



President: Mr. Jorge E. ILLUECA (Panama).

### AGENDA ITEM 23

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

1. Mr. HEPBURN (Bahamas): Ten years ago, when the Bahamas became a Member of the United Nations, its representatives were confronted with problems existing in what is now known as Kampuchea. My delegation heretofore has been reluctant to intervene in the debate on this item, simply because the confusion surrounding the matter was so monumental that it was impossible to determine who were the victims and who the oppressors. We simply listened and tried to determine the state of affairs. It was clear that the issue was polarized, and it was only normal that concerned delegations were mainly interested in disseminating data to substantiate their personal positions.
2. My delegation's participation is based on humanitarian concerns. I do not intend to talk about past atrocities or injustices, nor am I qualified to deal with the legal ramifications of invasion, interference, border disputes and so forth. Of course, I realize that these are all very pertinent to the issue, but since there are representatives who are more qualified than I am to expound on these ideas I need not confuse the issue with conjectures.
3. It is clear to my delegation that the situation in Kampuchea is falling rapidly into that category of United Nations issues which are not termed perennial. Developments over the past three years, however, seem to indicate that the situation in Kampuchea could be spared that fate if we made a concerted effort to bring the opposing sides to an agreement that would not merely satisfy individual or national interests, but, more significantly, promote peace and stability in that very troubled area.
4. We may begin first to look more closely at those resolutions, adopted since 1979, in which a growing number of sponsors highlight the basic elements of the problem and make recommendations as to what could be done to alleviate the suffering. While total implementation has not followed on these resolutions, it is clear that the majority of States cannot accept an extension of war, where families are forced to fight against and destroy each other; that men, women and children should be deprived of food, education and health facilities; that neighbouring States should be burdened by refugees who must flee their country in order to survive; that a continuation of power rivalry should be perpetuated by outside interference; that there should be a further mass exodus of nationals from their homeland; that innocent people should become pawns in the hands of those whose principal concern is self-aggrandizement; or that territorial integrity and human dignity should be violated.
5. My delegation has studied many data on the situation, including the report of the Secretary-General on the

situation in Kampuchea [A/38/513]. It is evident that the Secretary-General and the *Ad Hoc* Committee of the International Conference on Kampuchea have carried out extensive and heartening consultations which show agreement that dialogue must continue among all parties concerned. The encouraging signs reflected in this report could be increased, in my delegation's estimation, if all troops were withdrawn and if additional contributions could be given in order to assist the UNHCR and neighbouring States in setting up programmes for rehabilitation and resettlement. As an adjunct to the foregoing, the international community should be prepared to support the efforts of the members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations [ASEAN] in negotiating with all parties concerned with a view to enforcing the Charter of the United Nations with respect to territorial integrity, self-determination and independence, free from outside interference. Support for the Coalition Government could also be a step in the right direction.

6. My delegation feels that in many respects draft resolution A/38/L.2 projects such a framework and could serve as a sound basis for meaningful results. If we, as Member States, renege on this obligation, we can be certain not only that the situation in Kampuchea will become a perennial issue, but that many more innocent lives will be destroyed.
7. My delegation feels that no single measure is fool-proof and that, as is often the case, both sides have just cause for their actions. We need, therefore, to sift the information presented to us and to determine which factors would better enhance the mandate of the peoples of the United Nations to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war.
8. Mr. WOOLCOTT (Australia): Australia fully shares the deep concerns of its regional neighbours at the tragic situation which continues to face the people of Cambodia, a concern which was eloquently expressed by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Philippines, Mr. Romulo, when he opened this debate yesterday at the 35th meeting.
9. Because of this deep concern, Australia supports draft resolution A/38/L.2 on the situation in Cambodia, which was circulated by the member countries of ASEAN—Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand—and is now before the Assembly. The Cambodian situation carries disturbing implications for peaceful relations among all the countries of the South-East Asian region.
10. Australia has for many years given high priority to the development of the close and co-operative relationship which we now enjoy with the ASEAN group. More recently we have sought to develop a mature and comprehensive relationship with Viet Nam. Our wish to contribute to a peaceful settlement in Indo-China is based on the desire to see established an independent, non-aligned and neutral Cambodia, free of foreign forces and with a Government of its own choice. We believe that in this situation co-operative working relationships could be hoped for between the countries of Indo-China and the member countries of ASEAN and that there could

in future be a diminution of major-Power involvement in the region.

11. The principles upon which the draft resolution before us is founded are fully consistent with those advocated by Australia in exploring ways in which stability and good relations might be restored among all the countries of the region. We have proposed, in the closest consultations with our neighbours in the ASEAN group and in other consultations in Viet Nam and Laos, that Viet Nam accept an accommodation with its neighbours, that there be a phased withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia, that there be an act of self-determination for the Cambodian people, that conditions be re-established which would permit displaced Cambodians to return to their country and that normal relations be resumed between Viet Nam, China, the member countries of ASEAN and indeed the international community at large.

12. We also find consistency between these principles and those embodied in the joint declaration issued by the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the ASEAN countries on 21 September 1983 and entitled "An Appeal for Kampuchean Independence" [A/38/441]. They appealed to the international community to mobilize resources for a programme of assistance as part of a comprehensive political settlement. Australia fully endorses that important and deeply-felt call and would welcome an international conference for the reconstruction and rehabilitation of Cambodia, as proposed by its authors.

13. In accordance with these principles we are seeking areas in which dialogue between all the parties could occur. We have in recent months discussed the prospects of dialogue in considerable detail with the Governments of the member countries of ASEAN and we have explored the issue with the Government of Viet Nam. The Australian Minister for Foreign Affairs also discussed our approach on Cambodia during his recent visits to China, Japan and the United States of America. We have no illusions about the complexity of the problems involved in this issue but we are anxious to make a contribution to the sort of solution of the Cambodian problem envisaged in the draft resolution before us.

14. We feel that the reference in the draft resolution to the Coalition could be taken as recognizing the claims to legitimacy of the Khmer Rouge. As a country of the region deeply concerned at the instability continuing to surround the Cambodian question, we have followed closely developments inside Cambodia and their consequences for the Khmer people. We see clear evidence that the Khmer Rouge is widely remembered and hated for its appalling excesses. This, however, is not to deny the strenuous efforts, or the integrity of their declared aims on behalf of the Cambodian people, of Prince Sihanouk and Mr. Son Sann, who lead the other component groups in the Coalition.

15. The Australian public was appalled at the atrocities committed by the former régime of Pol Pot. Faced with incontrovertible evidence of that régime's brutal record, Australia withdrew recognition of the Democratic Kampuchea Government in exile in February 1981 and has since abstained in votes regarding the credentials of delegations of Democratic Kampuchea at international meetings, including the General Assembly. I might add that this is a bipartisan Australian policy. I should also add that my Government has no intention of recognizing the Heng Samrin régime, which was installed by the Vietnamese and is kept in power by Vietnamese military forces.

16. Our Minister for Foreign Affairs has unequivocally expressed our concern at the consequences for the people of Cambodia, both inside their country and on its borders, of continuing warfare and instability. Reports of

an influx of Vietnamese settlers into Cambodia, which the representative of Thailand emphasized in his statement yesterday at the 35th meeting, led the Australian Minister for Foreign Affairs to raise that issue with the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Viet Nam earlier this year when he visited Hanoi. We would be deeply disturbed if those reports established a deliberate and sustained programme to disturb the balance in Cambodia's population.

17. The Australian Government has condemned Viet Nam's invasion and occupation of Kampuchea. Our Minister for Foreign Affairs emphasized this in talks earlier this year with ASEAN Ministers for Foreign Affairs when he referred to the risks created in this situation of the Soviet Union's consolidating its military position in Indo-China and thus further entrenching great-Power rivalry in the region. Our Minister for Foreign Affairs has fully discussed with the Government of Viet Nam the Australian position on the Vietnamese military presence in Cambodia, which contravenes universally accepted principles.

