



Wednesday, 27 October 1982,  
at 10.55 a.m.

*President:* Mr. Imre HOLLAI (Hungary).

*In the absence of the President, Mr. Treiki (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

**AGENDA ITEM 20**

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

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Arabic*): I should like to remind representatives of the decision taken by the Assembly yesterday, at its 44th plenary meeting, to close the list of speakers on this item at noon today.

2. Mr. PELLETIER (Canada) (*interpretation from French*): The situation in Kampuchea continues to be a source of sincere concern for Canada; it is therefore my duty once again to address the Assembly on this subject. I wish first to reaffirm our support for any measures likely to contribute to a solution of this problem.

3. This is the fourth year in succession that this item has been on the agenda of the Assembly. During this time many efforts have been made to find a solution. An impressive and ever-increasing majority of Member States each year supports United Nations initiatives to this end. In 1981, for example, 100 countries voted in favour of General Assembly resolution 36/5. This outstanding co-operation on the part of Member States testifies to their faithfulness to the spirit and the purposes of the Organization. The quest for peace and respect for the principles contained in the Charter of the United Nations are well served by this.

4. However, as we know, these very encouraging initiatives have been seriously compromised by the intransigence of certain Member States. Viet Nam, which is at the root of the Kampuchean problem, has constantly shown its scorn concerning the restoration of peace and stability in South-East Asia. Its lack of respect for the Organization is particularly demonstrated by the fact that it continues to occupy Kampuchea and to reject all efforts by the United Nations to resolve the problem. As time passes, Viet Nam's recalcitrance perpetuates the Kampuchean tragedy for all the people of the region. We have all expressed the desire to solve the problem, which can be solved. Therefore, we call upon Viet Nam and its supporters to join the rest of the international community in seeking a solution which will allow Kampuchea and the rest of the region finally to enjoy peace and prosperity.

5. I have emphasized the efforts made by the United Nations, which have been helped by the establishment of the Coalition Government. We are happy to welcome to the Assembly the new President of Democratic Kampuchea, Prince Norodom Sihanouk, and its new Prime Minister, Mr. Son Sann. Their dedication to the liberation of the Kampuchean people from foreign domination and their determination to restore to that people the right to decide its own future will, I am sure, contribute to the just solution of the Kampuchean problem. Canada is under no illusions about the presence of followers of the Khmer Rouge in the new Government of Democratic Kampuchea. I assure the Assembly that we shall continue steadfastly to oppose the return of the Pol Pot régime and its loathsome policies.

6. Nevertheless, we are entering a new era, in which the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea must be able to rely on our support. That Government includes men worthy of respect who offer the Kampuchean people a valid alternative to the harsh conditions that they are experiencing at present under Vietnamese domination. The Kampuchean people rightly demand the right to choose their own destiny. Clearly, in the meantime it will be necessary to take appropriate measures to ensure the maintenance of law and order, as stated in the Declaration of the International Conference on Kampuchea, held in New York from 13 to 17 July 1981.<sup>1</sup>

7. The draft resolution before the Assembly [A/37/L.1/Rev.1] calls upon us to reaffirm our support for the principles laid down in United Nations resolutions and in the Declaration of the International Conference on Kampuchea, for the solution of the Kampuchean problem. It acknowledges the work of the *Ad Hoc* Committee of the Conference during the past year and calls upon it to continue its efforts. Canada supports the draft resolution. I congratulate the Secretary-General on his important contribution to the work and urge him to continue it.

8. I also thank the presiding officers of the Conference and of the *Ad Hoc* Committee for their work on its behalf. Much remains to be done, and the task is a thankless one. Canada remains committed to the restoration of peace in Kampuchea and therefore continues to support the work of the International Conference on Kampuchea. That is why I am happy to join the other sponsors of the draft resolution and call upon all Member States to support it. Despite the lack of co-operation by Viet Nam and its supporters, this work must continue. It is essential in order to guarantee stability, progress and development in South-East Asia and to maintain the integrity of the principles that we cherish.

9. In conclusion, I repeat that Canada intends to continue with determination its efforts to reach a

solution acceptable to the whole international community. The Government of Viet Nam must not interpret the humanitarian aid given to the Vietnamese people last year by various United Nations bodies as approval of its occupation of Kampuchea. That is not so. On the contrary, the fact that that aid proved to be necessary is a factor in favour of the ending of Viet Nam's presence in Kampuchea. The ill-advised policies of the Government in Hanoi and the maldistribution of the country's resources have resulted in a steady worsening of the conditions of its own people. However, Canada's participation in programmes of aid for Viet Nam will continue to depend on the withdrawal of Vietnamese forces from Kampuchea and an acceptable settlement of the Kampuchean problem.

10. Mr. AMECA (Togo) (*interpretation from French*): On 25 December 1978, in violation of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and of international law, foreign troops entered Kampuchea, and on 7 January 1979 they occupied Phnom Penh, its capital, claiming millions of innocent victims.

11. Hundreds of thousands of Kampucheans took refuge in neighbouring countries, while the thousands that remained behind fled from the invader to inclement areas, abandoning their property and thus becoming prey to another enemy, hunger. Because of the continued fighting and the growing shortage of food, waves of refugees, seeking safety, keep moving towards neighbouring countries in ever-growing numbers, creating an enormous refugee problem.

12. Deeply moved by this tragic situation, the international community has not hesitated to help the courageous Kampuchean people in its time of suffering. We pay a heartfelt tribute to the donor countries, the Organization and its specialized agencies, and all the national and international humanitarian organizations that have contributed. We pay a similar tribute to the Secretary-General for his efforts, past and present, to co-ordinate the humanitarian aid for the Kampuchean people and to monitor its distribution. I take this opportunity to express our appreciation to him for the steps he has taken to contribute to a peaceful settlement of the Kampuchean question which will put an end to the continuing violation of the rules of international life.

13. This flagrant violation of the rules that govern relations between States is of concern to all peace-loving countries devoted to the principles of the Charter, to which all Member States have freely committed themselves. That is why Togo was among those outraged by the invasion of Kampuchea by foreign troops and why Togo, anxious to see the inalienable rights of the Kampuchean people restored, voted in favour of General Assembly resolutions 34/22 of 14 November 1979, 35/6 of 22 October 1980 and 36/5 of 21 October 1981. It is also why my country participated in the International Conference on Kampuchea, held in this very Hall from 13 to 17 July 1981. My Government believes that the Declaration and the resolution<sup>1</sup> adopted at the end of the Conference constitute the proper framework for an overall solution.

14. Such a solution involves, among other things, the withdrawal of all foreign forces now in Kampu-

chea and respect for Kampuchea's sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity and the right of the Kampuchean people to self-determination, in accordance with the principles of the Charter concerning respect for the national independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of all States, non-intervention and non-interference in the internal affairs of States, the non-use of force or the threat of force, and the settlement of disputes by peaceful means.

15. Stated in those terms, this overall solution to the Kampuchea problem will make it possible to establish lasting peace in South-East Asia, peace for the attainment of which the concerned countries of that region are sparing no effort. In this connection, the recent events that have made it possible to establish a coalition Government are significant. It is encouraging to see that the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea under the presidency of Samdech Norodom Sihanouk intends, *inter alia*, to ensure implementation of the Declaration adopted by the International Conference on Kampuchea and the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly. That is why the Government of Togo attaches great importance to the statement made by Samdech Norodom Sihanouk on 9 July 1982, on the occasion of the formation of the Coalition Government, in which he said, *inter alia*: "I launch an appeal to all friendly countries and Governments to bring us aid and support for the sacred cause which we defend for the restoration of peace in Kampuchea, and for the equilibrium, the stability and the security of this part of the world". [See A/37/340, annex.]

