnom Penh—criminals who no longer have any place on the territory of Kampuchea, who must live in exile abroad and who represent no one but themselves.

120. My delegation deeply deplores the fact that the United Nations is continuing to allow itself to be misused by the enemy of the Kampuchean people in order to interfere in the internal affairs of a sovereign country, a situation which has led to a deadlock and is depriving it of any opportunity of making its own contribution to the cause of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia. Nevertheless, the peoples in that area, like those throughout the entire world, sincerely hope that such a contribution will be made by the United Nations.

121. We regret having to remind the Assembly that during the 30 years of the struggle by the three countries of Indo-China against the most deadly wars of aggression in history the United Nations did not recognize the representation of the peoples of those countries, while the aggressors always had an important voice in the affairs of the Organization. This did not prevent the three Indo-Chinese peoples from

combining their forces, co-operating among themselves and together triumphing in their just cause. But it has meant that throughout all this time the United Nations has been unable to play the constructive role which the Charter requires of it in the settlement of the problems of Indo-China and South-East Asia.

122. For its part, after having overthrown the genocidal criminals and becoming the master of its own destiny, the Kampuchean people has boldly set about the reconstruction of its country in accordance with the path it has freely chosen, and has scored remarkable successes in all areas. The reality of almost four years proves that the People's Republic of Kampuchea has become more and more stable as the years have passed, and day by day is managing more effectively all the internal and external affairs of the country. It has thus become a solid and sound factor for peace and stability in that region. We may therefore ask how, if it did not have the unanimous confidence and the warm support offered it by its entire people, could the people's power have achieved such results at a time when the expansionists and hegemonists, in collusion with the imperialists, were sparing no effort to help Pol Pot's clique and other reactionary Khmers in their acts of sabotage and subversion against the peaceful reconstruction of a country devastated by genocidal criminals.

123. As far as the seat of Kampuchea in the United Nations is concerned, the People's Republic has recently demonstrated an unprecedented degree of good will. While reaffirming that it is the sole legal and authentic representative of the Kampuchean people and is therefore legitimately entitled to its seat in the United Nations, it has nevertheless declared that it will not in the immediate future demand that its right to be represented in the United Nations be restored should the United Nations expel the genocidal criminals and their cohorts from its midst.

124. Thus, giving a positive response to the broad wave of public opinion in favour of the vacant seat formula as a provisional solution to the question of the representation of Kampuchea in the United Nations, the main party concerned has just demonstrated its constructive magnanimity in order to help the United Nations finally to emerge from the deadlock on this question.

125. The purpose of the amendment in document A/37/L.8 and Add.1, of which Viet Nam is a co-sponsor, is precisely this. The amendment was introduced in a clear, exhaustive and convincing way by the representative of the Lao People's Democratic Republic, Mr. Soubarh Srithirath, to whom I should like to convey the sincere thanks of my delegation. It is our earnest hope that this amendment will win broad support from representatives. A positive vote for this amendment will be an act of justice to the valiant Kampuchean people in the work of rehabilitation. We shall thus be helping to enhance the prestige of the United Nations, which has for three years now been besmirched by the presence of the Pol Pot clique in its midst, thus making it possible for the Organization finally to play its constructive role in the settlement of the problems relating to peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia.

126. Mr. SUJA (Czechoslovakia) (*interpretation from Russian*): The General Assembly is again witnessing attempts to railroad through a proposal that the seat of Kampuchea at the United Nations should continue to be occupied by private individuals who do not represent the Kampuchean people. The proposal flies in the face of reality, runs counter to the desires and interests of the people of Kampuchea, and is a clear violation of the principles of international law. Under it, the seat of Kampuchea would continue to be occupied by the representatives of a régime guilty of annihilating millions of Kampuchean men, women and children.

127. The tragedy and absurdity of the attempt is in no way diminished by the fact that this time the persons concerned appear in the forefront of the political scene together with other pretenders from the so-called "Coalition Government" of Democratic Kampuchea. There can be no doubt that the purpose of this new grouping is merely to strengthen the untenable position of Pol Pot's supporters, to give them a new image and to conceal their mass crimes. The proposal thus remains simply an instrument in the hands of those who clearly hope to topple the national revolutionary régime in Kampuchea, the sole legitimate government of that country, which was elected by its people. Those who use every means in their power against that régime are waging a savage war against the people of Kampuchea.

128. We are convinced that the presence here of a delegation which does not represent the Kampuchean people is illegal. It causes grave harm to the authority of the United Nations, and it is an obstacle to the effective involvement of the Organization in seeking constructive ways and means to restore peace and stability in South-East Asia. We must put an end to the genuinely paradoxical situation of a blind eye being turned to existing realities and to international law, when steps should be taken to restore the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of Kampuchea at the United Nations.