18. Australia supports and encourages the member countries of ASEAN in the determination they show in sustaining the search for dialogue in this situation, and being flexible and innovative in this search. The draft resolution before us is further evidence of their dedication to the pursuit, through the mechanisms established by the international community, of a solution based on internationally acknowledged principles. In such a complex situation there is, naturally, room for differences of perception, but Australia is glad of the opportunity to make its contribution to the same objective by its efforts to promote regional dialogue on the Cambodian question and by its vote in favour of the draft resolution.

19. Mr. BHATT (Nepal): The General Assembly, with a sincere desire to promote a peaceful settlement of the situation in Kampuchea, is once again deliberating on the question. The resolutions already adopted by this body in the past, together with resolution 1 (I),<sup>1</sup> adopted by the International Conference on Kampuchea, have offered a framework for a political settlement of the problem in conformity with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. It is a matter of deep regret that the situation continues to be tense, with consequent hardship and suffering for the Kampuchean people.

20. The last of the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly, that is resolution 37/6, reaffirmed the basic principles which are necessary for a peaceful solution reached through a process of genuine negotiations. My delegation reiterates its firm belief in the fundamental principles of non-interference, peaceful coexistence and respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of States. As we have often stated before, the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Kampuchea have been seriously violated through a massive military intervention by a powerful neighbour. This has denied the people of Kampuchea their inalienable right as a people to determine their own future.

21. Therefore we once again reaffirm our conviction that the withdrawal of all foreign forces would be the first essential step towards the restoration of the independence, territorial integrity and sovereignty of Kampuchea and of the right of the Kampuchean people to determine their own destiny. The provisions of draft resolution A/38/L.2 constitute yet another initiative in the series of efforts made by the United Nations to provide a realistic and just basis for the solution of the Kampuchean question.

22. Throughout the last five years, countries of South-East Asia and other interested States have continued diplomatic exchanges and consultations. These efforts are

aimed basically at creating a climate of understanding that could initiate a process of political negotiations. It is a matter of deep regret that these efforts have been unable to achieve a breakthrough in the stalemate. This stalemate can only aggravate and cause a deterioration in the situation. We are particularly concerned over the continued tension along the Thai-Kampuchean border, further continuation of which could have wider ramifications over peace and stability in the whole South-East Asian region. As my delegation stated at the 47th meeting of the thirty-seventh session, the formation of a Coalition Government under the leadership of Prince Norodom Sihanouk has offered an opportunity to break the present impasse. We hope that the parties concerned will not let this opportunity slip by. If the consideration of the report of the Credentials Committee [A/38/508] is any indication, this year can be crucial in the search for peace in that area.

23. The situation in Kampuchea has resulted in a tragedy of unprecedented scale for the people of that country. I wish to take this opportunity to express my delegation's deep appreciation to those agencies of the United Nations which have been engaged in a magnificent campaign of humanitarian operations.

24. My delegation notes with appreciation the serious efforts the Secretary-General has been making to create a congenial climate for negotiations. His report [A/38/513] clearly recognizes the pressing need for renewed efforts to overcome the obstacles to a constructive dialogue between the parties concerned. We fully support his determination to continue to exercise his good offices in the search for a solution consistent with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

25. Mr. STRUCKA (Czechoslovakia) (*interpretation from Russian*): Once again we are drawn into—and I would point out, in an empty room—a discussion of an item that should not be discussed at all at the United Nations. It has been included in the agenda of the current session of the General Assembly in violation of the Charter of the United Nations, in violation of the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of States, in violation of the clearly expressed will of the legitimate representative of the Kampuchean people—the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea—in spite of the disagreement of a number of States Members of the United Nations, including the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. The continuing machinations involving the so-called Kampuchean question that have taken place in United Nations bodies and have been reflected even in the establishment of an organizational machinery are in contradiction to the interests of Kampuchea and its people. Their consequences will in fact lead to a reduction in the authority of the Organization.

26. What is the crux of the so-called Kampuchean issue, discussion of which has been imposed on us for several years in a row? What are the initiators of this action striving for? They have set a clear-cut goal, distorting the course of events in Kampuchea in the period since the overthrow of the bloody Pol Pot régime, blocking successful positive developments in all spheres of life there and thwarting the implementation of foreign policy initiatives taken by socialist States in Indo-China with a view to settling the issue in the region, to developing co-operation with all neighbours and, last but not least, they are trying to divert the attention of world public opinion from the real international problems of priority importance, decisions on which come within the purview of the Organization and the settlement of which is expected of the United Nations by its States Members as well as by all mankind.

27. The situation in Kampuchea is exclusively—in the full sense of the word—the affair of the Kampuchean people. It put an end to the barbaric domination of a clique that was established by and was acting on instructions from centres of imperialist and hegemonist forces. The people itself chose its own social system in its country. No one has the right or is in a position to turn back political, social and economic developments in Kampuchea and return the country to the hard times of bloody terror. During that period, as studies undertaken by organs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea have shown, almost 3.5 million Kampucheans were killed, 141,848 wounded and, as a result of the outrages of the Pol Pot gangs, more than 200,000 Kampuchean children orphaned. After the expulsion of Pol Pot, Ieng Sary and Khieu Samphan, the Kampuchean people faced the extremely difficult task of rebuilding their ravaged country. The people of Kampuchea had to undertake the re-establishment of national industry and agriculture. They had to cope with a serious shortage of skilled personnel in the fields of education, science and culture as a result of the systematic extermination that had taken place. They had to rebuild 5,857 destroyed schools, 796 hospitals and clinics and dozens of cultural organizations. All this took place in circumstances of continued armed provocation organized by American imperialists and other reactionary forces, which were using for these purposes the remnants of Pol Pot gangs and others working in collusion with Khmer reaction. These foreign forces are trying every way possible to interfere with the recovery of the country and its full normalization in all spheres of life.

28. But in spite of this, the Kampuchean people have achieved impressive successes on their chosen path of development. The situation in the People's Republic of Kampuchea is improving with each day and becoming increasingly stable. The country is enjoying a new life. The cities are filled with people. General and free elections have been conducted in Kampuchea for the first time in its history. Higher State bodies have been elected and a new, truly democratic constitution has been adopted. The currency has been restored.

29. The recovery of the national economy is also taking place. Thanks to the efforts of the Kampuchean people, the danger of mass famine has been eliminated. Rice is being planted throughout the country at present on 1.8 million hectares of land. Every year sees an increase in the production of industrial crops, such as sugar cane, jute and rubber. Over the past four years production has been started at 60 factories, which produce mainly industrial goods. Along with these there are hundreds of small active enterprises and workshops. Pride of place is also being given to the restoration of road and rail networks. The seaport, Kompong Som, is working normally.

30. Outstanding results have also been achieved in the sphere of education. Currently every fourth inhabitant of the country is either studying at an educational institution or taking courses, which represents approximately 1.5 million persons; 36,000 teachers have already been trained. The campaign to eliminate illiteracy is being carried out successfully. Over a period of four years, with the assistance of thousands of volunteers, more than 500,000 people have learnt how to read and write, as a result of which the overall number of illiterates has been reduced by more than half.

31. The Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea is today in full control of the situation in the country. It has restored all civil and other basic human rights, of which the people were deprived during the domination of the Pol Pot régime.

32. The people's Government is carrying out a consistent, autonomous, independent foreign policy, based on the principles of peace, the development of international co-operation with all States and a policy of non-alignment. Thanks to this policy the influence and authority of the country in international spheres is growing. This policy is characterized by the trend towards the establishment of constructive political relations with all the States in South-East Asia, including those from whose territory the armed provocations which make the presence of units of Vietnamese volunteers necessary are taking place. However, these units are there in accordance with the clearly expressed will of the Kampuchean people and its legitimate Government, in full accordance with the Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Co-operation concluded in 1979 between the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and the People's Republic of Kampuchea.<sup>2</sup> In this regard the Governments of the People's Republic of Kampuchea and the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam at a summit conference which took place in February 1983 at Vientiane, agreed that Vietnamese units would be withdrawn from Kampuchea as soon as the threat coming from the People's Republic of China receded and peace was restored on the Thai-Kampuchean border [*see A/38/98, annex II*].

