



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

In the absence of the President, Mr. Martini Urdaneta (Venezuela), Vice-President, took the Chair.

AGENDA ITEM 23

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

1. Mr. BENKHAL (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (*interpretation from Arabic*): I am prompted to speak today on the question under consideration in order to reaffirm the following points which the representative of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya has already made in the discussion of the first report of the Credentials Committee at this session [34th meeting].
2. First, the legitimate Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, which controls the situation in the country and which is endeavouring, as we are all aware, to overcome the difficulties of the Kampuchean people and to rebuild what was destroyed by the Pol Pot régime, which also ravaged the economy of the country, is the only Government we recognize as the legitimate representative of Kampuchea. Any discussion of the situation in Kampuchea without that Government's participation constitutes an intolerable interference in the internal affairs of Kampuchea and a flagrant violation of the Charter of the United Nations. Such a discussion could not possibly lead to any positive results.
3. Secondly, the Government of the United States of America tried to prevent the representation of the People's Republic of China for many years, and China's seat was given to a régime that was an agent of the United States. