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**President: Mr. Salim Ahmed SALIM
(United Republic of Tanzania)**

AGENDA ITEM 103

**Scale of assessments for the apportionment of the ex-
penses of the United Nations: report of the Committee
on Contributions (*continued*)***

1. Mr. PRESIDENT: Before taking up the agenda for this morning, I should like to draw the attention of the Assembly to a letter from the Secretary-General, reproduced in document A/34/474/Add. 2, informing me that the Central African Empire has made the necessary payment to reduce its arrears below the amount specified in Article 19 of the Charter.

AGENDA ITEM 3

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

(b) Report of the Credentials Committee

**FIRST REPORT OF THE CREDENTIALS
COMMITTEE (A/34/500)**

2. The PRESIDENT: I call on the Chairman of the Credentials Committee, Mr. André Ernemann of Belgium, to present the Committee's report.

3. Mr. ERNEMANN (Belgium), Chairman of the Credentials Committee (*interpretation from French*): The report of the Credentials Committee, which appears in document A/34/500 dated 20 September, distributed this morning, is explicit. It reflects the discussions, the views expressed and the suggestions put forward. It scarcely calls for comment. As stated in paragraph 23, the Committee adopted a draft resolution accepting the credentials of the delegation of Democratic Kampuchea. That draft resolution was adopted by 6 votes to 3, with no abstentions. During the discussions the representatives of countries which later voted in favour of the draft resolution stated, for the most part, that their acceptance of the credentials of Democratic Kampuchea did not mean agreement with the past policies of its leaders.

4. During the 2nd plenary meeting of the General Assembly, on the basis of rule 29 of the rules of procedure, the President immediately convened a meeting of the Credentials Committee to consider the credentials of the delegation of Democratic Kampuchea. In our view, it is now incumbent upon the General Assembly to make a ruling in accordance with that same rule 29.

5. In paragraph 26 of its report, the Credentials Committee recommends to the General Assembly the adoption of its first report. As Chairman of the Credentials Committee, I now call upon the General Assembly to adopt the draft resolution contained in paragraph 26 of the report, which reads:

*"The General Assembly
Approves the first report of the Credentials
Committee."*

I request a recorded vote on this draft resolution.

6. Mr. YANKOV (Bulgaria): Mr. President, the Chairman of my delegation will have the opportunity during the general debate to extend to you the congratulations of the Bulgarian delegation on your unanimous election to the presidency of the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly. However, I should like to avail myself of this opportunity to express my great personal satisfaction and pleasure at seeing you preside over this august body, and to express my deeply felt conviction that under your leadership the General Assembly will accomplish the tasks set before it.

7. At this session, the Assembly is seized of a problem of particular importance. I have the honour, on behalf of the 11 sponsoring delegations to introduce draft resolution A/34/L.2.

8. We are of the opinion that this report of the Credentials Committee deals with a matter of particular importance, not only for the good conduct of the work of the current session, but also for the prestige of the United Nations and the attainment of its objectives. The creation of a normal atmosphere for the session as well as the promotion of conditions propitious for the achievement of positive results in accordance with the aims and fundamental principles of the Charter will depend very much on the just solution of the issue under discussion.

9. The draft resolution I have the honour of introducing reflects our deep concern over the implications which the first report of the Credentials Committee may have for this General Assembly session. It is precisely for this reason that the draft resolution is aimed at remedying the negative impact which the report may have on the deliberations of the session and on the United Nations in general.

10. As stated in the draft resolution, the sponsors are

*Resumed from the 1st meeting.

convinced that the Credentials Committee has failed to give the necessary consideration which the issue of Kampuchea's representation deserves. First of all, we submit that the Credentials Committee has not properly examined, with the objectivity and impartiality required, the communications for accreditation received by the Secretary-General, and that it has, under certain pressure, arbitrarily considered and pronounced itself upon only one of them.

11. It has been argued that the Credentials Committee is to confine itself only to technical tasks, which involve merely the consideration of the formal aspects of credentials. It is not my intention to engage in polemics about the proper function and the competence of this very important organ of the General Assembly. In our view, however, any document which contains credentials ought to be examined and judged not only on the basis of its form. The basic prerequisite for the credibility of credentials is, in our view, the competence and the legitimate powers of those who issue the credentials, for it is absolutely clear that nobody can delegate powers which he does not himself possess.

12. Unfortunately, the Credentials Committee did not consider this important aspect of the problem, nor is it reflected in its first report. Furthermore, having studied the first report of the Credentials Committee, we have come to the conclusion, as pointed out in the preambular paragraph of the draft resolution, that the Credentials Committee "failed to examine properly all the relevant communications and to take into account all the aspects of the question under discussion".

13. This conclusion of ours is supported by the following facts.

14. The Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique, which cold-bloodedly carried out the premeditated genocide of approximately 3 million people in Kampuchea, was logically and naturally overthrown in a truly popular revolution by the people of Kampuchea themselves. In the exercise of their inalienable right to self-determination, the people of Kampuchea brought to power the People's Revolutionary Council, headed by Heng Samrin. The People's Revolutionary Council now holds effective control over the whole of Kampuchea. It is the sole legitimate power exercising its sovereign rights in both the domestic and the foreign affairs of the country.

15. As the legitimate authoritative and responsible Government of the country, the People's Revolutionary Council immediately launched a nation-wide campaign for the reconstruction of the country, and this campaign is being carried out under most difficult conditions in the aftermath of the holocaust.

16. The aims of the campaign are to bring back to normal the functioning of the State and to heal the wounds of a severely maimed society. The People's Revolutionary Council is sparing no efforts to bring the life of the people back to normal, to reunite the families of those who survived the massacre of 3 million human beings, and to restore national traditions and a decent way of life.

17. In the field of foreign policy, the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea upholds

steadfastly the principles of non-alignment, independence, peace and friendship among nations. That Government is the only legitimate authority in Kampuchea that is competent to assume international commitments and to meet the obligations provided for in the Charter of the United Nations.

18. As the sole legitimate and authentic representative of the Kampuchean people, the People's Revolutionary Council satisfies all the requirements for effective membership in our Organization. Why, then, and on what grounds, are that Government and its representatives being denied their rightful seat in the United Nations? Why, then, should the credentials of those who were overthrown by the Kampuchean people be recognized as valid when they are issued by a non-existent authority? Even if that authority claims to be a Government, it does not possess the elementary prerequisites of a Government that deserves a seat in this Organization.

19. I therefore submit that the question is not merely whether the Government is good or bad, as some allege; the question is which is the authentic Government exercising full control and effective power in Kampuchea according to the rules and customs of international law and practice.

20. Operative paragraph 1 of the draft resolution results from an objective assessment of the situation and takes into account the aforementioned considerations. By reason of those considerations there is no other course of action for this General Assembly to take than to disregard the first report of the Credentials Committee, because it is inadequate and, as such, could only do harm to the good name and effectiveness of the United Nations.

21. On the same grounds, we further believe that the General Assembly must recognize the delegates appointed by the People's Revolutionary Council of the People's Republic of Kampuchea as the only legitimate representatives of Kampuchea and that it must recognize the validity of their credentials duly issued by the competent Government of the country. Consequently, as can be seen from the letter and spirit of operative paragraph 3 of the draft resolution it is my honour to submit today for the consideration of the Assembly, we consider it only logical for the General Assembly to invite the legitimate representatives of Kampuchea duly accredited by the authentic Government of that country to take their rightful seats in the United Nations.