33. Every year, depending on the security situation in Kampuchea, a decision is taken on a partial withdrawal of units of Vietnamese volunteers. The first withdrawal took place in 1982. A second was undertaken in May of this year. This has not been merely a symbolic gesture; the total number of volunteers withdrawn is more than 10,000. The gradual withdrawal of Vietnamese units is a gesture of good will on the part of the People's Republic of Kampuchea and the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, and has been accompanied by proposals from the socialist States of Indo-China for a settlement in South-East Asia and on the development of relations with all countries in the region. Unfortunately, however, all these proposals, which were once again reaffirmed at the Seventh Conference of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Lao People's Democratic Republic, the People's Republic of Kampuchea and the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, held at Phnom Penh on 19 and 20 July 1983 [*A/38/316, annex*], have not met with a constructive response from the countries members of ASEAN. Those States have not reacted constructively either in ASEAN or here in the United Nations to the four-point proposal of the socialist States of Indo-China. These points were once again convincingly reiterated from this rostrum in a statement at the 24th meeting made by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, Nguyen Co Thach. We believe that it is not armed provocations or interference in the internal affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, with the use of the forum of the United Nations to that improper end, but, rather, a dialogue among the States of South-East Asia is the right method that can lead the way to a settlement in and around Kampuchea and to the establishment of a zone of peace in that region.

34. Bearing in mind the stabilization of the situation in the People's Republic of Kampuchea, the irreversible development of that country, the recognition of the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea by a number of States the world over and the growing influence of that country in international affairs, it is a paradox that the seat of Kampuchea in the United Nations is still occupied by the Pol Pot representatives and those representing other groups in the so-called Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea. In other words, representation lies with those who have been rejected by the Kampuchean people, who represent no-one and who

are being financed by the enemies of the Kampuchean people. The presence here of these individuals, at the expense of the true representatives of the Kampuchean people, is a shameful blot on the reputation of the United Nations and has been the object of justifiable criticism by States and by world public opinion.

35. The people and the Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic greatly value the results achieved by the people of Kampuchea, under the leadership of the People's Revolutionary Party, in co-operation with socialist countries, in overcoming the terrible consequences of the Pol Pot régime, in protecting their sovereignty and in building a new, socially just society, despite the efforts, schemes and attacks of imperialism and hegemonism. We appreciate the peaceful foreign policy of People's Kampuchea. As was pointed out during the recent visit to the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic of a Political Bureau member of the Central Committee of the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea, the Minister for National Defence, Bou Thong, we are in full solidarity with the Kampuchean people in their struggle. We are giving the Kampuchean people comprehensive assistance in its efforts. We resolutely demand that the seat of Kampuchea in the United Nations be occupied by its genuine and legitimate representatives. We fully support those that realize that there is no real Kampuchean problem.

36. We reject the attempts by the enemies of the Kampuchean people to use the United Nations rostrum to interfere in the internal affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, attempts exemplified in draft resolution A/38/L.2. We see that draft resolution as being contrary to the Charter of the United Nations, as a document that does not take into account either current realities or international law. It conflicts with our efforts to achieve peace, stability and development in South-East Asia. It is designed to create ways and means to bring Pol Pot back to power, which is a flagrant violation of the vital interests of the people of Indo-China. The Czechoslovak delegation will therefore vote against the draft resolution.

37. Mr. ALEXANDROV (Bulgaria): I should like to note with profound regret that, as a result of the pressure of the imperialist and hegemonist forces, the General Assembly has been dragged again into a futile and senseless discussion.

38. The delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria wishes to express its categorical disagreement with the inclusion in the agenda of the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly of the item on the so-called situation in Kampuchea. In our view this contravenes the goals and principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and can only be qualified as open and gross interference in the internal affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea. The arbitrariness, premeditation and bias of this discussion are evident from the fact that it is taking place without the participation of the legitimate representatives of the people of Kampuchea, and against the will of that people. This deplorable fact undoubtedly impairs the authority of the United Nations. The experience of the past five years has unequivocally demonstrated that such a discussion does not contribute in any way to finding a positive and realistic resolution of the problems of South-East Asia. On the contrary, it is more likely to aggravate further the situation in the region.

39. Equally evident is the intention of the instigators of this unworthy campaign against the People's Republic of Kampuchea to divert the attention of the international community from the consideration of other, immeasurably more important and urgent matters endangering world peace and security. There is no doubt in my mind



that the situation in Kampuchea is not the source of tensions in South-East Asia. The main cause of the situation in the region is rooted in the long-term strategy of the imperialist and hegemonist forces to destabilize the situation in South-East Asia, to hinder in every possible way the maintenance of good-neighbourly relations and to interfere in the internal affairs of the countries of the region with the aim of imposing their domination over that part of the world.

40. The objective analysis of the facts and events points to the irrevocable character of the historic changes that have taken place in the life of the Kampuchean people, and it also indicates that the so-called question of the situation in Kampuchea does not exist.

41. Five years have elapsed since the day when the Kampuchean people, under the leadership of the People's Revolutionary Council, overthrew the criminal and murderous Pol Pot régime that had brought the country to the brink of national catastrophe. During that period significant political, economic and social transformations have taken place in Kampuchea. As a result of the elections in May 1981 a system of State organs was set up to exercise effective control over the whole territory of the country, in accordance with the Constitution adopted by the National Assembly in June 1981. The Kampuchean people are marching confidently along the road of economic and social restoration. The economic and social life of the country has been restored and is functioning normally. It is no accident that the communiqué issued at the close of the Seventh Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the three countries of Indo-China, which was held at Phnom Penh last July, emphasized "the great successes in all fields, military, economic, political and diplomatic, recorded by the People's Republic of Kampuchea" [*ibid.*, para. 1].

42. The People's Republic of Kampuchea strives to live in peace, to maintain relations of co-operation with its neighbours, and to pursue a policy of non-alignment. Together with the Lao People's Democratic Republic and the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, the People's Republic of Kampuchea has come out in favour of turning South-East Asia into a zone of peace, stability and co-operation, and it has made every effort to start a constructive dialogue with the countries members of ASEAN. A convincing testimony to the peaceful foreign policy of the three countries of Indo-China and to their desire to normalize the situation in South-East Asia is to be found in the latest initiatives put forward at the first summit conference of those countries, held at Vientiane on 22 and 23 February 1983 [see A/38/98]. They reaffirmed their readiness to promote good relations with their neighbours and to solve all contentious problems with the countries members of ASEAN without any preconditions and in the spirit of good-neighbourliness and peaceful coexistence, free from outside interference. They also repeated their proposal for convening an international conference to normalize the situation in the region.

43. A subject of particular interest and approbation has been the joint statement of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and the People's Republic of Kampuchea on the presence in Kampuchea of volunteers of the Vietnamese army, and especially the agreement contained in the statement on their annual withdrawal from that country of a number of those volunteers. Meanwhile, we have twice witnessed a pull-back of part of the Vietnamese volunteers from Kampuchea, first in 1982 and again last May, which demonstrated the seriousness of the intentions of the two countries of Indo-China and Kampuchea's confidence in its own strength. In so far as the complete withdrawal of those volunteers is concerned, the joint statement

explicitly states that this would become possible only when Kampuchea's security is guaranteed.

44. This policy of the People's Republic of Kampuchea and its readiness to solve all problems through peaceful means and dialogue is fully in conformity with the goals and principles laid down in the Charter of the United Nations, as well as with the decisions of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries contained in the Political Declaration of New Delhi [see A/38/132, annex].