16. For its part, the Togolese Government takes this opportunity to reiterate its support for the cause of the Kampuchean people and to voice the hope that the peace necessary for national reconstruction will come soon, for, as has been stated by General Gnassingbe Eyadéma, President of Togo, "The world needs peace. That is the price of the harmonious development of the nations of which it is composed."

17. It is in that spirit that my delegation will vote in favour of draft resolution A/37/L.1/Rev.1.

18. Mr. ZAINAL ABIDIN (Malaysia): The consideration of agenda item 20, on the situation in Kampuchea, is indeed a matter of vital significance to all of us, particularly the countries of South-East Asia, because it is directly relevant to the issue of peace and stability in the area. This item has been discussed in the General Assembly since 1979. On each occasion, the Assembly has, by an overwhelming majority, adopted resolutions condemning the armed intervention by Vietnamese forces in Kampuchea and urged their immediate withdrawal from that country to enable the Kampuchean people to exercise their right to determine their own destiny free from outside interference and coercion.

19. Today, the situation in Kampuchea continues to be a matter of grave concern. The presence of Vietnamese invading forces numbering more than 200,000 persists, and Kampuchea is still governed by a régime installed and sustained by those invading forces. The invasion and occupation of Kampuchea constitute a gross violation of the Charter of the United Nations and run counter to the accepted

norms and principles of international behaviour. They also undermine the very foundation of trust and confidence among States and evoke the threat that small countries can be held to ransom by the might of the others.

20. The Association of South-East Asian Nations [ASEAN] has taken a strong lead in the search for a solution to the Kampuchean problem because we consider it indispensable to the larger issue of peace and security in the region. The invasion and occupation of Kampuchea represent an obstacle to the realization of the concept of a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality. This obstacle should therefore be removed. A comprehensive political solution as outlined in the various General Assembly resolutions and in the Declaration of the International Conference on Kampuchea would certainly assist in the attainment of this objective. This would entail the immediate withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea. Such a withdrawal would enable the Kampuchean people to exercise their right to decide their own future and destiny free from any outside interference and would provide a breakthrough in the present political impasse. South-East Asia, which consists of many small countries, has seen political turbulence since the days of colonialism. We desire nothing more than to be left alone to pursue the task of nation-building and economic development, to ensure peace and prosperity for our future generations so that they can live in harmony with one another without distrust or suspicion.

21. Since the adoption last year of General Assembly resolution 36/5 and the Declaration of the International Conference on Kampuchea, a number of initiatives have been taken by the Secretary-General to seek a comprehensive political settlement to the conflict in Kampuchea. He has dispatched his personal emissary, Mr. Rafeuddin Ahmed, to the region. Members of the *Ad Hoc* Committee of the International Conference on Kampuchea have visited France, Belgium, the Federal Republic of Germany, Thailand, Sweden and Austria. But all these efforts have not borne fruit because of the lack of willingness on the part of Viet Nam to co-operate in the search for a comprehensive political settlement. On the contrary, Viet Nam chose to disregard and not to recognize the existence of these efforts, creating a stumbling-block to the peaceful solution of the Kampuchean problem. My Government regrets this frivolous attitude of Viet Nam towards United Nations initiatives and urges it to play a more positive role in consonance with its declared desire for peace and stability in South-East Asia.

22. Recently, the Indo-Chinese States put forward a proposal in the Ho Chi Minh communiqué [see A/37/334, annex] ostensibly to provide a solution to the problem of Kampuchea. But the proposal, on closer examination, ignores the root cause of tension in South-East Asia, which is the continued presence of foreign forces in Kampuchea. The proposal is designed primarily to justify and entrench the Vietnamese presence in Kampuchea and is geared towards maintaining the *status quo*. The proposal is deliberately as vague as it is impractical. It is meant to confuse the specific issue inherent in the Kampuchean problem with a host of irrelevant issues.

23. Meanwhile, the three resistance nationalist groups of Kampuchea, under the leadership of Prince Norodom Sihanouk, had formed a coalition. The coalition is indeed a manifestation of the determination of the Kampuchean nationalist forces to rid themselves of foreign occupation and to restore pride and dignity, of which they have been deprived. We have now in Kampuchea a fairly representative Government which can genuinely claim to represent the Kampuchean people. The credibility of this Government is no longer in doubt, as it was endorsed a few days ago by approximately 90 members of this body [see 43rd meeting, para. 222].

24. Malaysia welcomes the formation of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea as a positive development and as an important step towards the attainment of a comprehensive political solution. The formation of the Coalition Government provides an excellent opportunity for the parties concerned to work genuinely for a peaceful solution to the Kampuchean problem. Viet Nam should not allow this development to pass it by. Instead, it should seize this golden opportunity to conduct serious negotiations with the Coalition Government.

25. The central role and responsibility of the United Nations in resolving the Kampuchean crisis cannot be over-emphasized. The Kampuchean problem is not just a regional problem, for it concerns the violation of a fundamental principle of international law, and remedying this is an international responsibility. We firmly believe that a positive response by all concerned would help to create the necessary atmosphere conducive to a comprehensive political settlement of the conflict, resulting in the elimination of the sources of danger and in the establishment of enduring peace and harmony in Kampuchea and the region as a whole. It is our earnest hope that reason will, in the end, prevail with Viet Nam and that it will enter into negotiations over the various elements for a peaceful settlement as outlined in the various resolutions of the Assembly and, in particular, in the Declaration of the International Conference on Kampuchea. A positive response by Viet Nam to this call could make a vital contribution to bringing the tragic chapter of strife and bloodshed in war-ravaged Kampuchea to an end.

26. While the political solution of the conflict is of the utmost urgency, we should not lose sight of the dire plight of the Kampuchean people. We are relieved to see the overwhelming response of the international community in the matter of emergency relief. In this regard, my delegation wishes to express its deep appreciation to the donor countries, the United Nations and its agencies and the international humanitarian organizations and voluntary agencies which have rendered valuable assistance to the Kampuchean refugees. While the question of emergency relief assistance inside Kampuchea should soon end, there is real need to provide continued assistance to those Kampuchean refugees along the Thai-Kampuchean border and in the holding centres in Thailand, pending their safe return to their homes.

27. The five ASEAN countries, together with 43 other countries, have sponsored draft resolution A/37/L.1/Rev.1, which reaffirms the basic incontrovertible principles and practical framework for a political



settlement. The draft resolution endorses the important decisions of the International Conference on Kampuchea and addresses itself completely and entirely to the problem before us. The plan as envisaged by the Declaration of the International Conference on Kampuchea is constructive and actively seeks to restore peace and stability to Kampuchea while maintaining and recognizing the legitimate interests of others. My delegation wishes to commend the draft resolution to the General Assembly for approval.

28. Before concluding, my delegation would like to reiterate to those that have so far ignored the call of the Assembly the need to respond positively to the continuing efforts of the world community to bring about a just and comprehensive political solution of the Kampuchean problem, before the situation becomes more entrenched and irreconcilable. The resolution of this problem would provide a new impetus for ASEAN and the countries in the Indo-China peninsula to devote themselves to the tasks of economic and social development, thus heralding a new era of peace, concord and amity in South-East Asia.

29. Mr. HELSKOV (Denmark): I have the honour to speak on behalf of the ten member States of the European Community.

30. The situation in Kampuchea is a matter which continues to arouse deep concern among the ten members of the European Community, all the more so in that another year has passed without substantial progress towards a peaceful political solution that could bring about an end to the suffering of the sorely tried people of Kampuchea. For nearly four years, the régime in Phnom Penh has been controlled by and remained totally dependent on the neighbouring country of Viet Nam.