22. We believe that in this way the General Assembly will do justice to the people of Kampuchea, who went through so much suffering and so many ordeals under the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary régime. We believe that in this way the General Assembly will show its support for the genuine constructive efforts of the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, which deserves international encouragement in its noble endeavours.

23. To do otherwise, and to recognize the credentials of persons representing the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique, which was driven away and outlawed by the people of Kampuchea themselves, will not contribute to the maintenance of peace and stability in South-East Asia. It is common knowledge that those persons have been

enabled to make their way to the United Nations only because their protectors from Peking [*Beijing*] are using them as tools for their hegemonistic and expansionist policies.

24. We also believe that the Assembly will not allow the United Nations to be used for such schemes, which are alien to the lofty purposes and ideals of the Charter and run counter to the basic tenets of international law.

25. On behalf of the sponsors of draft resolution A/34/L.2, I address an earnest appeal to the General Assembly to consider this case according to its merits and to prevent an unjust solution, which could only be prejudicial to the constructive work of the current session.

26. Mr. MISHRA (India): Mr. President, since this is the first time I have taken the floor, I should like to pay a tribute to you and to your country and to express the hope that the deliberations of this Assembly will prove fruitful and beneficial during your presidency. We are proud of you.

27. We have before us the report of the Credentials Committee [A/34/500], a draft resolution that has just been introduced by the representative of Bulgaria [A/34/L.2], and an amendment [A/34/L.3 and Add.1] to the draft resolution recommended by the Credentials Committee. The amendment has been proposed by India with six other sponsors.

28. The Assembly is facing a problem today, but not for the first time. We have had to deal with such situations in the past—sometimes very delicate situations, sometimes simple procedural problems. This one, I submit, is a delicate one.

29. We of the non-aligned movement faced a similar problem earlier this month in Havana, at the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries. If I may, I shall very briefly read from the consensus that was arrived at in Havana. It states:

“The Conference recognized the existence within the Movement of three positions with respect to this problem:

“1. That of those who uphold the view that this representation devolves on the People’s Republic of Kampuchea,

“2. That of those who uphold that this representation devolves on the Democratic Republic of Kampuchea and

“3. That of those who propose that the seat should not be occupied by either of the parties.” [See A/34/542, annex, sect. II.]

30. My country’s delegation to the Havana Conference was one of those favouring the third point—that is, that the seat should not be occupied by either of the parties.

31. It is our conviction that the General Assembly should not take a definitive position at this moment. The best position for the General Assembly to take at this moment is to wait and watch. If we were to accept the report of the Credentials Committee as it stands, I have no doubt that we would get involved in a very acrimonious debate which might spill over from this

meeting to other meetings of the Assembly, and to the Main Committees of the Assembly. We would like to try to have a solution, a temporary one, which would give this Assembly the opportunity to take stock of the situation and, if necessary, to reopen the question even at this very session. This is the purpose and motive of our proposed amendment.

32. It is quite possible that the situation might become clearer in a few week’s time. The Assembly can, in its wisdom, take up the matter again. It is equally possible that by the time we come to the end of the session on 18 December this year, the situation may still be unclear, but we would not have lost anything by approving an interim solution.

33. We must learn from our past experience. Year after year in this Assembly decisions have been taken which have had no relationship to the reality of the situation within the country concerned, and today we are again asked to choose between two positions and we are not sure what the actual situation is. Is it correct for us to pronounce ourselves in a definitive manner? I submit that that would be unwise, not only for the sake of the Assembly, but for the sake of the situation which is involved in this procedural question.

34. The proposed amendment provides the opportunity for us to take a second look at this problem, if it becomes necessary. Approval of the report of the Credentials Committee or of draft resolution A/34/L.2 does not do that.

35. For these reasons, on behalf of the sponsors of the proposed amendment in document A/34/L.3 and Add. 1 I would appeal to this Assembly to support it and, in the process, to take an interim decision.

36. Mr. KOH (Singapore): It has taken our President only three days to break a United Nations addiction of 30 years: for the first time in three decades we have started a meeting on time, and I should like to take this opportunity to pay my respects and to express my gratitude to President Salim. I also pledge him the co-operation of my delegation, which will always turn up for all meetings on time.

37. In order to avoid confusion, it would, I think, be helpful if I were to begin by recalling that we have before us this morning three documents, starting with the first report of the Credentials Committee, contained in document A/34/500 and dated 20 September 1979. Paragraph 23 of that report states that the Credentials Committee accepted the credentials of the delegation of Democratic Kampuchea. In paragraph 26 the Credentials Committee recommends to this Assembly the adoption of a draft resolution of which it gives the text. The Chairman of the Credentials Committee, Mr. Erne-mann of Belgium, has spoken this morning and asked formally that this Assembly adopt the first report of the Credentials Committee.

38. The first point that I want to make is that the draft resolution recommended by the Credentials Committee to this Assembly in document A/34/500 has priority over any other proposal.

39. We also have before us this morning two other documents. One is draft resolution A/34/L.2, which

was so very ably and eloquently presented to this Assembly by my very dear friend and colleague, Mr. Alexander Yankov of Bulgaria. It follows from what I have said that the draft resolution recommended by the Credentials Committee has priority over the one contained in document A/34/L.2, unless of course this Assembly takes a decision to give priority to the latter.

40. Let me now draw attention to the third document, A/34/L.3 and Add. 1. This is an amendment made by India and sponsored also by, six other delegations. My very dear friend and colleague, Ambassador Mishra, has, with his usual eloquence and clarity, just introduced his amendment.

41. My first comment on the amendment proposed by Mr. Mishra contained in document A/34/L.3 is that, in my view, quite apart from whether or not one agrees or disagrees with the substance of the amendment, it does not—and I wish to emphasize this—technically qualify as an amendment but, on the contrary, it constitutes a new proposal.

42. Why do I say this? I say this because we are faced this morning with a recommendation from the Credentials Committee that we adopt its first report, which approves the credentials of the delegation of Democratic Kampuchea. Of course, one may either accept the first report or reject it. But, in my view, for an amendment to be truly an amendment, it must fall within the ambit of rule 90 of our rules of procedure. I invite members to turn to the last sentence of rule 90, which reads as follows: "A motion is considered an amendment to a proposal if it merely adds to, deletes from or revises part of the proposal." In my humble view, the proposal of the Indian and other sponsoring delegations that we should suspend the consideration of the report of the Credentials Committee and "keep the seat of Kampuchea vacant for the time being" does not qualify as an amendment within the meaning of rule 90 of our rules of procedure.

43. Next, I should like to make a few brief remarks in response to the substantive comments that were made by my two dear colleagues Ambassador Mishra of India and Ambassador Yankov of Bulgaria. I want to begin my response to my two dear colleagues by reminding them that the situation in Kampuchea is by no means one with which we in the United Nations are unfamiliar. Indeed, on two occasions this year the Security Council met and held several meetings to consider the armed conflicts which were taking place within Kampuchea as well as between China and Viet Nam. For the present purpose I shall of course confine my remarks to the situation in Kampuchea.

44. I recall as a matter of historical fact, which is simple but irrefutable, that on Christmas Day, 25 December 1978, more than 100,000 Vietnamese troops invaded the territory of Kampuchea, an event which compelled the legal Government of Kampuchea to leave the capital and to carry on a war of resistance in the countryside.