45. It is regrettable, however, that the designs and schemes aimed at turning back the clock of history have not come to an end. For five years the People's Republic of Kampuchea has been denied its rightful place in the United Nations, while the world Organization itself has been forced to deal with the so-called question of Kampuchea. Resolutions have been adopted and conferences have been held without the participation of the legitimate representatives of Kampuchea. One after another, the constructive proposals of the three Indo-Chinese countries have been rejected. Slanderous allegations and propaganda lies are being disseminated, the latest of which is the assertion that Viet Nam has been moving Vietnamese settlers into Kampuchea with the purpose of altering its demographic composition. We reject most categorically this unwarranted and preposterous accusation.

46. It is legitimate to ask what interests this senseless discussion serves, since it has become evident that this approach leads only to a deadlock and to a further exacerbation of tensions in that part of the world. It is abundantly clear that the process of normalization and renewal which, as I have pointed out, is successfully and irrevocably taking hold in Kampuchea, as well as its peace-loving foreign policy, are not liked in certain quarters and do not fit in with those quarters' strategic plans for establishing military and political domination in South-East Asia.

47. In the execution of those strategic plans these forces are pushing the countries of Indo-China and the member States of ASEAN towards a confrontation and trying to destabilize the situation in Kampuchea through flagrant interference in its internal affairs and futile attempts to overthrow its legitimate Government. This same goal is being served by the so-called Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, assembled last year, and made up of people who stand denounced by history for their grave crimes against their own people and against humanity. What kind of Government is that, having no territory under its control and representing no one but itself? This so-called Coalition Government is just a smoke-screen for the bloody Pol Pot régime and an instrument for carrying out the aggressive plans of the imperialist forces which have generously encouraged and supported it.

48. We are confident that all ill-intentioned attempts aimed at changing the situation in Kampuchea are futile and doomed to failure. The transformations which have taken place in the life of the Kampuchean people are irrevocable. Beyond any doubt, the Kampuchean people will continue to march forward on the road of national reconstruction which it has chosen for itself. All activities defying the will of the people of Kampuchea and its sole and legitimate representative, the State Council of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, represent a hostile act against free, independent and sovereign Kampuchea. Such activities are at variance with the interests of all peoples of South-East Asia and, in the final analysis, pose a threat to world peace and security.

49. The People's Republic of Bulgaria has given and will continue to give unqualified support to the efforts of the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea directed to the reconstruction and development

of Kampuchea. Today the Kampuchean people needs peace and tranquillity, as well as normal and equitable relations with its neighbours. We are certain that peace and stability in South-East Asia can be attained with the co-operation and participation of the United Nations. The world Organization, however, should strive to settle the problems in the region in the best interests of the Kampuchean people, rather than in the interests of the forces hostile to it.

50. Today the General Assembly is presented with a draft resolution which does not provide a faithful and objective assessment of the situation in Kampuchea and only raises additional obstacles on the road to finding a mutually acceptable resolution of the problems of South-East Asia. This draft resolution contains provisions which represent a blatant interference in the internal affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea and a deliberate distortion of the relevant facts. For these reasons, the delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria categorically rejects this draft resolution and will vote against it.

51. Mr. VRAALSEN (Norway): For the fifth consecutive year, the General Assembly is called upon to consider the continuing tragedy in Kampuchea. Over the years, many efforts have been made to bring about a just and comprehensive political solution. An impressive and ever-increasing majority of Member States each year supports United Nations resolutions to this end.

52. However, the situation in Kampuchea continues to be a matter of grave concern. In spite of the contacts which have taken place between the parties concerned, either directly or through the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, the parties do not seem to have achieved decisive progress towards overcoming the significant differences that still exist between their respective positions. At the same time, the situation in the region remains relatively tense. Armed incidents continue along the Thai-Kampuchean border and in the interior of Kampuchea.

53. As stressed in the Norwegian statement at the 46th meeting of the thirty-seventh session, the main responsibility for the present situation in Kampuchea must be borne by the occupying Power. Just as the world could not condone the former régime in Kampuchea, whose gross violations of human rights caused innumerable deaths and endless suffering to the whole population, so it cannot acquiesce in an outside Power invading and occupying another country. The fact that human rights were violated by the former régime does not endow the new régime, or the way in which that régime was installed in Phnom Penh, with any legitimacy.

54. Vietnamese forces are still in Kampuchea, despite repeated calls by the General Assembly for their total withdrawal. My delegation shares the view that an essential first step for returning Kampuchea to normalcy must be the withdrawal of foreign troops. We have repeatedly appealed to Viet Nam to withdraw its troops, thus paving the way for the restoration and preservation of Kampuchea's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity.

55. In our view, the draft resolution before us, of which Norway is a sponsor, incorporates the essential elements and practical framework for a comprehensive political settlement. The essential elements of the draft resolution are simple: first, to ensure the withdrawal of all foreign troops and, secondly, to enable the Kampuchean people freely to choose their own Government. My delegation is confident that the General Assembly will approve the draft with overwhelming support as on previous occasions, once again demonstrating the Assembly's deep concern over the continuing tragedy in Kampuchea.

56. The Secretary-General's report on the situation in Kampuchea [A/38/513] bears witness to considerable activity on the diplomatic scene during recent months. A series of important consultations was held in the capitals of the South-East Asian countries concerned in June and July and a new series of meetings were held in New York in September and October. In this connection I should like to pay tribute to the Secretary-General and his Special Representative for the way in which they have sought to fulfil their mandate to contribute to a comprehensive political settlement of the Kampuchean problem. The Norwegian delegation finds it encouraging that all parties seem to agree that the good offices of the Secretary-General should continue to be used in order to promote a peaceful solution to the Kampuchean problem. Even if the task is difficult, even if the lack of immediate results might be seen by some as another sign of ineffectiveness on the part of the United Nations, my delegation sees the Secretary-General's functions in just the opposite light. It is precisely in situations where communication between parties is lacking or insufficient and where positions are far apart that we need the United Nations to explore every possible avenue for finding peaceful solutions.

57. In these diplomatic developments my delegation finds three trends worth noting. First, the Coalition Government which now constitutes Democratic Kampuchea has managed to keep together in spite of many predictions to the contrary. In some respects it has consolidated its position both politically and diplomatically. This would not have been possible without the presence within the Coalition of Prince Sihanouk, who continues to be a rallying symbol for all Kampucheans. Secondly, the member countries of ASEAN have continued their close co-operation on the Kampuchean issue and remain key partners in the consultations to explore avenues for a peaceful solution. My Government has studied the statement entitled "An Appeal for Kampuchean Independence" issued by these countries on 21 September 1983 with great interest, and we have no problems agreeing with and supporting the six points contained in the appeal. Thirdly, we found it interesting that Viet Nam chose not to present its traditional amendment challenging the credentials of Democratic Kampuchea to the current session of the General Assembly. We see this in a positive light, as a realization on the part of Viet Nam that the international community will not support any solution to the situation in Kampuchea which attempts to exclude Democratic Kampuchea.

58. I should like to conclude my statement by saying a few words about the humanitarian relief efforts arising from the situation in Kampuchea. The relief programmes inside Kampuchea of United Nations organizations and of the International Committee of the Red Cross have been terminated, although there are disturbing reports about continued malnutrition and poverty inside the country. We note, however, that the aid programmes to refugee camps on the Thai-Kampuchean border and inside Thailand continue. The Norwegian Government has continued to give contributions to the existing programmes, and we shall consider further pledges if that should prove necessary. In this connection I should like to pay a tribute to the efforts made by the United Nations organizations at present working in the field, in particular UNHCR. I also wish to underline the importance of keeping up the efforts of non-governmental organizations, including the Quakers and OXFAM, in giving relief and support to people in need on both sides of the border.

59. Mr. PELLETIER (Canada) (*interpretation from French*): I should like to begin by conveying Canada's profound concern over the situation in Kampuchea and

our support for concrete action to resolve the current intolerable state of affairs in that country.

60. The situation in Kampuchea continues to constitute the paramount barrier to peace and stability in South-East Asia. The settlement of this conflict would carry with it the promise of freedom and progress for the Kampuchean people and, indeed, for the advancement and the greater well-being of all the peoples of South-East Asia. Conversely, the continuation of the present situation would mean deprivation and misery for the Kampuchean people and increasing polarization and heightening of tensions in the region.

61. This is the fifth successive year that the Assembly has considered the resolution of this issue. The co-operation and dedication which the majority of the Members of this body have shown in their pursuit of the purposes of the Charter of the United Nations do them credit. We in Canada are particularly conscious of the vital role of countries members of ASEAN in continuing to mobilize international opinion in support of a free Kampuchea, with the consequent reduction in regional tensions. In spite of the Assembly's clear expression of will to resolve the conflict, we have not achieved much progress. Consequently there is a need for all the parties directly affected to demonstrate the will and the necessary flexibility to resolve the situation. Until such time as this commitment is forthcoming the Kampuchean problem will continue to fester and the people will continue to suffer.

62. The possibility of a just solution to this question has been enhanced over the past two years by the unity and dynamism demonstrated by the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea. Under the leadership of its President, Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, and its Prime Minister, Son Sann, the Coalition Government represents the aspiration of the Kampuchean people to regain their independence and determine their own future free from foreign domination. The Government of Canada strongly endorses the leadership of these dedicated men and their desire to restore responsible government to Kampuchea. I should like, however, to reiterate to the Assembly that, as in the past, Canada remains irrevocably opposed to any return of the Pol Pot régime and its detestable policies. On the other hand, the Heng Samrin régime exists solely as a consequence of the machinations of a foreign Power and has itself engaged in brutal acts of repression. Therefore, as indicated in last week's debate on credentials, which resulted in the overwhelming reaffirmation of acceptance of the Coalition Government, the Government of Canada emphasizes that the Coalition constitutes the only morally and politically viable foundation for a truly independent Kampuchea.

63. I should also like to commend the activities of UNHCR, UNBRO and the International Committee of the Red Cross in their continuing efforts to aid refugees in extremely difficult circumstances. Along with other Members of this Organization, Canada has made a substantial financial contribution to the multilateral programmes that provide much-needed aid in the border areas of Kampuchea and Thailand. Canada will continue to support these multilateral aid programmes and will seek to ensure that this aid is distributed for the benefit of the displaced people of Kampuchea. Canadian aid for the development of Viet Nam remains contingent upon a settlement of the Kampuchean question, including the withdrawal of all Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea.

64. I have spoken of the efforts of the United Nations to find a solution to this conflict. Just recently these efforts have been furthered by the States members of ASEAN putting forward a joint appeal on Kampuchea.

Canada warmly supports the objectives of this appeal and believes that it could provide an excellent framework within which to work out a negotiated settlement to this issue.

65. The Government of Viet Nam claims to want peace in Kampuchea. If this is true, let us see evidence of such a desire through a readiness to show flexibility in entering into serious negotiations taking into account the legitimate interests of all the parties to the conflict. Let us work together towards the establishment of an independent Kampuchea, free from foreign domination yet sensitive to the need for maintaining good relations with all its neighbours.

66. Mr. KOH (Singapore): The prospects of achieving a political solution to the conflict in Kampuchea are better now than they have been at any time in the past five years. We have witnessed a number of positive developments in the past year.

67. First, the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, under the leadership of Prince Norodom Sihanouk, has grown in strength and in cohesiveness. At home, more and more Cambodians have fled Vietnamese military occupation to join the followers of Prince Sihanouk and Prime Minister Son Sann. Abroad, the Coalition Government has won increasing acceptance from other countries.

68. The second positive development is the increasing strength and effectiveness of the armed forces of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea. Those armed forces have been able to penetrate deeper and deeper into the interior and to inflict greater and greater damage on the foreign army of occupation.

69. The third positive development is the increasing number of defections by the soldiers of the Heng Samrin army. The defections reflect the decreasing morale of the Heng Samrin army as well as the increasing acceptance by the Cambodian people of the Coalition Government.

70. Fourthly, owing largely to the generous assistance given by the international community and the devoted efforts of relief workers from the United Nations family of institutions and the International Committee of the Red Cross, the spectre of famine has been banished from Cambodia. As the Secretary-General has pointed out in his report: "the food situation in Kampuchea can be regarded at present as acceptable" [A/38/513, para. 14].

71. If we have witnessed many positive developments in the past year, we have also witnessed a smaller number of negative developments. At present there are approximately 230,000 Cambodians living in encampments along the Thai-Cambodian border. During the last dry season the Vietnamese armed forces launched two large-scale premeditated attacks against the Nong Chan, Chan Ka Kor and Phnom Chat encampments. As the rainy season in Cambodia comes to an end the international community must be on its guard against the possibility of another dry-season offensive by the Vietnamese occupation army against the refugee encampments along the Thai-Cambodian border. The international community must make it clear to Viet Nam that attacks on civilian refugees in border encampments and the destruction of such camps, including schools and hospitals, are actions which fall below the minimum standards of human decency.

72. Another disturbing development of the past year is the accumulation of reports that Viet Nam is sending Vietnamese to settle in Cambodia. Speaking in this Assembly on 4 October, Prince Norodom Sihanouk said:

"The present situation in Kampuchea is worsening as a result of the fact that in addition to the 200,000 Vietnamese soldiers and the thousands of 'technicians'

and 'advisers' from Hanoi who control a part of our country, there are about 600,000 Vietnamese settlers who have been sent to our country to exploit our lands and rice fields, our villages, forests, lakes, rivers, coasts and other natural resources." [17th meeting, para. 24.]

We must remind Viet Nam that its introduction of Vietnamese settlers into Cambodia is in violation of the Geneva Convention Relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949, which, *inter alia*, specifically states: "The Occupying Power shall not deport or transfer parts of its own civilian population into the territory it occupies."<sup>3</sup>

73. I should like to conclude my statement by drawing the Assembly's attention to the statement entitled "An Appeal for Kampuchean Independence", made by the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the five members of ASEAN on 21 September 1983 [A/38/441]. The appeal is remarkable for its moderate language and content. It does not condemn Viet Nam, but instead invites it to join the international community in intensifying efforts to achieve a just solution to the conflict in Cambodia. The appeal responds positively to Viet Nam's offer of a partial withdrawal of its troops from Cambodia by suggesting that that could best be done on a territorial basis, beginning from the westernmost part of Cambodia. The appeal reaffirms the commitment of the ASEAN countries to the principle that following the total withdrawal of foreign troops from Cambodia the Cambodian people must be able to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination through internationally-supervised elections in which all Cambodians would participate, and that all political groups in Cambodia should be encouraged to work towards the goals of national reconciliation.

*Mr. Pelletier (Canada), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

74. The tone and content of the ASEAN appeal for Kampuchean independence should convince Viet Nam that we, the ASEAN countries, do not seek confrontation with it. We seek a political solution which will restore independence and sovereignty to the Cambodian nation. We believe that such a solution can be found, which will be consistent with the legitimate national security interest of all the countries of South-East Asia, including Viet Nam. We therefore appeal to Viet Nam, in all sincerity and good faith, to join us in the search for such a solution.

75. Mr. PAPAORGJI (Albania): The Albanian delegation deems it necessary to explain its position regarding agenda item 23, on the situation in Kampuchea.

76. The development of events in Kampuchea and in the whole of Indo-China provides clear evidence of how dearly the peoples pay for the games played and intrigues concocted to their detriment by the imperialist super-Powers and the various reactionary forces. All the facts show that the imperialist super-Powers are the main culprits to be held responsible for the sufferings and the immense destruction wreaked upon the people of Kampuchea and all the other peoples of Indo-China. It is well known that Kampuchea was one of the victims of the barbarous aggression of the American imperialists, who burned down and destroyed it. They committed the ugliest crimes against the civilian population, without giving a single thought to the most fundamental human standards or to international law.