129. The People's Republic of Kampuchea is the sole Kampuchean State. Its Government is the sole genuine and legitimate representative of the people of Kampuchea. The organs of that State were founded on the basis of free elections held in May 1981, and they work within the context of a constitution adopted by the highest Kampuchean legislative assembly in June last year. It functions effectively throughout the territory of Kampuchea and enjoys the support of the people of that country. It has consistently successfully ensured the full consolidation of the country and the renewal of the national economy, which was completely disrupted during the domination of Pol Pot's followers, something with which we are all familiar. The improvement is going on in difficult circumstances, with the People's Republic of Kampuchea having to ward off armed attacks from outside. Thanks to its policy of non-alignment, peace, friendship and co-operation, it properly enjoys steadily increasing international authority.

130. A tangible expression of that policy is the important, constantly reiterated and further developed constructive proposals aimed at a peaceful settlement and normalization of the situation in South-East Asia, proposals in whose drafting the Government

of the People's Republic of Kampuchea has been taking an active part, together with other socialist countries in Indo-China. Further clear evidence of that Government's political good will is its readiness to agree that the Kampuchean seat at the United Nations should remain unoccupied for the time being. We highly commend the peace-loving policy of the People's Republic of Kampuchea and support, as it does, comprehensive and dynamically growing friendly relations based on respect and fruitful, mutually beneficial co-operation. We also fully support the legal and, as we believe, completely justified, demand that the genuine representatives of the People's Republic of Kampuchea should have an opportunity to defend at the United Nations the legitimate interests of the Kampuchean people.

131. For the reasons that I have just given, the Czechoslovak delegation will not support the attempts to give those who are struggling against the Kampuchean people an opportunity to represent Kampuchea in the Organization. We shall vote for the amendment that has been submitted.

132. Mr. KRAVETS (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): With respect to the subject under consideration, my delegation feels that it is necessary to state that the theatrical spectacle prepared by some countries for the creation of the so-called "Coalition Government" of Democratic Kampuchea can in no way change the illegality of the presence at the United Nations of Pol Pot's clique, which was guilty of the genocide of its own people. The coalition, created in a foreign capital and at the command of foreign bosses, has no support among the Kampuchean people. It has no right to represent Kampuchea at the United Nations. It serves only one end—to camouflage the presence of the Pol Pot clique in the United Nations, which brings shame to the Organization.

133. The group of persons who have appeared as representatives of the so-called Democratic Kampuchea represent no one but themselves. They have absolutely no legal rights, nor is there any reason why they should be present in this room. They should have no place here at the United Nations.

134. In 1981, general elections were held in the People's Republic of Kampuchea on a free and democratic basis, and the highest body of State authority—the National Assembly—was elected. It approved the Constitution of that country. It established various State organs, which are now functioning properly. The Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea exercises effective control and a full measure of authority over the territory of the country, is the sole legitimate representative of the Kampuchean people and possesses the exclusive right to speak on behalf of Kampuchea in the international arena, including the United Nations and other international organizations.

135. The Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea is fulfilling all commitments undertaken by Kampuchea under the Charter of the United Nations. In the field of foreign policy, it favours peaceful, good-neighbourly relations and co-operation with the neighbouring countries, in the interest of peace and stability in South-East Asia and throughout the world, in accordance with the principles of the Charter.

136. We fully support the position of the People's Republic of Kampuchea as set out in a telegram dated 17 September this year from its Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Hun Sen, to the Secretary-General and the President of the General Assembly at the thirty-seventh session. That telegram contains a vigorous protest against the presence in the United Nations of those genocidal criminals and demands that they be expelled from this international Organization and that Kampuchea's seat be restored to the People's Republic of Kampuchea, the sole authentic and legal representative of the Kampuchean people.

137. In this connection, I feel that it should be emphasized that no decision taken against the will of the Kampuchean people and in the absence of the representative of the People's Republic of Kampuchea can have any legal or binding force, since that would be tantamount to intervening in the internal affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea and would represent a gross violation of the Charter of the United Nations.

138. If we look at the essence of this problem, we must surely recognize that the question before us today is by no means one of a mere legal formality, as some have attempted to depict it. This is indeed a serious and acute political problem. Those who vote to accept the credentials of the representatives of the so-called Democratic Kampuchea will, whatever words they use to conceal this, in fact be supporting the Pol Pot clique, which is odious to the Kampuchean people.

139. The Ukrainian SSR will vote for the amendment submitted and thus against accepting the credentials of the Pol Pot clique in whatever form it speaks.

140. The PRESIDENT: I propose that, if there are no objections, the list of speakers on this item be closed this afternoon at 3 o'clock.

It was so decided.

The meeting rose at 1.05 p.m.

NOTE

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