45. The second fact which I wish to recall is again a simple fact, but it is one which is undeniable and irrefutable. It is that on 15 January 1979 the Security Council met to consider the armed conflict taking place in

Kampuchea.¹ I want to recall that at a subsequent meeting of the Security Council the seven non-aligned members of the Council sponsored a draft resolution calling for the withdrawal of foreign forces.² I want to emphasize that the draft resolution was sponsored by the seven non-aligned members of the Security Council and it called for the withdrawal of foreign forces. Although no names were named, it is obvious that, since the only foreign forces in Kampuchean territory at that time were Vietnamese, the call for withdrawal of foreign forces was one for withdrawal of Vietnamese forces. That draft resolution—which I may characterize as a non-aligned draft resolution, because it was sponsored by the seven non-aligned members of the Security Council—was, when put to the vote, supported by 13 votes and failed to be adopted only because of the negative vote of one of the five permanent members.

46. The third fact I want to recall, which is again undeniable and irrefutable, is that the Security Council met for a second time this year, at its 2129th meeting, on 16 March, to consider the situation in South-East Asia. At the end of the second series of meetings, the members of the Security Council voted upon a draft resolution which was sponsored by the five member countries of the Association of South-East Asian Nations [ASEAN]—Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Thailand and my own country, Singapore.³ Thirteen members of the Security Council, including—and I wish to emphasize this—all the seven non-aligned members of the Security Council, voted for the ASEAN draft resolution. It attracted 13 positive votes but failed to be adopted only because of the negative vote of one permanent member. The ASEAN draft resolution, *inter alia*, called for the withdrawal of foreign forces from Kampuchea; called for respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of Kampuchea; and called for the restoration to the people of Kampuchea of its right to determine its own future without interference from others.

47. My colleagues who spoke before me referred to the fact that the Government of Democratic Kampuchea—which they have for some time euphemistically referred to as the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique—had a very, very bad record of violations of human rights. This is undeniably true, and we in ASEAN have consistently criticized and even condemned the violations of human rights by the Government of Democratic Kampuchea. The attitude of some of the detractors of Democratic Kampuchea has not been so consistent. Indeed, those who, as late as 1978, defended the Government of Democratic Kampuchea, when in the United Nations Commission on Human Rights the delegation of the United Kingdom raised the question of the massive violation of human rights by that Government, are its present detractors. This is an embarrassing fact for them, but it is an historical, undeniable and irrefutable fact. But the important thing is that, even if the Government of Democratic Kampuchea had massively, extensively violated the human rights of its people, as we claim that it has, that gives no right under international law to a neighbouring State to invade its territory, to overthrow its Government and to impose a Government backed by that neighbouring State.

¹ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fourth Year, 2112th meeting.*

² *Ibid.*, *Thirty-fourth Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1979*, document S/13027.

³ *Ibid.*, document S/13162.

48. If we were to recognize a doctrine of humanitarian intervention, I submit that the world would be an even more dangerous place than it is now for us small countries. This is because larger countries with greater military might would, on the pretext of saving a people from its inhumane Government, resort to armed force to intervene in the internal affairs of that country, overthrow its Government and impose a Government that was backed by that foreign Power.

49. I want therefore to hit the nail very squarely on the head in this argument: yes, we agree that the human rights record of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea is terrible; but we also argue, and we hope Members agree with us, that this gives no right under international law for any neighbouring State to take up armed force to invade its territory, to overthrow its Government, and to set up a puppet régime.

50. The next point that I would like to make is in response to an argument by my dear friend and colleague Ambassador Yankov of Bulgaria. He said that under international law we must recognize a Government which exercises effective control over its territory. He alleges that the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea exercises effective control over the territory of Kampuchea, and must therefore be recognized by this Organization as its legal Government. My reply to Ambassador Yankov's argument is twofold. First, it is not true, as a matter of fact, that the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea exercises effective control over the entire territory of that country. The war of resistance against the foreign military forces continues to be waged by patriotic elements, not necessarily only by those loyal to the Government of Democratic Kampuchea, but by all patriotic elements including Sihanoukists and others; and it cannot be said that because a Government has its site in the capital it is in effective control over the entire territory of Kampuchea.

51. My second argument in response to Ambassador Yankov is that in international law it is true that one generally recognizes the Government which exercises effective control over a territory. But this is not an absolute rule without exceptions. We do not, for example, recognize a foreign Power's control over territory that it has conquered by force. For this reason, Singapore has consistently taken the position that we do not recognize that the Government of Israel has any rights over territory it conquered by force in 1967. I hope that my Arab friends will take their position on Kampuchea in consistency with principle.

52. The argument is sometimes made that when Viet Nam sent over 100,000 troops into the territory of Kampuchea, it was only exercising its legitimate right of self-defence; and I think I should respond to this argument as well. It is true that during the first three years of its life the Democratic Government of Kampuchea did, on occasion, violate the territory of both Viet Nam and Thailand and sent raiding parties into the territory of both those countries; that it robbed the people and the villages, burned their homes, stole their cattle and other livestock; that it committed completely unjustifiable attacks. But the exercise by a State of the right of self-defence must be measured. It must be proportionate to the degree of provocation by the offenders. In no wise can it be said that, because the Government of Democratic Kampuchea had committed these acts of

aggression against Thailand and Viet Nam, either of those two countries had the right, not only to repel the aggressors, but to send in an overwhelming force—over 10 divisions—to occupy its territory, to overthrow its Government and to impose a Government subservient to the will of a foreign Power.

53. I can, I think, demonstrate my point very simply by asking those who now defend the Government of the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea and are detractors of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea this question. If it had been Thailand instead of Viet Nam that had, on 25 December 1978, sent 10 divisions into Kampuchea, overthrown the Pol Pot Government and imposed a Government on the people of Kampuchea backed by Thai military force, would they today take the same position as they do? I think the answer is obvious: they would not.

54. In this case, what they have done is to put their friendship with Viet Nam above principle.

55. I wish now to conclude by replying very briefly to my colleague and very dear friend from India, Ambassador Mishra. He said that, at the Sixth Conference of non-aligned countries, held recently at Havana, a consensus was arrived at whereby Kampuchea's seat was kept vacant. As a loyal member of the non-aligned movement, I do not think that we should wash our dirty linen in public. We had an intrafamily quarrel. While I would prefer to answer Ambassador Mishra as to how that consensus was arrived at within the non-aligned forum, I shall remain silent. I think representatives can draw inferences and insinuations from my silence.

56. But I want to remind Ambassador Mishra, respectfully and humbly but firmly, that in Havana the countries closest to the region of conflict, including Singapore, Malaysia, Indonesia, Burma, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Nepal, Maldives, Pakistan and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, took the same position. What was their position? It was that the Government of Democratic Kampuchea, bad as it was, was the legal Government of the country; that it was overthrown by an act of armed intervention by a foreign Power; and that a new Government in Phnom Penh subsists by reason of the backing of that foreign Power whose armed forces not only remain on Kampuchean territory but have been augmented.

57. I am not saying, of course, that just because our countries are situated closer to the region of conflict we are omniscient and that representatives must accept our word. No; representatives have the right to make their own judgement. But just as we in South-East Asia always listen with special respect to our African brothers on African matters and to our Arab brothers on Arab matters, so we hope that on Asian matters representatives will at least accord us the courtesy of listening to the views of the countries closest to the region. That is all I ask of representatives.