77. Through their determined struggle the people of Kampuchea and the other peoples of Indo-China scored a historic victory over the American aggressors, but the fruits of this victory were not enjoyed for long by the Kampuchean people. They were again made a target of the plots and intrigues of the super-Powers, which

instigated, encouraged and backed up the internal reactionary forces, thus bringing about a very grave situation there. The bloodthirsty Pol Pot clique, when in power, exercised a cruel reign of terror of a Fascist type and pursued a policy of genocide against the Kampuchean people. It soon became a band of provocateurs in the service of the imperialist bourgeoisie to discredit the idea of socialism in the international arena.

78. The Chinese social-imperialists, for their part, used the Pol Pot reactionary clique to stir up trouble and to undertake acts of armed provocation against Viet Nam and warmongering activities in South-East Asia, so as to achieve their hegemonistic goals in this region.

79. The Kampuchean people have been and still are victims of the intrigues and interference of the Soviet social-imperialists also.

80. When the Kampuchean people were fighting for their national liberation against American imperialism, the social-imperialist Soviet Union not only failed to support them in their just struggle but, on the contrary, backed up the Lon Nol reactionary régime, which was but a puppet in the hands of the United States of America. At present, the Soviet social-imperialists pose as genuine friends of the people of Kampuchea and the peoples of the other countries of Indo-China, advertising with great pomp the aid they render to those countries. Like the American imperialists, they have hegemonist and neo-colonialist ambitions concerning this region which they try to hide with demagogic slogans of friendship and co-operation.

81. The enemies of the Kampuchean people are leaving no stone unturned to organize and support the vestiges of the Pol Pot régime and throw them into new adventures, and to create a situation of tension and insecurity in order to prevent the Kampuchean people from healing the serious wounds caused by the imperialist aggressors and their tools. They have set up a so-called Coalition Government, which cannot and does not represent the will and the interests of the Kampuchean people. It is nothing but a facade to cover the reactionary forces of Pol Pot, which are greatly hated by the Kampuchean people and freedom-loving peoples the world over.

82. The whole course of events in Kampuchea lays bare the hypocrisy of the American imperialists, the Chinese social-imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists, who in words pretend to feel sorry for the Kampuchean people and pose as defenders of their rights, but in reality are their enemies.

83. The Socialist People's Republic of Albania has strongly condemned and continues to condemn the acts of aggression and interference of the imperialist super-Powers in the internal affairs of Kampuchea. The Albanian delegation expresses the determined stand of the Government of the Socialist People's Republic of Albania that an end must be put, once and for all, to all the interference by the imperialist super-Powers in the internal affairs of Kampuchea, otherwise favourable conditions cannot be created to allow the people and Government of the Republic of Kampuchea to overcome the difficulties in the way of consolidating the freedom and independence of their own country as a sovereign and democratic country.

84. The Government of the Socialist People's Republic of Albania appreciates the withdrawal of part of the troops which Viet Nam sent there in certain circumstances to liquidate a situation created by the Pol Pot criminal gang—a situation which endangered the freedom and independence of the Kampuchean people—so that Kampuchea and its Government could quickly strengthen the



unity of the people and surmount the difficulties on the way to consolidating freedom and independence against the plots and intrigues of the super-Powers, other imperialist Powers and the forces of reaction. Likewise, we note with satisfaction that thanks to their own efforts the Kampuchean people are overcoming the grave consequences of the monstrous crimes committed by the Pol Pot criminal gang and their foreign supporters, thus creating a political and economic stability which is becoming stronger with every passing day.

85. Proceeding from such considerations and by rigorously adhering to the principle of the inalienable right of peoples and nations to be fully independent and to decide for themselves without any foreign interference, as the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Socialist People's Republic of Albania declared before this Assembly at the 19th meeting of the current session, the Albanian Government has decided to recognize the People's Republic of Kampuchea as the only legitimate Government in Kampuchea. This Government must occupy its own seat in the United Nations and other international forums, a seat which today is unjustly held by the representatives of the Pol Pot gang.

86. The Albanian people, a sincere friend of the Kampuchean people and the other peoples of Indo-China, wholeheartedly desires stability in Kampuchea and in the whole of South-East Asia to be strengthened, and the peoples of this region, who for decades have suffered the consequences of imperialist wars and aggressions, to be able to dedicate themselves completely to the strengthening of the freedom and national independence of their respective countries and to their all-round development towards progress.

87. Mr. ELSHEIKH (Sudan) (*interpretation from Arabic*): A few days ago, during the general debate, one representative of the international community after the other described from this rostrum the present picture and characteristics of the international situation and the prevailing trends and phenomena at this stage in the development of international relations. If there was a consensus evident in the statements of various delegations, it was on the deterioration of the international situation and the proliferation of foreign intervention in the affairs of others, and of the use of force. It is clear that the question now before the Assembly is a striking example of those grave phenomena, which jeopardize the security and stability of an entire region. Once more the question of Kampuchea is before the Assembly. Once more the international community is seized of the renewed suffering of the Kampuchean people resulting from the invasion of and aggression against its country. It was hoped, when the General Assembly adopted its resolutions on the situation in Kampuchea last year and in the preceding years, that the problem would be solved in accordance with those resolutions and previous recommendations. But the situation has remained unchanged, and the search for a just solution to that question has, rather, aggravated the problems that originally existed in that region.

88. The question of Kampuchea is not only of concern to the people of that country and the other peoples of South-East Asia, which have been seeking for decades to promote peace, security and stability in that region, but also arouses the interest and concern of the international community, because it concerns the rules of international conduct and laws and norms governing co-operation among all nations and peoples under the Charter of the United Nations. Hence the question of Kampuchea continues to command increasing international interest and has joined the category of urgent problems resulting

from the grave trends that run counter to international instruments and proper conduct, which jeopardize the basis and the requirements of security and peace for peoples and States, and reduce the prospect of peaceful coexistence among States with different social, political and economic systems.

89. The question of Kampuchea clearly reflects the negative dimensions of the phenomena of intervention in the internal affairs of other nations in such a manner as to jeopardize their sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity and undermine their inalienable right to the free exercise of self-determination. What increases our concern *vis-à-vis* this phenomenon is that it not only endangers the peace and security of small, non-aligned nations, but also forces those States to use their limited resources to deter aggression instead of channelling them towards achieving the goal of development and progress.

90. It is hardly necessary to point out that the question of Kampuchea presents a real challenge to the international community, if we really want security, stability and peaceful coexistence for peoples and States instead of the policies of aggression and intervention in the internal affairs of others.

91. Anyone familiar with the developments in Kampuchea and the absence of solutions to the question of Kampuchea despite the numerous resolutions adopted on the subject must appreciate the importance of the comment by the Secretary-General, in his report to the current session of the General Assembly and the preceding session, namely, that non-compliance with United Nations resolutions erodes the Organization's credibility and dissipates the hopes placed in it to promote peace and security among nations.

92. My country is gravely concerned about the Kampuchean question and its evolution. This has been reflected in Sudan's consistent participation in the efforts undertaken by the international community to find a just and peaceful solution to this question. The Sudan supported the relevant resolutions adopted by the General Assembly, participated in the International Conference on Kampuchea held in New York from 13 to 17 July 1981, and also participates in the activities of the *Ad Hoc* Committee of the International Conference on Kampuchea. My country has followed the political developments consequent upon the establishment of the Coalition in that country under the leadership of Samdech Norodom Sihanouk. In approaching this question, Sudan proceeds from its firm conviction that it is necessary to respect the basic principles governing co-operation among nations within the framework of the Charter of the United Nations, the sovereignty and independence of nations and the principle of non-intervention in their internal affairs. This is a firm and indivisible commitment, be it in Kampuchea, the Middle East or elsewhere.