31. The attitude of the European Community to the régime that preceded the Vietnamese invasion is consistent and clear. The atrocities of the Pol Pot régime are unmatched in recent history. This, however, gives no justification for the subsequent invasion and continuing occupation of Kampuchea by a foreign Power.

32. Nevertheless, we are encouraged by the progress which has been achieved over the past year by international efforts to manage the continuing humanitarian problems. The increase in agricultural production inside Kampuchea and the continued general response of the international community have further alleviated the food deficit problem in the country. Furthermore, the prospects for the present monsoon crop are promising. We hope that this positive development will make it possible to terminate the emergency aid programme inside Kampuchea by the end of this year.

33. Meanwhile, in the border area, the Royal Thai Government has continued to demonstrate its generosity by absorbing Kampuchean refugees in large numbers, despite the difficulties this has entailed for the Thai community. We have noted with satisfaction that the programmes in the border area are now fully funded for the rest of the year. The European Community will continue to assist the relief operations in the border area as long as a need persists.

34. The resolutions adopted in the three previous sessions by an impressive majority vote of the Assembly called for the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea, the restoration and preservation of its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, the right of the Kampuchean people to determine their own destiny and the commitment by all States to non-interference and non-intervention in the internal affairs of Kampuchea. Viet Nam's failure to respect the rights of the people of Kampuchea is thus matched by a regrettable lack of respect for the Assembly's resolutions and for world opinion.

35. The persistent breach of fundamental international principles in Kampuchea continues to be of great concern to the whole world and, in particular, to the countries in the region. We share the concern of the countries of ASEAN and deeply regret that their tireless efforts to bring about a solution to the Kampuchean problem have foundered so far on the refusal of Viet Nam to accept the relevant United Nations resolutions as the basis for a genuine political settlement. The ASEAN countries have furthermore to cope with problems deriving from the Kampuchean situation, most notably the problem of refugees.

36. The ten member States of the European Community have noted with appreciation the report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee of the International Conference on Kampuchea.<sup>2</sup> Equally, they wish to welcome the report of the Secretary-General [A/37/496] and the Secretary-General's determination expressed therein to continue to exercise his good offices in the search for a peaceful solution based on the fundamental principles of the Charter.

37. There have nevertheless been developments of interest over the last year which may contribute to the comprehensive political solution we are all seeking. Resistance parties have come together and announced the formation of a coalition under the leadership of Prince Norodom Sihanouk. We also note that there have been talks recently between Viet Nam and other Governments of the region.

38. The complete withdrawal of Vietnamese forces is an indispensable step in returning Kampuchea to normality. Effective measures must also be taken to ensure that no armed group can either seize power by force or use the threat of force to intimidate the people of Kampuchea and so deprive them of their right to sovereignty and the exercise of free choice in determining their own future. As we said at the thirty-sixth session [8th meeting], it is for the people of Kampuchea to decide who should emerge from free elections as their new Government. In this connection, we reiterate our abhorrence of the Khmer Rouge régime, which we have no doubt the Kampuchean people will reject decisively when given the chance.

39. The ten member States of the European Community are prepared to support any initiative designed to establish a truly representative Government in a neutral and independent Kampuchea, maintaining friendly relations with all the States of the region. As ASEAN recognizes, there can be no political solution without the participation and co-operation of all those concerned in the conflict. We hope that all parties concerned will be prepared to play their part in the search for a negotiated political settlement and fully

to use the framework of the United Nations in seeking a lasting solution for the Kampuchean people.

40. It is high time that the suffering of the Kampuchean people ceased and that they regained their right to self-determination without disruption, intimidation or coercion. It should not be impossible to find a solution which accommodates the legitimate concerns of all interested parties, including Viet Nam.

41. I should like to conclude by saying that the ten member States of the European Community will once again support the draft resolution which ASEAN has submitted, as we supported its draft resolutions at the thirty-fourth, thirty-fifth and thirty-sixth sessions of the General Assembly.

42. Mr. AANO (Norway): Since the Norwegian delegation addressed the General Assembly at the thirty-sixth session [39th meeting] in relation to the situation in Kampuchea, little progress seems to have been made towards a political solution to the conflict. The two parties involved continue to be far apart in their respective positions and proposals on how the conflict should be solved. The armed hostilities continue in the border areas and elsewhere in the country. There are disturbing reports that means of warfare outlawed by international conventions are being used against both military and civilian targets.

43. The main responsibility for this state of affairs must be borne by the occupying Power. Even though reports have revealed that the former Government in Phnom Penh was responsible for gross violations of basic human rights, causing innumerable deaths and endless suffering for the whole population, this cannot by any means be used as an excuse for the invasion and continued occupation of a sovereign State by a neighbouring country. Violations of human rights by one Government cannot serve as a pretext for violations of basic principles of the Charter of the United Nations and international law by another.

44. Norway has repeatedly appealed to Viet Nam to withdraw its troops from Kampuchea. I repeat this appeal today. Such a step would pave the way for the restoration and preservation of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Kampuchea. It would make it possible for the long-suffering Kampuchean people to enjoy their inalienable right of self-determination and to determine their own future. These elements constitute, together with international guarantees of non-interference, and non-intervention in the internal affairs of Kampuchea, the principal components of any just and lasting solution to the conflict in Kampuchea.

45. A withdrawal from Kampuchea should, in our opinion, also be in Viet Nam's own interest. It would open international contact in the economic, development and political sectors on a much broader scale than is possible today. The present isolation of Viet Nam is, in our view, tragic in the light of the need for the reconstruction of Vietnamese society after more than 30 years of war in Indo-China.

46. One positive development during the past year has been the increase in direct contact between Viet Nam and the member countries of ASEAN. We hope that these exchanges of views and consultations will lead eventually to a narrowing of the gap between the positions of the two parties and a greater mutual

understanding of the legitimate security needs of all parties.

47. The recent formation of a Coalition Government between the forces of Prince Sihanouk, Son Sann and the Khmer Rouge has been welcomed by several speakers in the present debate. My delegation also sees this as a positive step, which we hope will lead to the establishment of a régime that will fulfil the aspirations of the people of Kampuchea.

48. Let me conclude by saying a few words about the international humanitarian relief operation in Kampuchea. In the summer and fall of 1980, when States Members of the United Nations were alarmed at the prospects of an impending famine in Kampuchea, an impressive international relief operation was established with UNICEF and the International Committee of the Red Cross as lead agencies and with the co-operation of the parties involved, both within and outside Kampuchea. It now seems that the danger of a famine in Kampuchea has subsided. The flow of refugees to the border areas is much less than it was, and in some areas the refugees are now travelling back to Kampuchea. In our opinion, this relief effort is one of the most important successes of the United Nations family in the past few years. I would like to take this opportunity to express my Government's admiration for the persons and agencies which have been involved in this operation. I should like to pay a special tribute to the neighbouring countries—in particular, Thailand—for the way they have handled the enormous burden of receiving so many refugees in such a short period of time.

49. Mr. OTT (German Democratic Republic): Once again an agenda item concerning the so-called situation in Kampuchea has been imposed on the General Assembly for consideration at this year's session. The discussion of this pseudo-question not only runs counter to all efforts undertaken with a view to normalizing the situation in South-East Asia but at the same time amounts to a grave violation of the Charter of the United Nations, especially with respect to the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of sovereign States. It is consequently detrimental to the prestige of the world Organization.