58. Mr. ZAITON (Malaysia): Mr. President, speaking for the first time at this session of the Assembly, may I seek your indulgence in permitting me to express my congratulations to you and to say how happy I am at seeing you presiding over our deliberations. As a close and intimate friend of about 15 years' standing, I am only too aware of your outstanding abilities and wisdom. That being so, I have every confidence that you

will be able to guide our deliberations to a happy and successful conclusion. No doubt, in due course when my Foreign Minister makes his statement, he will convey fully the congratulations and best wishes of our people and Government.

59. At the outset we have to make certain facts very clear. At our previous meeting a challenge was raised by the representative of Viet Nam to the credentials of Democratic Kampuchea, which was seated as a Member of the United Nations and had been participating in all previous United Nations meetings. As a result of that challenge, the President requested the Credentials Committee specifically to meet and submit its report to the General Assembly. The task before the Credentials Committee was, therefore, to consider whether the credentials of Democratic Kampuchea were in order. We now have before us the report of the Credentials Committee [A/34/500], in which we are informed that that Committee by a vote of 6 to 3, has found the credentials of Democratic Kampuchea to be valid.

60. Since the challenge was raised, and since we now have the report of the Credentials Committee, the General Assembly, I submit, should therefore take a decision either to accept or to reject the report of the Committee.

61. Just now, the representative of Bulgaria introduced draft resolution A/34/L.2 proposing that the delegation of the People's Republic of Kampuchea take its seat in this Assembly. I wish to make some comments on the draft resolution itself.

62. As we all know, Democratic Kampuchea has been legally accredited to the United Nations in all its previous meetings. Its credentials were accepted by the United Nations at its thirty-third session and it has been participating in all meetings of the United Nations and its various agencies and organs. Its credentials have now been challenged by none other than the party which has used force of arms to intervene in the internal affairs of Kampuchea, overthrown an established Government and set up in its place an alien Government, backed by the huge and immense military force of the Government which has intervened.

63. As we all know, one of the sacred principles of the United Nations is that of non-interference and non-intervention in the internal affairs of another State. As an attempt at justification, it has been said that the intervention was the result of provocations. But we all know that another basic principle of the United Nations is that of the peaceful solution of problems, and at no time has this august Assembly's attention been drawn to the existence of the controversy or a proposal made to seek peaceful solution through the procedures available under the Charter. Instead, there was recourse to armed force, which resulted in the overthrow of an established and legitimate Government. Were we to accept the draft resolution and seat the People's Republic of Kampuchea, it would mean that we would be condoning armed intervention and aggression that is in direct violation of the various principles we are supposed to uphold.

64. Furthermore, if we accept the draft resolution it will mean that qualification for membership in this As-

sembly will be measured by the yardstick of a Government's internal policies. This is an argument difficult to accept, for if it is valid then the Credentials Committee will have to determine the credentials of all Member States on the basis of their internal policies.

65. It will be recalled that at the height of the atrocities committed by the Pol Pot Government, which we all deplore, no one in this Assembly voiced any objection to the credentials of Democratic Kampuchea. Yet now we are being asked to evaluate the credentials of a Government in the light of the record of its violations of human rights. In this connexion I recall that in 1978 there was a complaint before the Commission on Human Rights concerning violations of human rights by the Government of Democratic Kampuchea.⁴ The very people who are today proposing that another delegation should be seated as the representative of that particular Government are performing a flagrant *volte-face* based not on any principle, but merely on political expediency.

66. The Permanent Representative of Singapore eloquently recalled the Security Council meetings that were held to consider the armed military intervention in Kampuchea. He drew the Assembly's attention to the fact that all the representatives of non-aligned countries in the Security Council spoke against that military intervention, and that, despite the unanimity of the views expressed, the Security Council was unable to arrive at a decision owing to the use of the veto by a super-Power.

67. With regard to the proposal that has been introduced by the delegation of India, which purports to be an amendment to the draft resolution contained in document A/34/500, my delegation is of the opinion that this so-called amendment is not an amendment, but rather a proposal aimed at unseating the legitimate representatives of Democratic Kampuchea. In my delegation's opinion, it is an attempt to distract the General Assembly from fulfilling its mandate. Not only is that so, but it is also a new proposal that seeks to change the recommendation of the Credentials Committee and to have the General Assembly adopt a different decision and to keep the seat of Kampuchea empty.

68. Reference has been made to the Havana Conference, where it was decided to keep the Kampuchea seat vacant. First, may I say that we are all aware that the criteria used in non-aligned Conferences cannot so easily be applied in the United Nations. The qualifications for membership are somewhat different from those for membership in this body. Furthermore, in arriving at decisions the non-aligned countries work by consensus, and, despite claims made to the contrary, it was clear in Havana that there was no consensus with regard to unseating Democratic Kampuchea. A large number of delegations at the meeting of the Coordinating Bureau objected to a unilateral decision on the part of the host country designed to prevent Democratic Kampuchea, a full member, from participating in the meetings. Twenty delegations signed a joint statement protesting the Chairman's arbitrary decision to keep that seat vacant. Clearly the issue was the unseating of Democratic Kampuchea, for which there was no consensus. The decision to keep the seat vacant which

⁴ See document E/CN.4/L.1402.

was subsequently imposed on the Conference was a decision to which, again, 17 delegations objected. These facts must be set straight.

69. Now at the United Nations we have been asked to accept a new proposal to keep the Kampuchean seat vacant. We all know the purpose of this proposal. In Kampuchea an established Government has been ousted by outside forces that are continuing, backed up by the massive armed force, to occupy the territory of that country. To keep the seat vacant is therefore to condone armed intervention in the internal affairs of Kampuchea. Worst of all, the General Assembly is being asked to deprive a victim of aggression of the right to occupy its rightful place in the United Nations.

70. The Pol Pot régime may be obnoxious, and we all deplore its brutality and its violations of human rights, but that is certainly no justification for armed intervention by a neighbouring State.

71. Reference has also been made to the possibility of acrimonious debate; but, as we all know, this is not the first time we have had a Government seated here which is objected to by a few other Governments also Members of this body.

72. As we see it, therefore, the Indian proposal before us may create a very dangerous precedent for the United Nations. We cannot allow the principles of this august body to be trampled on with impunity.

73. I submit that the Indian proposal is not an amendment. That being so, then priority should be given to our voting on the report of the Credentials Committee, and I move that we proceed to take a vote on the draft resolution contained in document A/34/500, which calls for the adoption of the first report of the Credentials Committee.

74. Mr. DASHTSEREN (Mongolia): Sir, permit me first of all to join the previous speakers in congratulating you personally on your election to the high post of President of the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly. I am confident that under your able and experienced guidance the Assembly will be able to accomplish its tasks.

75. Having read the first report of the Credentials Committee, the Mongolian delegation was utterly surprised at the fact that the Committee, by a majority of three votes, had found the credentials of so-called Democratic Kampuchea, whose despotic régime has been overthrown by the people of Kampuchea and has consequently ceased to exist, to be in order. It is well known that the odious régime of Pol Pot and Ieng Sary, by its most barbarous and brutal policy of mass annihilation and genocide during the brief period of its reign and terror in Kampuchea, exterminated 3 million people and trampled underfoot the basic right of every human being—the right to live—not to mention other elementary human rights.