93. What gives cause for hope is that what has been inflicted on Kampuchea has been condemned by the international community, as has what has happened to Afghanistan and to the Palestinian people. The response to the will of the international community on this question will continue to be the significant factor in maintaining international norms and instruments and promoting the attainment of the objectives of the Charter of the United Nations.

94. The delegation of the Democratic Republic of the Sudan reaffirms that the settlement of the question of Kampuchea can be achieved only through the cessation of acts of aggression and the immediate withdrawal of foreign troops from the soil of that country, to enable the Kampuchean people to exercise its right to self-determination free from interference of foreign *diktat*. There

must also be recognition of the need for strict respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Kampuchea, in order to pave the way for a comprehensive settlement that will put an end to the suffering of its people.

95. The Sudan will vote in favour of draft resolution A/38/L.2, as it voted in favour of similar resolutions in previous years, on the basis of our commitment to the Charter, our respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of nations and for the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other States, and in order to consolidate the principles of the non-use of force or the threat of force in international relations and the peaceful settlement of disputes.

96. Mr. ZAINAL ABIDIN (Malaysia): This is the fifth consecutive year that the General Assembly is seized of the question of Kampuchea. The root cause of the problem is well-known and requires no elaboration. It may suffice to recall, however, that the genesis of the problem took place in December 1978 when the Vietnamese armed forces invaded Kampuchea, overthrew its legally instituted Government and in its stead installed a new régime in Phnom Penh. Since then, there have been approximately 200,000 Vietnamese troops in Kampuchea to prop up the tottering régime of Heng Samrin.

97. The invasion and subsequent occupation of Kampuchea undermines the foundation of trust and confidence among States and evokes the threat that small countries can be held to ransom by the might of others. If this were accepted, then the fate of small countries everywhere would be placed in jeopardy, and it is to underscore this concern that Malaysia and its partners in ASEAN have again this year initiated the draft resolution on the situation in Kampuchea for the consideration of this Assembly.

98. The presence of a large contingent of Vietnamese forces in Kampuchea has also placed an obstacle in the way of the concept of the zone of peace, freedom and neutrality, a concept that is mooted by ASEAN as a realistic framework for peace and co-operation among the countries of South-East Asia. Before the zone can become a reality, it is imperative that Viet Nam withdraw its forces from Kampuchea. Furthermore, the presence of such a large number of Vietnamese troops in Kampuchea has aggravated hostilities in the region, changed the existing power balance, heightened the pitch of super-Power rivalry, thereby endangering the peace and security of the countries in the region. If Viet Nam is genuine in its desire to live in peace and harmony with its neighbours, it must first agree to withdraw its forces from Kampuchea. Such a withdrawal could pave the way for the Kampuchean people to determine its own future free from outside interference and to restore its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity.

99. Malaysia, as a member of the *Ad Hoc* Committee of the International Conference on Kampuchea, and as a responsible Member of this Organization, would like to express its appreciation to the Secretary-General for his efforts to resolve the Kampuchean problem. As we are all aware, in the middle of this year, the Secretary-General sent his Special Representative, Mr. Rafeuddin Ahmed, to Hanoi and Bangkok in the hope of contributing to the solution of this problem. But these efforts were all in vain because of the lack of political will on the part of Viet Nam. My delegation would like to express its deep regret over this inflexible attitude and urges Viet Nam to play a more positive role in consonance with its declared desire for peace and stability in the area.

100. On 20 October, Prince Norodom Sihanouk, President of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, in his statement at the 34th meeting, expressed his delegation's satisfaction at the decision of the General Assembly to adopt, without a vote, the report of the Credentials Committee. The Prince described the action of the General Assembly as an event of great moral and political significance in the history of the United Nations in the struggle of the Kampuchean people for their national liberation. The action reaffirmed the right of small and weak countries to pursue their own destiny without being coerced by the big and the strong. The fact that there is no challenge of the credentials of Democratic Kampuchea in the General Assembly is, therefore, of significant and symbolic value and brings profound satisfaction to all countries committed to peace and justice in this world. This act, too, has served to create respect for and greater confidence in the United Nations ability to preserve peace and stability in this world. My delegation also views as positive the declaration by Prince Sihanouk yesterday at the 35th meeting, that the Coalition Government welcomes as a partner any other party or any political party, on the precise condition that it does not serve the interests of those extraneous to Kampuchea. We feel that this appeal for national reconciliation in the cause of the motherland is a positive development which should be explored by parties directly involved in the conflict.

101. In order to facilitate the political solution of the Kampuchean problem, the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the ASEAN countries issued "An Appeal for Kampuchean Independence" on 21 September 1983. In this appeal, they stressed that "the central issue in the Kampuchea problem is the survival of the Kampuchean nation and the restoration of its independence and sovereignty [A/38/441, para. 1]. ASEAN has called on Viet Nam and other interested parties to join them in intensifying efforts to achieve a just solution, and proposed possible initial steps that could be taken in pursuit of such a comprehensive political settlement of the Kampuchean problem. This appeal, which constitutes a realistic framework upon which a durable solution to the Kampuchean problem could be worked out, has been well received by the Kampuchean people and by the international community at large. In this regard, my delegation would like to urge all concerned, particularly Viet Nam, to respond positively to this appeal so that peace, which has eluded us for so long, will at last become a reality.

102. Malaysia and its ASEAN partners welcomed Viet Nam's declared intention to undertake a partial troop withdrawal from Kampuchea. However, this exercise should be genuinely undertaken within a reasonable period of time, on a territorial basis, beginning with a 30-kilometre withdrawal from those areas of Kampuchea along the Thai-Kampuchean border. This withdrawal must also be undertaken in the context of a comprehensive Vietnamese withdrawal from Kampuchea. Such a gesture on the part of Viet Nam would be perceived as the first of the confidence-building measures which could ultimately construct the path to peace in South-East Asia.

103. My delegation is also concerned to learn of reported attempts by Viet Nam to change the demographic character of Kampuchea. Such an action clearly reinforces the generally-held view of Viet Nam's expansionist tendencies, and can only complicate the search for peace in Kampuchea. This attempt at the Vietnamization of Kampuchea must not be allowed to persist, and it is as serious a crime as that previously perpetrated on the Kampuchean people. As such, my delegation views this action as a matter of serious concern, as it injects an ominous dimension to the already complex situation in Kampuchea. In

this regard my delegation would like to appeal to Viet Nam to desist from its continued policy of resettling Vietnamese civilians in Kampuchea.

104. Notwithstanding the impediments being placed in the way of peace, Malaysia and its ASEAN partners will continue vigorously to pursue the goal of a political solution. We will not sacrifice those sacrosanct principles which are so indispensable to the maintenance of international peace and order. It is in this context that we are convinced that the pursuit of peace must take into account the elements outlined in the various United Nations resolutions, particularly with regard to the withdrawal of foreign forces and the right of self-determination of the Kampuchean people.

105. Mr. UCHUNO (Nigeria): My delegation would like to join previous speakers in reiterating our support for the continuing efforts of the United Nations, through the good offices of the Secretary-General and the *Ad Hoc* Committee of the International Conference on Kampuchea, in the search for a just and lasting solution to the Kampuchean question. We also commend the efforts of the countries members of ASEAN, of Democratic Kampuchea and of other interested parties, including humanitarian organizations, in their continued search for a peaceful solution to the Kampuchean question. We call upon all involved in the quest for a solution not to relent in their efforts.

106. It is the view of my delegation that the only way to a just and lasting solution to the Kampuchean question is through a process of peaceful political negotiation. In this respect we believe that General Assembly resolution 37/6 and other relevant resolutions call for the total 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. My delegation reiterates its support for those resolutions and calls for their full implementation.