50. Rather, it is necessary to face the facts, the reality. What, then, are those facts? The People's Republic of Kampuchea has been in existence for almost four years now. Tremendous political, economic and social changes have taken place in that country. After the dark years of terror under the Pol Pot régime, the Kampuchean people have successfully embarked on a difficult road of national and social reconstruction. In the general, democratic and free elections of 1 May 1981, they expressed full support for the new orientation of their country's social development. Thanks to systematic efforts by the legitimate Government in Phnom Penh, life is being restored to normalcy in all spheres of activity. Distinct progress has been made in the agricultural, industrial and handicraft sectors, as well as in the development of education, health services and the national culture. The Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea exercises effective power and control in the country.



51. Another fact is that as many as 31 States have already extended diplomatic recognition to the People's Republic of Kampuchea. The young People's Republic receives support and assistance from many countries. International organizations, too, deserve high praise for their humanitarian aid.

52. My country also sides in firm solidarity with the people of Kampuchea. The relationships existing between the German Democratic Republic and the People's Republic of Kampuchea have been developing successfully on the basis of a treaty of friendship and co-operation. Only a few days ago, in Berlin, representatives of the two Governments signed an agreement on economic assistance for the People's Republic of Kampuchea from the German Democratic Republic. Aid and relief shipments financed from donations by citizens of the German Democratic Republic, made as a token of their solidarity, help the Kampuchean people in rebuilding their country.

53. The march of events during the past few years has proved that no strategy of military provocation and blackmail or politico-diplomatic and economic boycott can bring the People's Republic of Kampuchea to its knees. Nevertheless, an attempt has been made to achieve that end with the establishment of a so-called Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea. What sort of thing is this Coalition Government construction, anyhow? It has no territory of its own; it represents no people and possesses no power in the country. It represents only itself and the followers of the Pol Pot régime who have fled the country. Yet, it is indeed a coalition—namely, one with the very forces which are responsible for the assassination of 3 million men, women and children. Neither the enormous ballyhoo in the Western mass media nor any amount of demagogic rhetoric or hypocritical declarations can conceal the true character and intentions of the representatives of a criminal genocidal policy. But there will be no comeback for the Pol Pot régime under any flag. The Kampuchean people have not made countless sacrifices fighting against imperialism and hegemonism and battling a genocidal régime only now to open wide the door for their executioners to return in the guise of a coalition.

54. The originators and protagonists of the so-called Kampuchean question are using the presence of Vietnamese troops in order to draw a veil over their crusade against the Indo-Chinese peoples. The most active figures in this undertaking are representatives of the country which maintains hundreds of military bases throughout the world and which has stationed forces and armaments, including nuclear weapons, in foreign territories. Nor have the peoples of the world—particularly the peoples of Indo-China—forgotten that as recently as a few years ago hundreds of thousands of United States troops were stationed in South Viet Nam, fighting a cruel war against the peoples of Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea. But today, two sovereign States are to be denied the right jointly, and in complete accordance with the Charter of the United Nations as well as on the basis of existing agreements, to defend their sovereignty and independent national development against foreign interference. Such a policy runs counter to all norms of international law and ignores the realities in South-

East Asia. Furthermore, it must be asked in this connection why there is such persistent negation of the fact that the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam is ready to withdraw its forces from the People's Republic of Kampuchea when that country's security is ensured. And why has the fact that some of those forces have already been pulled back been covered by a blanket of silence?

55. It certainly is high time that the clear will of the people of Kampuchea was finally respected at the United Nations also. Above all, this requires that the United Nations seat which rightfully belongs to the legitimate Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea be attributed to that Government. An indispensable prerequisite in this connection is to discuss all questions regarding Kampuchea with that Government instead of debating so-called situations in Kampuchea against its will and in its absence. Is it not imperative, in the interests of peace and stability in South-East Asia, to renounce unfounded distrust and hostility with regard to the People's Republic of Kampuchea and the other countries of Indo-China? Is it not high time to set aside points that divide and to embark responsibly on the road of normalizing the situation in South-East Asia through constructive dialogue and negotiations between the countries of the region? The proposals put forward by the Foreign Ministers of the Indo-Chinese States at their sixth conference, held at Ho Chi Minh City in July of this year [see A/37/334/annex], provide a realistic basis for this. They testify to a persistent policy of using every possibility to develop normal relations on the basis of peaceful coexistence. The United Nations would live up to its responsibility if it helped to clear the road to dialogue and negotiations.

56. The history of international relations has witnessed other imperialist attempts to deny peoples the right to independent development and to withhold general diplomatic recognition from sovereign States. These attempts have always failed. They were bound to fail, for everyone knows that the course of history cannot be arrested, let alone reversed. This lesson of history should be heeded by the representatives of those countries which continue up to the present day to ignore the realities and the objective laws of development in South-East Asia.

57. Mr. KASEMSRI (Thailand): The tragic conflict in Kampuchea, causing serious distress and suffering for the Kampuchean people with the continuing foreign occupation of their homeland, justifiably remains an issue of vital concern to the international community and, in particular, to the Assembly. The fundamental principles enshrined in the United Nations Charter, principles upon which the Organization is based, are being flagrantly violated and three consecutive resolutions adopted overwhelmingly by the General Assembly remain unheeded. The situation in Kampuchea continues to be the root cause of grave tension in South-East Asia, thus threatening to rupture the fragile fabric of international peace and stability.

58. As the front-line State affected by the consequences of the conflict in Kampuchea, Thailand has joined with the other member countries of ASEAN in seeking a comprehensive political settlement of the Kampuchean problem based upon the principles of the

United Nations Charter and the relevant General Assembly resolutions.

59. The present situation in Kampuchea has resulted in enormous suffering for the Kampuchean people. Large numbers of Kampuchean refugees have fled to Thailand or to the Thai-Kampuchean border in search of food, safety and shelter. Famine and mass starvation inside Kampuchea have been averted only by emergency humanitarian relief operations undertaken by the United Nations with the generous assistance of many donor Governments. At present, over 80,000 Kampucheans remain in holding centres in Thailand. More than 200,000 Kampucheans are congregated along the Thai-Kampuchean border, dependent upon vitally needed food and medical assistance from United Nations agencies and other international and voluntary organizations. Conditions along the Thai-Kampuchean border are both tragic and precarious. Should fighting inside Kampuchea and in the border area become more intense, with the onset of the dry season, those refugees would be further displaced and another massive influx into Thailand could occur, adding to the already heavy burden borne by Thailand. Moreover, the influx of Kampuchean refugees and tension along the border have already displaced over 100,000 Thai villagers from their homes and disrupted their livelihood. In this connection, my delegation has, on no fewer than nine occasions since the beginning of this year, drawn the attention of the United Nations to more than 40 serious violations of Thailand's sovereignty on the part of Vietnamese forces from Kampuchea, as is evident from several documents before the Assembly and the Security Council. This grave situation, with its human consequences, cannot be brought to an end until a just and durable solution is found to the Kampuchean problem through peaceful, negotiated means.

60. On this occasion, the Thai Government would like to record once again its deep appreciation of the efforts made by the Secretary-General, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and the United Nations specialized agencies to relieve the suffering of the Kampuchean people, including those along the Thai-Kampuchean border. We are also gratified by the continuing exercise of the good offices of the Secretary-General over the past year in seeking to promote a comprehensive political settlement of the Kampuchean problem. These international efforts have been valuable in keeping alive the hopes for peace and stability in Kampuchea.