76. Therefore, it was quite natural that the Kampuchean people should have risen up against that odious régime. The People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea, which was formed during the struggle of the Kampuchean people to reaffirm their sacred national right to self-determination, is in full and firm control of

the whole territory of Kampuchea. It is taking effective measures in order to restore economic activities in that country, to reunify separated families, to restore law and order throughout the country and to revive the cultural traditions of the people, as well as all other necessary measures to overcome the pernicious consequences of the criminal actions of the loathed régime.

77. In the field of foreign affairs, the new Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea is pursuing a policy of peace, friendship and non-alignment, which is demonstrated in its sincere desire to re-establish good-neighbourly relations and co-operation with all the countries of South-East Asia and to contribute to the cause of peace and progress throughout the world. As a result and a reflection of its peace-loving policy, the People's Republic of Kampuchea is being recognized by an ever growing number of States. In the light of the actual situation prevailing in Kampuchea, it is absolutely clear that the People's Revolutionary Council, embodying the new and genuinely popular power, is the sole spokesman of the wishes and aspirations of the Kampuchean people and consequently is the only true and legitimate representative of the Khmer people.

78. It was in that capacity that the People's Revolutionary Council decided to send a delegation to take part in the work of the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly and accordingly communicated to you, Mr. President, and to the Secretary-General the composition of its delegation.

79. The delegation of the People's Republic of Kampuchea should be most welcome and should be accorded its legitimate seat in this body. To ignore this reality or, even worse, to allow the continued illegal presence at the United Nations of some individuals representing no one, individuals who have, moreover, been found to be criminals and enemies of the people and thus justly sentenced *in absentia* to death by the People's Revolutionary Tribunal of Kampuchea, would amount to gross interference in the internal affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea and would be an insult to and a flagrant violation of the sovereign right of the Kampuchean people. Furthermore, this would be in contradiction with the lofty purposes and principles of the United Nations, would seriously undermine its authority and would thus be detrimental to its work.

80. When the Credentials Committee was seized of the question of credentials of the representatives of Kampuchea, it had before it, as is rightly reflected in the report, the aforementioned communication, signed by Mr. Heng Samrin, the President of the People's Revolutionary Council of the People's Republic of Kampuchea. But, strangely enough, in violation of the provisions of rule 27 of the rules of procedures of the General Assembly, the Committee examined the credentials of the representatives of the country ironically called "Democratic Kampuchea", signed by an individual who had been declared the most vicious enemy of the Kampuchean people. Moreover, the Committee examined the credentials formalistically and did not give due consideration to all the aspects of the question under discussion. The view expressed in the Credentials Committee that its mandate was of a purely technical nature is not in conformity with the spirit and letter of the rules of procedure or with established practice. My delegation would have great difficulty in asserting that, for example, the examination of 1974 of the cre-

dentials of the delegation of South Africa, which were presented in due form, was of a purely technical nature. The ruling of the General Assembly is well known.

81. For these reasons my delegation cannot accept the first report of the Credentials Committee and, together with the delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the delegations of some other socialist countries, is submitting for the Assembly's consideration draft resolution A/34/L.2, the main motives and ideas of which have just been introduced so eloquently and on such solid grounds by the representative of Bulgaria, Ambassador Yankov.

82. Not only would the adoption of this draft resolution meet the true aspirations and vital interests of the Kampuchean people, but also, being in accordance with contemporary international law and justice, it would represent a significant contribution to the creation of an atmosphere of trust and co-operation conducive to peace and stability in that region.

83. Mr. RADIX (Grenada): I am speaking for the first time since the revolution in Grenada, which led to the establishment of the People's Revolutionary Government in my country on 13 March 1979. It is also the first time, Mr. President, that I have had the opportunity to congratulate you on your unanimous election to your high office. I can recall with great pleasure that upon my arrival in New York after our revolution you were one of the very first people I met. You gave me words of encouragement in the performance of the task which had been assigned to me. I also had the impression that you were a person of tremendous responsibility, ability and potential, and I have no doubt that you will guide the work of this session of the Assembly in a manner that will redound to the glory of the United Nations.

84. The very first question which my delegation and Government have been called upon to consider here at the United Nations concerns the report of the Credentials Committee. In our view, the question of Kampuchea is one of the most important questions of our time. No one doubts—not even the detractors of popular Kampuchea—that the Pol Pot and Ieng Sary clique were nothing short of murderers and butchers. It is an unquestionable fact that the atrocities that were committed in that country exceeded even those of Nazi Germany. The countries of the whole world came together when Hitler invaded Europe, and in fact they came together in the name of promoting freedom and democracy in Europe.

85. The small country of Kampuchea admittedly came into existence when the forces of imperialism were defeated, when the people of that country themselves were seeking to establish an order which would promote peace and harmony. But those who pretended to fight for peace and harmony were wolves in sheep's clothing. They were later unmasked as a régime which was born in blood, which was christened with bullets and which caused untold and unprecedented death among the people of that country.

86. There are those who say that the glorious people of Viet Nam have intervened in the internal affairs of Kampuchea. We completely reject that argument out of hand. Did not those nations themselves that claimed that they invaded Nazi Germany to establish peace in Europe remain in Germany for years upon years, with

their troops, as administering Powers, openly installing Governments that would administer that country until democratic institutions could be reimposed? Certainly the Government of Viet Nam is giving a helping hand to the democratic and progressive forces within Kampuchea. The murder in Kampuchea is over. That unhappy country, in which more than half the population had been wiped out, in which hunger, disease and famine remain rampant, offers testimony to the brutality, the barbarism and the pretensions of those who claim to be acting in the name of socialism but who themselves are Fascists.

87. I have never heard of a Government without a country. If the Pol Pot and Ieng Sary clique were to be asked the location of their capital, they would not be able to say where it was within the territory of Kampuchea. If they were asked where their people were and whether they were located within borders other than those of Kampuchea, the answer certainly must be "Yes".

88. Grenada became a member of the non-aligned movement in Havana and our Prime Minister, who is also the Minister for Foreign Affairs, made a very detailed statement on the question of whom we support. Our Government is a principled Government. Having analysed the issues, it comes down in a consistent manner on the side of those who struggle for real freedom and for the total independence of their country. Therefore, it is not a matter of surprise that the People's Revolutionary Government, early in September of this year, recognized the Government of popular Kampuchea. We were part of that consensus in Havana. We contributed to developing that consensus which stated that the seat of popular Kampuchea should be left vacant for the time being. We believe that that formula was adopted by many nations which are represented here today. We believe that the Credentials Committee was insensitive to reality and that it acted as if it were carrying out a clinical exercise, an exercise which I feel is not warranted in this situation. One has to look at the larger realities. Is there peace in Kampuchea today? The answer must be "Yes". Is there a reorganization of the State whereby the economy, the infrastructure and the total condition existing in that country are now organized for the benefit of the people? The answer must be in the affirmative; the answer must be "Yes".

89. Therefore, we believe—and we are convinced—that there is only one sole and definitive representative of the people of Kampuchea, and that is the Popular Government of that country. For us, then, the only rightful representatives who must take their seats and who can assist the General Assembly in its work in promoting peace and in helping us to establish détente and peaceful coexistence and to fulfil the obligations of Members of the Charter are the representatives of the Government of popular Kampuchea.

90. We would not be true to ourselves if we allowed Pol Pot and Ieng Sary to be represented here. We cannot allow the blood of 3 million people, which flows out of Kampuchea to flow right here into the United Nations, and contaminate us with the blood of the martyrs of that country. We therefore say that we reject this first report of the Credentials Committee. We also say that we support the only legitimate Government. We also say that, as a compromise, we are willing to accept the formula put forward by India.