107. In accordance with these resolutions, my delegation calls for the restoration of the independence and sovereignty of Democratic Kampuchea. Full independence and sovereignty can only be restored in Kampuchea when there will have been a total withdrawal of all foreign forces from that country and an end to the interference in its internal affairs. Only then will Democratic Kampuchea be able to exercise its inalienable right to self-determination as a sovereign, neutral and non-aligned State. My country sets great store by the principle of self-determination, which for Nigeria has become an article of faith. Besides, condoning the change of any Government by external forces sets a dangerous precedent which may haunt many countries now enjoying freedom and independence. It is a fact of history that the Pol Pot régime was a curse to Kampuchea. Its brutality to its own people is a disgrace to our generation, yet only the people of Kampuchea are, by international law, entitled to change that detestable Government. No foreign Power has the right to topple it and occupy Kampuchea for any reason. That is why we call for the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea. Thereafter, the people of Kampuchea, under the auspices of the United Nations, may freely determine their own future without foreign interference or intervention. My delegation therefore calls upon the occupying Power to withdraw from Kampuchea in compliance with the declared wishes of the international community.

108. Finally, my delegation commends the Secretary-General in his efforts to implement a programme of

humanitarian assistance to the Kampuchean people. We call on all Member States and international humanitarian organizations to continue their contributions, which will be applied to the provision of immediate relief to the Kampucheans affected. We realize that beyond the provision of immediate relief lies the difficult task of reconstruction and rehabilitation. In this regard we join others in calling for an international mobilization of resources for a programme of rehabilitation and reconstruction in Kampuchea under the auspices of the United Nations.

109. Mr. MARKER (Pakistan): In his statement to the General Assembly on 4 October [17th meeting] and in speaking yesterday [35th meeting] on the item under consideration, President Norodom Sihanouk has spoken in detail about the continuing tragedy which the Kampuchean people are suffering at the hands of foreign occupiers in their country. The personality of Prince Sihanouk evokes memories of Kampuchea before 1970, when the Kampuchean people enjoyed tranquillity and prosperity under his leadership. Since the fateful events of 1970 Kampuchea has been an unfortunate land ravaged by conflicts, terrorized by a despotic régime and, for the past five years, suffering the agony of foreign occupation.

110. The consequences of a despotic rule and subsequent foreign occupation have been so calamitous that, as declared in the joint statement of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the countries members of ASEAN, issued at Jakarta on 21 September 1983, the central issue in the Kampuchean problem is not only the restoration of its independence and sovereignty but the very survival of the Kampuchean nation.

111. The situation in Kampuchea raises several disturbing questions possessing political as well as humanitarian dimensions. Politically, it is a case of foreign occupation in which Viet Nam, an outside Power, invoked the human-rights issue to dispatch its forces into Kampuchea. This Vietnamese contention has no validity in international law and does not stand up to scrutiny in the light of the facts of the existing situation.

112. From a legal perspective, if military interventions were justified on the pretext of humanitarian considerations, chaos and anarchy would soon afflict the international scene, in which the security of smaller and weaker States of the world would be at the mercy of their powerful neighbours. Viet Nam has thus been rightly censured by the United Nations for violating a sacrosanct principle of international law, namely, non-use of force and non-intervention in the internal affairs of States.

113. Although Pakistan has unreservedly condemned the excesses committed by the Pol Pot régime against its people, yet we cannot condone Viet Nam's military intervention in Kampuchea, an invasion ostensibly undertaken in the name of saving the people of that country from those excesses.

114. The impropriety of the Vietnamese action is rendered even more incriminating by the fact that no moral or humanitarian argument can explain the continuous presence of more than 200,000 Vietnamese troops in Kampuchea for more than five years. There is no convincing explanation for Viet Nam's refusal to respond to the United Nations call for the withdrawal of its troops from Kampuchea and to allow free and fair elections to take place in that country under United Nations supervision, thereby enabling the Kampuchean people to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination.

115. Clearly, Viet Nam is maintaining its military presence in Kampuchea for a purpose other than the contrived pretext of humanitarian considerations, namely, to retain

a firm grip over Kampuchea by sustaining a régime of its choice in Phnom Penh. The pursuit of this objective by Viet Nam has only served to aggravate the human suffering in Kampuchea. Hundreds of thousands of Kampuchean people have already perished and more continue to succumb to the tyranny of foreign subjugation. An equally large number of them have been forced to leave their land and to seek safety and refuge in neighbouring Thailand and other countries.

116. A new and grim feature of Vietnamese intervention is taking shape in the establishment of Vietnamese settlements, the details of which were given by Prince Sihanouk in his statement. According to the information provided by him, Viet Nam plans to settle 600,000 of its inhabitants in Kampuchea in a clear attempt to lend permanence to its control of the country.

117. For several years now the United Nations has been discharging a two-fold responsibility with a separate bearing on the political and humanitarian issues of the Kampuchean situation. Politically, the General Assembly and the International Conference on Kampuchea, held under United Nations auspices from 13 to 17 July 1981, have provided a judicious plan to resolve the Kampuchean problem in all its aspects. The vital elements for a comprehensive political settlement envisaged in the Declaration on Kampuchea<sup>4</sup> and endorsed at subsequent sessions of the General Assembly are the following: first, the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Kampuchea; secondly, measures for holding elections under United Nations supervision to enable the Kampuchean people freely to elect a Government of their own choice; thirdly, security guarantees to all States of the region, satisfying their legitimate concerns and, fourthly, assurances of respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Kampuchea and for its non-aligned and neutral status.

118. As is evident from these elements the United Nations initiative envisages not only the immediate resolution of the Kampuchean problem in accordance with the will of the Kampuchean people; it envisages the long-term fulfilment of the aspirations of all peoples in the region for a future of peace, co-operation and prosperity.

119. Democratic Kampuchea, represented by a Coalition Government under the leadership of President Sihanouk, who symbolizes the forces of moderation and tolerance in Kampuchea, accepts the United Nations proposals and has repeatedly affirmed its readiness to co-operate with the United Nations' efforts for a comprehensive settlement.

120. The United Nations, however, continues to await a positive response from Viet Nam consistent with the latter's declared desire to work for the transformation of South-East Asia into a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality. This desire will remain illusory so long as

Kampuchea is subjected to foreign intervention and its freedom and neutrality continue to be undermined.

121. The massive humanitarian problem created by the Kampuchean situation has been the subject of several General Assembly resolutions and pledging conferences held from time to time under the auspices of the United Nations. There is no doubt that the travail of the hundreds of thousands of Kampuchean refugees who have been forced to flee their country will continue as long as the chapter of tyranny, intervention and bloodshed in Kampuchea does not come to a close. Until then the plight of the uprooted Kampuchean population will remain the concern of the United Nations which, along with other international agencies, has been making commendable efforts to alleviate the hardship of the Kampuchean refugees. As a country itself burdened with the problem of providing shelter to nearly 3 million Afghan refugees, we also appreciate the gravity and magnitude of the responsibility which has fallen on the Government of Thailand in having to care for the hundreds of thousands of Kampuchean refugees who have sought asylum in that country.

122. In conclusion I wish to comment briefly on draft resolution A/38/L.2. This draft resolution reaffirms the principle of a political settlement, in particular the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea, the restoration and preservation of its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and the commitment of all States to non-interference and non-intervention in the internal affairs of Kampuchea. The draft resolution is notable for its comprehensive nature, which emphasizes the endeavours for a political settlement and, at the same time, addresses itself to the humanitarian aspects of the Kampuchean issue and envisages steps for the establishment of a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in South-East Asia once the solution to the Kampuchean conflict is achieved. We are confident that this draft resolution will enjoy the overwhelming support of the General Assembly, thus once again demonstrating the Assembly's deep concern over the tragic situation in Kampuchea and its determination to find a political settlement on the basis of the principles already enunciated by it.

*The meeting rose at 5.50 p.m.*

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#### NOTES

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

<sup>2</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fourth Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1979*, document S/13101.

<sup>3</sup> United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 75, No. 973, p. 318.

<sup>4</sup> *Report of the International Conference on Kampuchea, New York, 13-17 July 1981* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.81.I.20), annex I.