61. It may be recalled that the International Conference on Kampuchea, convened in July last year at United Nations Headquarters, established a practical, balanced and reasonable framework for a comprehensive political settlement of the Kampuchean problem. The legitimate interests and security concerns of all States involved were fully taken into account, including those of Viet Nam and Laos, which regrettably refused to attend the Conference. Indeed, the Conference clearly stated its appreciation of the legitimate security concerns of all States of the region and therefore deemed it essential for Kampuchea to remain non-aligned and neutral and for the future elected Government of Kampuchea to declare that Kampuchea will not pose a threat to or be used against the security, sovereignty and territorial integ-

rity of other States, especially those sharing a common border with it. The Declaration on Kampuchea adopted by consensus at the Conference calls for negotiations on the following important elements: cease-fire and withdrawal of all foreign forces under United Nations supervision; appropriate measures for the maintenance of law and order in Kampuchea; and holding of United Nations-supervised free elections with appropriate measures to ensure that the results are respected by all parties.

62. This constructive and reasonable negotiating framework for a comprehensive political settlement of the Kampuchean problem established by the International Conference on Kampuchea remains open to participation by all countries. The *Ad Hoc* Committee established by the Conference has been meeting regularly and has undertaken missions to several countries in pursuit of a just and durable settlement to the conflict in Kampuchea. There can be no justifiable reason why any Member States of the United Nations, especially those directly involved in the Kampuchean situation, which are full-fledged Members of the United Nations, should refuse to respond to these efforts on the part of the international community.

63. As an alternative to the United Nations negotiating framework, a limited international conference on South-East Asia has been proposed. Prior to the convening of such a conference, the members of ASEAN and Indo-Chinese countries would meet to discuss the agenda, topics and other procedural matters. Upon closer examination, this seemingly conciliatory gesture has hidden flaws and serious pitfalls. First and foremost, there is no assurance that the core issue of foreign military occupation of Kampuchea and the right of the Kampuchean people to self-determination would be the focus of attention at such a conference. While it has been repeatedly alleged that the situation in Kampuchea is the internal affair of the Heng Samrin puppet régime, it has also been said that the foreign invasion and occupation of Kampuchea was necessitated by the so-called Chinese threat against Viet Nam and the Indo-Chinese countries. Yesterday, in his statement before the Assembly, the representative of Viet Nam said that: "In fact, there is no such question as 'The situation in Kampuchea' "\* [45th meeting, para. 115.]

64. Thus, the nature of the conference and its agenda can be subjects of interminable discussions and prevarication. Such a limited international conference would thus only serve to legitimize the continued military occupation of Kampuchea, promote a confrontation with those whom Viet Nam perceives to be a threat, undermine the negotiating framework established under the United Nations and, in effect, prolong the suffering of the Kampuchean people.

65. The announcement of a partial withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea was at first noted with interest. However, subsequent developments and persistent reports of a continuing build-up of infantry, mechanized and air units, as well as introductions of fresh Vietnamese troops into Kampuchea, in apparent preparation for a major dry season offensive in the coming months against the patriotic

\* Quoted in French by the speaker.



Kampuchean resistance forces, all point to the exaggerated nature of the claim. The Ho Chi Minh City communiqué, issued in July, coupled the offer of partial troop withdrawal with the statement that if there was an increase in "hostile activities" after the so-called partial withdrawal, then Viet Nam would "decide on appropriate measures". There is naturally some apprehension, in the region, of the fighting in Kampuchea becoming more intensified, thus leading to a new mass exodus of refugees and, perhaps, more incursions by Vietnamese troops across the border into Thailand.

66. In the interest of peace, the Royal Thai Government welcomed the visits to some ASEAN countries in July of this year by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Viet Nam and had, indeed, been prepared to gauge the sincerity of purpose underlying his visits. It is therefore disappointing that there was hardly any sign of substantive change in Viet Nam's position on the Kampuchean problem and that the talk about partial withdrawal turned out to be a mere camouflage for introductions of fresh Vietnamese troops to cope with the growing Khmer nationalist resistance.

67. However, despite violent protracted campaigns over the past four years by the foreign forces to crush the resistance of the Kampuchean people, the Kampuchean resistance movement has gained added strength and momentum. In July of this year, Prince Norodom Sihanouk assumed the presidency of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea. The new composition of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea is a positive step towards a comprehensive political settlement of the Kampuchean problem. It has been demonstrated that four years of military occupation has failed to crush the indomitable spirit of a people wishing to regain its birthright of sovereign independence.

68. The Ho Chi Minh City communiqué again proposed the setting up of a demilitarized zone or "safety zone" along the Thai-Kampuchean border. Apart from being an imposition on Thailand, which is not a party to the armed conflict in Kampuchea, this appears to be a thinly veiled attempt to enlist Thai support against the legitimate struggle of the Kampuchean patriots and to burden Thailand with further displacement of refugees who are regarded as undesirable elements by Viet Nam. Thailand has never been a party to the conflict in Kampuchea and has no desire whatsoever to become embroiled in the fighting in Kampuchea. The Royal Thai Government has scrupulously maintained its non-involvement in the armed conflict, bearing in mind the danger of an escalation, to the detriment of all concerned. Thailand does not offer any sanctuary for armed Kampuchean factions. The large contingents of United Nations relief personnel and officials of international humanitarian agencies who are present in the border areas can attest to this situation. If a demilitarized zone is deemed necessary, it should more properly be established along the Vietnamese-Kampuchean border after the complete withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea.

69. The inescapable realities with regard to the situation in Kampuchea are that the three relevant General Assembly resolutions have been ignored; the armed conflict in Kampuchea continues; a foreign

occupation force of some 200,000 troops remains in Kampuchea, constituting the largest number of foreign occupation troops present in any country in the world today; administrative, economic and other measures are being taken by the occupying Power in Kampuchea to consolidate its hold over the occupied territories; demographic change is being imposed in a systematic manner by the occupying Power in such territories; the Kampuchean people continue to be denied their right to self-determination; and Kampuchean refugees along the Thai-Kampuchean border are denied the right to return safely to their homes.

70. Had it not been for the attention focused by the Assembly on the unfolding tragedy in Kampuchea, the people of Kampuchea would have been left to fend for themselves against foreign occupation and alien domination without hope of an eventual just and peaceful settlement. Indeed, had it not been for the moral injunction brought to bear by the successive resolutions of the General Assembly and the framework for negotiations provided by the International Conference on Kampuchea, convened by the Secretary-General, the conflict in Kampuchea could have escalated further, with even graver consequences for international peace and security. The three resolutions on the situation in Kampuchea adopted by the General Assembly have also provided the basis for the international humanitarian relief assistance which has averted mass starvation and hunger among the Kampuchean people.

71. Once again the General Assembly is called upon to consider the continuing tragedy in Kampuchea, and a draft resolution was eloquently introduced by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Philippines on the first day of the debate [44th meeting]. My delegation believes that draft resolution A/37/L.1/Rev.1 merits the support of all peace-loving countries. It incorporates the essential elements for a comprehensive political settlement of the Kampuchean problem. Its endorsement would reaffirm our common commitment to the process for resolving international disputes within the United Nations framework and would keep alive the hopes of the Kampuchean people for a just, peaceful and durable solution of the tragic situation in their motherland.

72. Mr. LOS (Papua New Guinea): Once again the international community is confronted with an agenda item entitled "The situation in Kampuchea".

73. Papua New Guinea has on previous occasions made known its views on the situation in Kampuchea. We did this in our statement two days ago in relation to the credentials of Democratic Kampuchea [42nd meeting]. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Papua New Guinea, in his statement to the Assembly [23rd meeting], also referred to this question. We have also supported the various United Nations resolutions on this matter. All this we have done in both the spirit and the letter of the Charter of the United Nations. We will not repeat much of what we have said, but we refer to, and confirm, that which we cannot raise today.