91. Mr. SOURINHO (Lao People's Democratic Republic) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, although the head of my delegation will have an opportunity to congratulate you on your election to the presidency of this thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly, I should like to avail myself of this opportunity to convey to you my warm congratulations on your election to this high office.

92. The General Assembly has before it at this moment the first report of the Credentials Committee, document A/34/500. The delegation of the Lao People's Democratic Republic has the greatest difficulty in endorsing the decision of the Committee as it appears in paragraph 26 of that report, in which it has recognized the credentials of the so-called Government of Democratic Kampuchea, which was overthrown and rejected once and for all by the Kampuchean people on 7 January 1979.

93. Thus, since that date, the notorious Democratic Kampuchea, which massacred 3 million of its own people and transformed Kampuchea into a huge and indescribable neo-Nazi slaughter-house no longer exists either *de facto* or *de jure*. Since the people have overthrown that Government and set up a People's Revolutionary Council and a United Front for the National Salvation of Kampuchea, they have once again become masters of their country and their destiny. Independence, sovereignty and freedom are now securely in the hands of the Kampuchean people, who practise a policy of peace, independence, friendship and non-alignment. This policy is in conformity with the common interests of the Lao, Kampuchean and Vietnamese peoples, and has helped to reinforce peace and stability in South-East Asia and in the world at large. On the domestic front, the people of Kampuchea have undertaken the vast enterprise of rebuilding their country and bringing life back to normal by reuniting families which had been forcibly separated by the criminal policy of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary régime, reopening schools and hospitals and restoring the pagodas and the practice of religion.

94. In sum, after a long war of imperialist aggression, and after almost four nightmarish years of the bloody neo-Fascist régime of Pol Pot and Ieng Sary, the people of Kampuchea are gradually emerging from their nightmare and are slowly healing their deep wounds.

95. The duty of the international community, and most particularly, that of the United Nations, whose noble mission it is to promote peace, freedom, justice and human rights, consists, in our opinion, in assisting this martyred people of Kampuchea to accomplish their national destiny, beginning by respecting their choice of the political and social régime under which they wish to live and prosper.

96. The United Nations would fail in its duty and would betray its noble aims if it were to insist on imposing upon the people of Kampuchea the criminal horde of Pol Pot and Ieng Sary—or, indeed, any régime or solution not chosen through the expression of the sovereign will of the people of Kampuchea.

97. The sovereign will of the people of Kampuchea was clearly expressed on 7 January 1979, because, by overthrowing the genocidal Pol Pot-Ieng Sary régime,

which had made of Kampuchea a laboratory of the Maoist revolution and a spring-board for the policy of interference, expansionism, hegemonism and great-Power chauvinism of the reactionary leaders of Peking. The Kampuchean people expressed its firm determination to perpetuate the race, to put a definitive end to the adventurist policy of provocation against neighbouring countries pursued by the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary military clique, and to put a final end to foreign subjugation.

98. Is this not a great contribution to the cause of peace and stability in South-East Asia and in the world?

99. Having been intimately linked for more than three decades with the struggle of the brotherly Kampuchean people for independence, sovereignty and freedom, as well as with the struggle of the fraternal people of Viet Nam, the Lao people, as President Souphanouvong said in his statement to the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held earlier this month in Havana:

“The Lao People's Republic recognizes the People's Republic of Kampuchea, which cannot and must not be subjected to aggression or threats from any source. The People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea is the sole legitimate authority in Kampuchea, and it must take its place at the United Nations and in other international organizations of the world.”

100. My delegation therefore firmly opposes the presence of the representatives of the overthrown criminal band of Pol Pot-Ieng Sary in this Assembly and asks that Kampuchea's seat be restored to the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea, which has firm control over the entire country and enjoys the resolute support of the people of Kampuchea and is therefore the only legal and legitimate representative of the people of Kampuchea.

101. In his statement this morning, the representative of Singapore spoke of the so-called struggle that is going on in Kampuchea. That struggle is a result of activities contrary to the Charter and to international law carried on by the expansionist leaders in Peking in cahoots with imperialist and reactionary forces, which continue, in disregard of the principle of non-interference, to support and to assist the criminal activities of the remnants of the Pol Pot army against the régime of the People's Republic of Kampuchea. Those persons must be made to know that, despite their evil activities, the situation in Kampuchea will soon return to normal.

102. In the spirit of rendering justice to the people of Kampuchea, who have suffered so much, my delegation has become a sponsor of draft resolution A/34/L.2, which has been so eloquently introduced by the representative of Bulgaria. That draft resolution reflects the *de facto* situation in Kampuchea and will help to consolidate peace and stability in South-East Asia and therefore in the world. We hope that it will receive massive support among the members of the Assembly.

103. Mr. JAROSZEK (Poland): Mr. President, the delegation of Poland will in due course address well-deserved felicitations to you on your election to the presidency of the General Assembly. On this occasion I offer you my best personal congratulations as your colleague and friend.

104. I am speaking to register most strongly Poland's unreserved support for the legitimate right of the delegation of the People's Republic of Kampuchea to be duly represented in this Assembly.

105. My delegation has carefully studied the report of the Credentials Committee now before us and contained in document A/34/500. Even before the official records of the Credentials Committee were available, we also read very attentively the press release on the Committee's meeting of Wednesday last, which was issued with unusual speed by the Department of Public Information. I must with all frankness say that the reading of both papers has given rise to serious apprehensions and concern for us.

106. In the first place, we find in the proceedings of the Credentials Committee a number of significant inaccuracies and departures from the established procedures of the United Nations. Even the skilfully drafted text of its report cannot conceal that consideration of a proposal made at the outset of the Committee's meeting by the representative of the Congo was unjustifiably put aside in favour of a proposal by another delegation that had sought a one-sided and unfair verdict on the discussion. By the same token, we cannot accept the conclusion of the Committee's report, since it devoted no attention to the communication from the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea addressed to the President of the General Assembly and the Secretary-General. Once two communications had been presented to the Committee by the Legal Counsel, both of them should at least have been given equal treatment by the Chairman and members of the Credentials Committee. Unfortunately, they have not been treated in that way. The report cannot, therefore, be taken as a serious attempt at objectivity. It presents a grossly distorted picture which, I am sorry to say, does not do credit to its authors.

107. Nearly three months ago, in our letter to the Secretary-General of the United Nations [A/34/347], the Polish Government strongly protested the illegal presence on the premises of the United Nations of the no-longer-existent genocidal régime once headed by the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique, which had brought untold sufferings upon the people of Kampuchea.

108. The Kampuchean people have overthrown the genocidal régime of Pol Pot-Ieng Sary, the main external policy preoccupation of which was service to outside forces through the annihilation in cold blood of its own people and the destruction of the country's economy and culture. Within only a short span of a few years the régime assassinated some 3 million Kampuchians, especially the intelligentsia, and pushed back the country's development for decades. It entered on a path of armed conflict with all its neighbours, thereby openly challenging the international community and jeopardizing peace in South-East Asia. The overthrow of the Pol Pot régime saved the people of Kampuchea from total extermination and indeed prevented an international conflict in South-East Asia.