74. The intolerable situation in Kampuchea is the direct result of the invasion by Viet Nam. Viet Nam has been trying to convince the world community that it was the saviour, that its invasion has prevented



much killing by the previous régime and thus saved many lives, but the evidence points the other way. Since the installation of a puppet régime, thousands of Kampuchean people have suffered, thousands have been killed and others have fled to neighbouring countries to seek sanctuary. If, in fact, the Vietnamese were the saviours, why are they still there, and why are they trying to impose their own will on the innocent Kampuchean people?

*Mr. Abulhassan (Kuwait), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

75. Papua New Guinea participated actively in the deliberations of the International Conference on Kampuchea, held here last year, and it fully endorses the Declaration of that Conference.<sup>1</sup> In accordance with the principal objective of that Declaration, we believe that a just and lasting settlement of the Kampuchean problem can be achieved if the two basic principles are implemented first. These are the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea and the exercise by the Kampuchean people of its right to determine its own destiny. We also believe that such a settlement should take into account the legitimate security concerns of the States in the region, including a commitment by all States to non-intervention in the internal affairs of Kampuchea.

76. For three successive years, the General Assembly has repeatedly called for the withdrawal of all foreign forces, for respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Kampuchea, and for the free exercise of self-determination by the Kampuchean people. We regret to say that the main instigator of the Kampuchean problem has bluntly refused to accept the wishes of the majority of the Organization, of which that country is a Member. Instead of responding to these repeated calls for withdrawal, it still maintains its forces there.

77. Apart from the political and security problems that have been created, the Vietnamese invasion has resulted in untold suffering among the Kampuchean people. This has created enormous problems both within Kampuchea and among neighbouring States of the region. Kampucheans in large numbers have fled to the Thai-Kampuchean border in search of food and safety. In this connection, my Government would like to place on record its appreciation of those Member States and international organizations that have given assistance to the Kampuchean people. We believe that the humanitarian aspect of the Kampuchean problem can be settled if, in the first instance, a comprehensive political settlement is brought about.

78. Because of these concerns, my Government has already welcomed the formation of the new Coalition Government, under the presidency of Samdech Norodom Sihanouk. We believe that he is a leader who commands respect not only within Kampuchea but also internationally.

79. In this regard, my delegation is particularly happy that this body, in its wisdom, decided at the 43rd meeting that Democratic Kampuchea should retain its seat in the United Nations, despite repeated attempts by some to take that seat away from it.

80. Mr. GOLOB (Yugoslavia): Nearly four years ago, the foreign intervention that caused an exacerbation of the crisis in South-East Asia began. In the meantime, proposals have been made, resolutions have been adopted and international conferences have met, but foreign intervention and the war against the independence of the people of Kampuchea and the Government of Democratic Kampuchea continue unabated.

81. The attempt to change the political map of the region by foreign military intervention in Democratic Kampuchea was a hard blow to the stability of South-East Asia and had negative consequences for international peace and security. In this region subjected to big-Power rivalry, another hotbed of crisis was created. Regional factions are trying to impose their hegemony and domination under the umbrella of this rivalry. There is an attempt to justify the slogan "might is right" under the pretext of pre-emptive security. There is an attempt to legalize a *fait accompli* and to achieve *de facto* recognition of the results of the military intervention.

82. This is contrary to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the principles of the policy of non-alignment and peaceful coexistence. The United Nations and non-alignment have made independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, free choice of internal system and free choice of foreign policy inalienable rights of all countries and peoples.

83. It is irresponsible to pretend that local wars and foreign interventions are isolated events that do not influence international peace and security. There is no such thing as a harmless local war or harmless foreign intervention. An end to such wars and foreign interventions cannot be brought about through so-called regional settlements if they are made at the expense of other peoples and countries. Without jealous regard for the sovereignty and independence of peoples, no lasting solution can be achieved.

84. The situation in Kampuchea is a case in point. The crisis in South-East Asia created by the intervention in Democratic Kampuchea gives cause for widespread grave concern. It is another link in the chain of battlefields throughout the world. The framework for a political solution to the problem of Kampuchea as the core of the crisis in South-East Asia has been elaborated in the United Nations, as well as at conferences of non-aligned countries. It is clear that a political solution can be based only on the withdrawal of foreign troops and the elimination of foreign intervention. The International Conference on Kampuchea, held last year in New York, amalgamated those positions in a programme for the political solution of the crisis. The International Conference took into account all the legitimate interests of the parties and countries of the region directly involved, as well as security in that part of Asia and in the world at large.

85. In the meantime, a very significant and positive development has occurred in Kampuchea. A Coalition Government has been formed, headed by Prince Norodom Sihanouk, a personality known, respected and recognized far beyond the borders of his country as a fighter for a free, independent and non-aligned Kampuchea. This has strengthened the unity of

all Kampuchean forces fighting against foreign military intervention, and it is an expression of the sacred and inalienable right of every people to unite all its forces in expelling a foreign invader. The establishment of the Coalition Government is to our mind another step forward towards a lasting solution, provided that political will exists on the other side as well.

86. Consistent with the goals and principles of the policy of non-alignment, Yugoslavia has always called for full implementation of the inalienable right of every people to decide on its own way of life and its right to independence, peace and security. This commits us to the same approach to all conflicts and crises, and settlements thereof, wherever they may happen. We are firmly opposed to any foreign intervention, interference, threat or use of force and foreign domination and occupation. Respect for this position is the basic political, legal and moral obligation of each and every State and a unique milestone on the road to peace and security in the world.

87. Yugoslavia firmly supports the peaceful settlement of the crisis in South-East Asia. In our view, a just solution can be found only within the framework of the United Nations resolutions and the decisions on this issue adopted at conferences of non-aligned countries. We in Yugoslavia hold that the withdrawal of foreign troops and the establishment of a non-aligned and independent status for Democratic Kampuchea is an essential precondition for political settlement.

88. Again this year Yugoslavia supports the draft resolution on the situation in Kampuchea that is before us, and we are deeply convinced that without an independent and non-aligned Kampuchea free from outside interference and pressure, and without the Kampuchean people's being able to decide freely and democratically on its future and its way of life, there can be no lasting and stable peace and security, either in the region of South-East Asia or beyond it.

89. Again this year, I should like to conclude by stating that these principles are not abstract notions. They are the basis of a world of peace and a world of equals. In the family of nations, no one should remain indifferent and stand aside when independence is denied or blatantly violated.

90. Mr. TROYANOVSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): The discussion in the General Assembly of the item entitled "The situation in Kampuchea" is completely illegal. The Soviet delegation, as is well known, opposed its inclusion on the agenda of the present session. In that connection, we fully support the position of the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea as set forth in the telegram dated 17 September 1982 from the Foreign Minister of that country, Mr. Hun Sen, to the President of the General Assembly and the Secretary-General. That telegram emphasizes that

"The so-called 'Kampuchean problem', which does not exist, is simply a plot hatched by the American imperialists and the Chinese and regional reactionaries in order to interfere in the internal affairs of the Kampuchean people. All resolutions concerning Kampuchea adopted in the absence of

the representatives of the People's Republic of Kampuchea are considered null and void and constitute gross and inadmissible interference in the internal affairs of Kampuchea." [See A/37/481, annex.]