109. Today we again protest the illegal seating of private individuals who abuse the privileges reserved exclusively for Member States and their Governments in places that belong to the lawful authorities of Kampuchea headed by President Heng Samrin. None but the legal authorities of the new Kampuchea have the

right to be seated in this hall, for there is one Kampuchean people; there is one Kampuchea; there is one Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

110. The delegation of Poland therefore welcomed the appointment of the delegation of the People's Republic of Kampuchea to the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly, notification of which has been duly transmitted in President Heng Samrin's message of 16 September [A/34/472].

111. Poland has recognized the People's Republic of Kampuchea, and it has established normal diplomatic relations with it. The Embassy of the Polish People's Republic is functioning in the capital of Kampuchea, Phnom Penh. Therefore it is not on the basis of the vilifications of the enemies of the Kampuchean revolution but from on-the-spot observations that we can state from this rostrum that the only legitimate Kampuchean Government, the People's Revolutionary Council, exercises effective authority in Kampuchea, and that the situation there is steadily returning to normal. The People's Revolutionary Council is taking energetic action towards the reconstruction of the country, uniting families and developing national education and culture. All this can be attested to also by other countries that maintain diplomatic relations with the Kampuchean People's Republic as well as by numerous journalists and representatives of international organizations who have recently visited Phnom Penh.

112. What Kampuchea needs today to recover from the wounds inflicted upon it by the genocidal Pol Pot régime is peace, assistance and more goodwill on the part of the entire international community.

113. The situation that some delegations are trying to create concerning Kampuchea's representation at this session of the General Assembly also brings to mind some other sad reflections.

114. First, it is an attempt to create a dangerous precedent in this Organization in accordance with which anyone paid and supported by a big Power can, from outside his own country, seek representation at the United Nations. Were this flagrant fiction not as serious and precedent-setting as it is, it might even be considered amusing.

115. Secondly, here we are witnessing among the opponents of people's Kampuchea specific collusion between those forces that claim to have the right to teach smaller States a military lesson and those that are interested in teaching them a political lesson.

116. Thirdly, the partners in the collusion keep acting as if they were interested only in vindictiveness—small wonder, in fact, since their defeats in Indo-China will go down in history as victories over expansionism, hegemonism and imperialism. Vindictiveness has, however, always been a poor counsel in international relations. On most occasions it is self-defeating. In the case at hand, it makes a farce out of serious deliberations when a group of individuals claims to be authorized to act by a non-existent government, submitting papers signed by men who have now become notorious for acts of mass genocide against their own people.

117. It is precisely in order to rectify the present un-

just and untenable situation that my delegation, together with a number of other delegations, has sponsored draft resolution A/34/L.2, so ably introduced earlier this morning by the representative of Bulgaria, Ambassador Yankov, on behalf of its sponsors.

118. Mr. HA VAN LAU (Viet Nam) (*interpretation from French*): Our General Assembly has the responsibility of examining the report of the Credentials Committee, published in document A/34/500, dated 20 September 1979, and in due course to adopt the draft resolution contained in the Committee's report. The draft resolution in paragraph 26 has been drawn up in an entirely simplistic fashion, that the General Assembly approves the Committee's first report, the essential part of which states that six representatives on the Committee accepted the draft resolution put forward by the Chairman of the Committee to the effect that the Committee accepted the credentials of the delegation of Democratic Kampuchea, while three other members of the Committee voted against it.

119. The delegation of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam wishes to express its views on the Committee's report and recommendations before expressing its opinion on the Indian delegation's amendment, sponsored by a group of non-aligned countries, and on the draft resolution put forward by Bulgaria on behalf of the group of socialist countries, of which Viet Nam, is a sponsor.

120. As far as the report and recommendations of the Credentials Committee are concerned, the Chairman and members of the Committee accepted the aforementioned draft resolution stressing that the Committee's mandate was restricted, that it was only ascertaining whether the credentials were in order and that it should confine itself to its technical task.

121. The question which was before the Committee was, as the Legal Counsel had said, the examination of the credentials of Democratic Kampuchea, and other issues could be taken up in the General Assembly.

122. In this regard, the delegation of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam is of the opinion that the Credentials Committee has not fulfilled its task and has not acted in accordance with the responsibility conferred upon it by the President at the meeting of the General Assembly on 18 September 1979 [2nd meeting]. As everyone knows, the delegation from Viet-Nam raised a point of order at that meeting to draw the attention of the General Assembly to the illegal presence in the room of people belonging to the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique who represented no one other than themselves.

123. We also recalled the point of view of the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea, which was submitted in the official document A/34/460, dated 10 September 1979, and at the same time we clearly informed the President of the General Assembly that the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea had sent a delegation from the People's Republic of Kampuchea, headed by Mr Hun Sen, that country's Minister for Foreign Affairs, to the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly.

124. On the basis of the point of order raised by the

Vietnamese delegation, the President of the General Assembly stated that:

“Consequently, in the light of the statement made by the representative of Viet Nam, I would request the Credentials Committee to meet expeditiously and report to the General Assembly on Friday morning, 21 September.” [2nd meeting, para. 16.]

125. Therefore, the Credentials Committee should examine the illegal presence of the so-called delegation of Democratic Kampuchea at the present session of the General Assembly and not just the technical aspect of the question, in order to see whether its credentials are in order or not. Furthermore, the Committee has before it the credentials of the delegation of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, headed by its Foreign Minister, Mr. Hun Sen. The text of the message was signed and sent directly from the capital, Phnom Penh, by the Chairman of the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea, Mr. Heng Samrin, to the President of the General Assembly and the Secretary-General of the United Nations. Copies of the message constituting credentials in perfectly proper order, were distributed to members of the Credentials Committee. It is regrettable that the Credentials Committee passed over these credentials in silence without having examined them and drew a conclusion as to whether they were legitimate and in order, in spite of the statement made by the representatives of the Congo, the Soviet Union and Panama in the Committee.

126. That is why its report cannot be accepted either from the point of view of form or from that of substance. With regard to form, when credentials from the delegation of a Member State are sent to the Committee in good order as is the case with those of the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea, the Committee must examine them and make a recommendation to the General Assembly to accept or reject them. As to the substance, the People's Revolutionary Council has presented its views on the illegal presence of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique to this session of the General Assembly, as contained in the official document of the General Assembly under the symbol A/34/460, dated 10 September 1979.

127. However, the Credentials Committee completely disregarded that official document and simply examined the technical aspects of the credentials of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique.

128. If we consider solely at the technical aspect of the matter, the Vietnamese delegation would like to ask the following question of the Credentials Committee. What is the origin of these so-called credentials from Democratic Kampuchea? If my memory serves me correctly, the Legal Counsel informed the Committee that these credentials had been sent from Kampuchea. He did not explicitly say from what city in Kampuchea or by what route they had been sent. Were they perhaps sent from Peking or another capital than Phnom Penh? Thus, does the puppet government of so-called Democratic Kampuchea actually exist in fact or is it just a handful of criminals who committed the crime of genocide against their own people, who have been judged and condemned to death by the courts of the People's Revolutionary Tribunal of Kampuchea, who are maintained by their masters in Peking and employed as agents in the service of those masters and who are

running from one international conference to another in an attempt to sow confusion and prevent the proper functioning of our work?

129. If we examine solely the validity of these credentials, it is clear that they are not at all in order. Thus, how can the Committee by a majority vote accept these credentials?

130. In examination of the legal and moral aspects, permit me to quote the message dated 19 September 1979 from Mr. Hun Sen, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, addressed to Mr. Salim, the President of the General Assembly, and Mr. Waldheim, the Secretary-General of the United Nations:

“The fact is that that régime”—that is, the genocidal Pol Pot régime—“no longer exists, either legally or morally. It has therefore no right and no capacity to represent the Kampuchean people.”

The message goes on:

“Giving refuge to the fugitive hangmen of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary régime and helping them to invest themselves with the status of representatives of Kampuchea contravenes the right of self-determination of the Kampuchean people and the Charter of the United Nations and impairs the prestige of the Organization. The United Nations cannot invoke any policy, any moral principle or any arguments whatsoever for leaving the hangmen in possession of Kampuchea's seat in the Organization, in disregard of the feelings of hatred and repugnance of the four million Kampuchean who have survived . . . The Kampuchean people, sustained by the approval and support of peace-and-justice loving mankind, resolutely demands the expulsion from United Nations bodies of those who are guilty of genocide and the restoration to the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea of its right as an authentic and lawful representative.”

In concluding his message, Foreign Minister Hun Sen said:

“I urge the General Assembly to reject the erroneous recommendation of the Credentials Committee and I hope that it will adopt, on the question of the right to represent Kampuchea, an appropriate decision compatible with the role and prestige of the Organization and with international law and morality.” [A/34/503, *anex.*]

131. The Socialist Republic of Viet Nam wishes particularly to draw the attention of the President of the General Assembly and the Members of our Organization to the justified view and legitimate demand of the People's Revolutionary Council as set forth in the message from Mr. Hun Sen.

132. This is not only the expression of the ardent desire of 4 million Kampuchean, who are now devoting themselves to the building of a new life, but also a call for vengeance for 3 million Kampuchean massacred by the butchers of Pol Pot and Ieng Sary while they held power for about four years in Phnom Penh with the blessing and assistance of the hegemonists and expansionists of Peking.

133. How can the members of the Credentials Committee not take account of the historical truth, which is so recent and unprecedented in the history of mankind, and accept the credentials of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary Fascists and tyrants, which is tantamount to permitting these criminals who are guilty of genocide to continue to occupy the seat of the People's Republic of Kampuchea at this session of the General Assembly? It is quite clear that it is not just a matter of considering whether credentials are in order or not. This aspect cannot be dissociated from the legal and moral attributes of the organizations and persons from which it emanates.

134. The Chairman of the Credentials Committee in presenting his report to the General Assembly a few minutes ago stated:

“During the discussions the representatives of countries which later voted in favour of the draft resolution stated, for the most part, that their acceptance of the credentials of Democratic Kampuchea did not mean agreement with the past policies of its leaders.” [See above, *para.* 3.]

Well, one can see what kind of logic we have here, one can see the strange kind of arguments the friends and masters of the genocidal criminals of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique have recourse to in an attempt to camouflage their obstinacy in opposing the right to self-determination of the people of Kampuchea, imposing once again on the Kampuchean people this Fascist clique, for which millions of Kampuchean have demanded the death penalty.

135. Some members of the Credentials Committee allege that the Committee's mandate is limited, and that the task of the Committee is a technical one, in order to disregard the moral and legal aspects which I have mentioned. It is quite obvious that they have not lived up to their responsibilities, and have not faced historical truth; and because of their political prejudices or their particular interests, they have attempted to have the assassins of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique retain their seat in this important international Organization.

136. The international community has expelled from its midst the Somoza clique from Nicaragua, the Shah's clique from Iran, Idi Amin from Uganda and so forth, all overthrown by their respective peoples. We cannot permit the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique, bloody despots even more odious than those tyrants, to continue to sit among us. They are like a sore on the body of this Organization.

137. For these reasons, the Vietnamese delegation believes that the report of the Credentials Committee and its draft resolution are both incomplete and erroneous, and must be amended and corrected in order to be in keeping with reality, and with the responsibilities incumbent upon that Committee.

138. On the basis of its fundamental position on the subject of the right of representation of Kampuchea in the United Nations and its principal and subsidiary bodies, the Vietnamese delegation is a sponsor of the draft resolution submitted on behalf of a group of socialist countries by our friend the Ambassador of Bulgaria, Mr. Alexander Yankov. That offers the most correct solution in keeping with the facts of the situa-

tion in Kampuchea, and also in keeping in legality and international morality.

139. Nevertheless, with the desire to achieve broad agreement in this Assembly, and in the spirit of the decisions of the Sixth Conference of non-aligned countries recently held in Havana on the representation of Kampuchea in various organizations in the non-aligned movement, the Vietnamese delegation welcomes the initiative of the Indian delegation, submitted by Mr. Mishra in the General Assembly on behalf of other non-aligned sponsors and unreservedly supports the draft amendment submitted in A/34/L.3. The delegation of Viet Nam is of the view that this amendment is strictly in keeping with rule 90 of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly, which stipulates: "A motion is considered an amendment to a proposal if it merely adds to, deletes from or revises part of the proposal." It is not a new proposal, as is claimed by the representative of Singapore, but an amendment which should be considered and dealt with in accordance with rule 90 of the rules of procedure. In this case, the addition proposed in the amendment was touched on by some members of the Credentials Committee in the course of the discussion. But the report of the Committee illegally omitted to reflect that in the draft resolution submitted by the Committee to the General Assembly. The amendment does well in proposing to add it to the draft resolution submitted to the General Assembly.

140. The Vietnamese delegation hopes that the amendment of the group of non-aligned countries explained by the representative of India will receive broad support in the General Assembly.

141. Before concluding, my delegation would like to repudiate all the false allegations and gratuitous assertions made by the representative of Singapore and other representatives against my country. Neither the arrogance of the representative of China at the last meeting of the General Committee, nor the eloquence of the representative of Singapore in our Assembly will ever succeed in changing the facts of the situation which at present prevails in Kampuchea—a situation which is

irreversible. The 3 million dead and the 4 million survivors in Kampuchea, witnesses of the unprecedented atrocities perpetrated by the Pol Pot Fascists, are there to accuse all those who have recourse to any kind of subterfuge in order to attempt once again to impose the genocidal Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique on the Kampuchean people. The two wars of aggression of China against Viet Nam—one launched directly by 600,000 Chinese troops on 17 February 1979, the second carried out by intermediaries—that is to say, the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique—during almost four years, and also the threat about teaching Viet Nam a second lesson serve to condemn the leaders of Peking and their Pol Pot agents to rebut all the allegations of the leaders of Peking and those who support the hegemonist, expansionist and great-Power policy of China.

142. As to the militant solidarity between the people of Viet Nam and Kampuchea, and as to the presence of Vietnamese troops in Kampuchea, my delegation has had occasion to explain the position of principle of my country in various bodies of the United Nations. This is a question that is related to bilateral relations between two sovereign States. It should be recalled here that the friendship and militant solidarity between the peoples of Viet Nam and Kampuchea constitute a factor for peace and stability in South-East Asia, and are in no way prejudicial to the legitimate interests of anyone. This includes the ASEAN countries, some of which have joined in one way or another in the American war of aggression against Viet Nam.

143. In his statement, the representative of Singapore called upon our Assembly to have the courtesy to listen to the voice of the countries of the region. My delegation has no difficulty in responding to this desire expressed by my colleague from Singapore. But I would propose to our Assembly that in order to have a correct and full view of the actual situation in Kampuchea we should try first of all to hear the voice of the Kampuchians themselves, represented by the People's Revolutionary Council, their only legal and authentic representative.

The meeting rose at 1 p.m.