91. If the Soviet delegation is speaking now, it is certainly not to make any remarks on this artificial, non-existent matter. The purpose of our statement is to emphasize the true motives of the instigators of the present debate and that it is unnecessary and futile. Those who are really interested in the question of Kampuchea can get a very good idea of it from many sources, including Western publications, which can hardly be accused of sympathizing with the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

92. The life-giving and healthy nature of the new régime in Kampuchea became apparent very quickly after its establishment. Only a little more than a year after the ousting of the Pol Pot clique, *The Washington Post*, in its edition of 3 March 1980, stated that journalists who had visited Kampuchea in recent weeks also had been impressed. Kampuchea, they felt, was coming back to life under the Heng Samrin Government. At about the same time, another United States newspaper, *The Los Angeles Times*, stated in its edition of 16 March that all that had been banned under Pol Pot was being restored and that the return of saffron-robed monks and the gradual repair of monasteries and pagodas had led to a revival of Buddhism. It also states that although about half of the country's teachers had perished, schools had reopened and that markets had sprouted near most towns.

93. That was the situation two and a half years ago. Now, since the victory of the Kampuchean people over the Pol Pot clique, almost four years have elapsed, and all these historic changes have become more established and have begun to yield tangible results.

94. *The Philadelphia Enquirer* of 7 September 1982 described the situation, which was the result of a spirit of restoration, as the rebirth of a nation from the ashes of an Asian holocaust. *The Christian Science Monitor*, in its edition 3 February 1982, referred to the baby boom, stating that Phnom Penh was full of one-year-old and two-year-old children and that for some of the older children, life in the city had meant discovering toys for the first time.

95. The Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea created as a result of general elections and exercising complete control of the territory of the entire country, has been making every effort to overcome the dire economic, social and political aftermath of the leadership of the Pol Pot clique. Despite tremendous difficulties, the Kampuchean peasants have been reviving their agriculture. Hundreds of industrial enterprises and communal farms and arts and crafts workshops have begun working again. The circulation of money has been restored. The educational system and the health system have been brought back again. One out of every four citizens of Kampuchea is now studying. The vast construction efforts going on in Kampuchea testify to the faith of the



people in the new régime. The number of people who want to return to their motherland is increasing.

96. The People's Republic of Kampuchea, in accordance with the Constitution adopted in 1981, which set forth the basic purposes of its internal policy and its peace-loving foreign policy as a non-aligned country, is struggling, together with the brother countries of Indo-China, for the transformation of South-East Asia into a region of peace and co-operation on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence.

97. That is the truth; those are the incontrovertible facts about the situation in Kampuchea and the external policy of that country. But the true instigators of today's debate do not want to see that and do not want to mention it. The question is why—because they are obviously interested in completely different things, in particular, and primarily, how to ensure that developments in Kampuchea are reversed. That is the obvious conclusion when we see how some countries are doing their utmost to keep the representatives of the odious Pol Pot clique within the United Nations. Can people really be so naive as to believe that a restoration of the Pol Pot clique could bring to the Kampuchean people anything but hundreds of thousands of fresh murders, anything but hunger and suffering?

98. While the General Assembly is once again involved in a futile discussion about the situation in Kampuchea, more and more new evidence is coming to light of the horrendous crimes of the genocidal Pol Pot clique. In the province of Kandal, quite recently, mass graves were discovered, with the remains of more than 16,000 brutally tortured Kampucheans. In Svay Rieng province, south-east of Phnom Penh, the remains of almost 40,000 people were found. In Prey Veng province, a huge pit measuring 15 by 80 metres was found, filled with the remains of those killed.

99. In fact, in the General Assembly we are witnessing an ongoing attempt to use the United Nations machinery to legalize interference in the internal affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, a sovereign State which has proved its vitality and its right to be a member of the international community. In our opinion, if this agenda item were to be reformulated more accurately so as to be more in keeping with the intentions of the instigators of the debate, its title would be something like this: "The question of how to return Pol Pot and his group to Kampuchea".

100. The fact that this is the situation is clearly reaffirmed by the creation of the so-called Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea. That apology for a coalition was knocked together by foreign Governments in various capitals of that part of the world. We must perforce agree with the comment by *The New York Times* on 10 July of this year that: "Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge retain firm control of the main guerrilla armies. Prince Sihanouk's function is but to prettify them..."

101. The declaration on the formation of the notorious coalition itself formally enshrines the principle that, among the three coalition factions, the Pol Pot group plays the main role.

102. The position of those States which continue to make a fuss about the so-called International Conference on Kampuchea is quite unacceptable. As is well known, the States of Indo-China have categorically rejected that ploy whereby attempts are being made by the former to force their will on the peoples of Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea and, at the same time, to bring back the Pol Pot clique to Kampuchea. We can say with complete conviction that these plans are doomed to failure. Therefore, these attempts should be relinquished, and the activities of the *Ad Hoc* Committee of the International Conference on Kampuchea should be brought to an end.

103. The tension that exists in the South-East Asian region has been caused by the policies of the imperialist and hegemonist forces, which are aimed against Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea. The attempts by the United States, China and those in certain circles in the ASEAN countries to use the United Nations to interfere in the internal affairs of Kampuchea have complicated the normalization of the situation in South-East Asia and are contrary to the fundamental interests of the peoples of that region.

104. The United Nations can play an important and positive role in the revival of Kampuchea and in ensuring its progress. The long-suffering people of Kampuchea need the United Nations above all to promote the establishment of favourable external conditions for their peaceful economic and social development.

105. There is also no doubt that in order to bring about a speedy revival of Kampuchea and to strengthen the successes already obtained in developing its economy, we need to continue the humanitarian assistance to the people of that country. This assistance, which has been granted on a bilateral basis and through international organizations, has undoubtedly been of great benefit to the Kampuchean people in their struggle against hunger and in the restitution of their ruined economy. It is important that this assistance is not diverted from its correct purpose and turned into a means of fattening up and maintaining the followers of Pol Pot. Those countries which have attempted to adopt that course will doubtless uncover the truth about the Pol Pot policy and the hypocrisy of that clique's statements about concern for the fate of the people of Kampuchea.

106. The Soviet Union firmly intends to continue all-round assistance to the People's Republic of Kampuchea. In order to help them in their work of restoration, the Soviet Union will, up to 1985, grant assistance for work on 50 programmes. Among the most important of the facilities on which we are co-operating is a 500-bed hospital and a polyclinic equipped to deal with 500 patients a day, an institute of higher technology for 1,000 students and an agricultural institute for 250 students. A telecommunications system for the railway will be set up, a State construction organization will be established and a vocational technical institute for 350 students will be founded; the rubber plantations will be restored, covering an area of 10,000 hectares, and the cotton plantations, covering 6,000 hectares.



107. On 15 July 1982, a new agreement was signed on economic and technical co-operation between the Soviet Union and Kampuchea for the period 1982-1985. The agreement envisages a further extension of co-operation and assistance in putting right the purification equipment for the drinking water supply for the cities of Phnom Penh and Kompong Som, rehabilitating the power supply systems for those cities and other industrial centres of the country, organizing the hydro-meteorological service, and much more.

108. An important condition of guaranteeing a favourable situation for the speedy development of Kampuchea and the other countries of South-East Asia is a political settlement of the problems which affect the normalization and stabilization of the situation in that region. Our delegation reserves the right to go into more detail about this when it is taken up under the appropriate agenda item. But today I should like to stress that a reliable basis for such a settlement is provided by the constructive and flexible proposals of the countries of Indo-China as set out in a letter from the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Lao People's Democratic Republic, Phoune Sipaseuth, dated 15 September last and addressed to the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the five member countries of ASEAN [A/37/477, annex I]. A major feature of those proposals is the just and truly impartial account taken of the national interests of all the countries of South-East Asia.

109. The Soviet Union, for its part, has repeatedly voiced its conviction that in order to normalize the situation in South-East Asia there must be an end to foreign interference in the affairs of that region carried out through the policy of inciting the two groups of States to confrontation. The solution of the problems of South-East Asia can and should be brought about by developing dialogue between those States, on the basis of non-interference in their internal affairs, mutual respect, and the renunciation of attempts to force their will on others.

110. The feelings of profound solidarity between the Soviet Union and the peoples and Governments of the countries of Indo-China were graphically expressed recently during the meetings that took place in Moscow between the Party and governmental delegations of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and the Soviet Union, headed by the Politburo member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Viet Nam, Chairman of the State Council of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, Truong Chinh, and the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union, Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, and also during the meeting between Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev and the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Revolutionary Party of Laos, Prime Minister of the Lao People's Democratic Republic, Kaysone Phomvihane.

111. The joint Soviet-Vietnamese communiqué dated 8 October 1982 stated:

"The Soviet Union and Viet Nam have given and will continue to give all-round support to the Kampuchean people in the construction of a new life. They condemn the provocative clamour about

'the Coalition Government of Kampuchea', knocked together by the Pol Pot clique and their protectors, which has been whipped up by those in imperialist and hegemonist circles and which constitutes direct interference in the internal affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea. The presence in the United Nations of representatives of the criminal Pol Pot clique is inconsistent with the principles of the Organization and is inadmissible."

112. That, in essence, is the position of the Soviet Union on matters relating to Kampuchea, to which it will consistently adhere in the future.

113. Mr. BOLE (Fiji): My delegation has decided once again this year to speak on the question of the situation in Kampuchea because of the continuing concern of my Government at the real threat that the issue poses to the peace and stability of South-East Asia and the Pacific. No Government in those parts of the world can remain indifferent to the destabilizing potential of the situation in Kampuchea. Moreover, we believe that the question of Kampuchea involves fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations, which States Members of the Organization have declared themselves to be bound by in the conduct of their international relations. These include the principles of respect for the national independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of all States, non-intervention and non-interference in the internal affairs of States, non-recourse to the threat or use of force and the peaceful settlement of disputes.

114. It is regrettable that in this case these principles, which are universally accepted, have been grossly flouted. It is also regrettable that, since the armed invasion of Kampuchea, the various international and other efforts and initiatives, including use of the good offices of the Secretary-General, have not been able to produce any substantial progress, let alone a satisfactory resolution of the problem.

115. However, since the invasion of Kampuchea by Vietnamese forces, the majority of the international community has repeatedly taken an unequivocal stand, to which we subscribe fully. My delegation believes that only through a comprehensive negotiated settlement can durable peace and stability in the region be achieved. My delegation is of the firm view that the total and unconditional withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea is a prerequisite for the achievement of a political solution to the problem of Kampuchea. The withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea will facilitate the restoration and preservation of that country's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and will enable the people of Kampuchea freely to determine their own destiny through the holding of elections free from any threat of coercion.

116. In this connection, and indeed with deep admiration, my delegation applauds the undertaking given from this rostrum yesterday by Prince Norodom Sihanouk, President of Democratic Kampuchea, that in accepting the resolution of the Assembly, which calls for general elections under the supervision of the United Nations,

"[his] country seeks to give a public guarantee of honest and truly democratic election proceedings. In this way it seeks to remove any pretext that

Viet Nam may have for refusing to withdraw from our country and restore Kampuchea's independence." [44th meeting, para. 34.]

117. Kampuchea is but one instance where universally accepted codes of behaviour among sovereign nations have been blatantly disregarded. And as in similar situations elsewhere on the globe, a strange and dangerous logic appears to be developing, that instability in sovereign States is sufficient justification for others to invade to stake their claim to foreign soil. This, my delegation submits, would be dangerous logic to perpetuate. It is expansionism and belongs to a bygone age, and it is entirely incompatible with the letter and spirit of the Charter of the United Nations.

118. We make this observation fully conscious of factors which normally create instability within a nation. And in the case of Kampuchea, my Government had unequivocally condemned the atrocity and the senseless destruction of human lives in Kampuchea that preceded the invasion of that country in December 1978. But the point we wish to make is that the events of that year should not continue to justify some sort of permanent residential status for the invading Power. The internal problems of Kampuchea can, in our view, be solved only by the Kampuchean people themselves and not by foreign overlordship, such as exists at present.

119. It is the fervent hope of my delegation that conditions in Kampuchea will soon improve, enabling the parties concerned to come to the conference table with the goal of returning the country to the Kampuchians themselves, so that they may determine their own destiny. My delegation notes with satisfaction that on this question consultations among countries of the region, as well as with other States, are continuing, even though those consultations and other initiatives have not as yet been very productive. My delegation urges that this process of dialogue be given further impetus so that peace and stability in the region can be restored.

120. Mr. FRANCIS (New Zealand): That this item is on the agenda for the fourth successive year is a sad and grim reminder that the situation in Kampuchea is a continuing cause of tension in South-East Asia. Kampuchea is still occupied by foreign forces. Its people are denied their right to determine their own future and rebuild their country free from external interference. The situation prolongs the human suffering that has been a tragic fact of life in Kampuchea for all too long. The conflict is continuing to force Kampuchians to seek refuge in Thailand. So long as the conflict remains unresolved, it has the potential, by reviving great-Power rivalry in the area, to threaten the security of the wider Asia/Pacific region. And so long as the region remains troubled, the energies and resources of the countries of the area will continue to be diverted from the pursuit of peaceful development.

121. Despite the appeals of the Assembly, despite the efforts of the Secretary-General and of the *Ad Hoc*

Committee of the International Conference on Kampuchea and despite the efforts of countries in the region, in particular the States of ASEAN, the situation remains substantially unchanged. We cannot help but be concerned at the persistence of this situation. As the Secretary-General has said, the problems arising from the situation in Kampuchea cannot be solved by military means. It is only a comprehensive political solution, reached through genuine negotiations, that will ultimately allow the countries of the region to look to a future of peace, stability and co-operation.

122. New Zealand therefore fully supports the efforts of ASEAN countries to bring about a peaceful settlement of the conflict in Kampuchea. We support the political framework that was adopted at the International Conference on Kampuchea in July 1981. And we welcome the steps taken by the Secretary-General pursuant to resolution 36/5 adopted by the Assembly last year. It is clear that the road to a durable negotiated settlement is not an easy one. We are nevertheless concerned that the consultations of the past year do not seem to have brought the goal of a settlement based on the fundamental principles of the Charter, as reaffirmed in resolutions under this item, any closer. We hope that in the year ahead the trend towards a sustained dialogue among the countries of South-East Asia will continue and that genuine progress will be made towards a peaceful solution. The formation of the Coalition Government in Kampuchea is a step in the right direction. We have never condoned the crimes and atrocities of Pol Pot and his associates and we welcome the broader representation of the Kampuchean people in the Government of Democratic Kampuchea.

123. The draft resolution before us, of which New Zealand is a sponsor, endorses previous calls by the Assembly for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Kampuchea and the restoration of independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity to that country and the right of self-determination free from external interference to the people of Kampuchea. It affirms the process established by the International Conference on Kampuchea and appeals to all concerned States to participate. It deserves the support of us all. It offers the basis for a comprehensive settlement that fully accords with the principles of the Charter. In looking forward to that peaceful solution, it acknowledges the continuing needs of the people, as well as the requirement of a peaceful environment in which reconstruction can proceed.

*The meeting rose at 1 p.m.*

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> See *Report of the International Conference on Kampuchea* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.81.I.20).

<sup>2</sup> A/CONF.109/6.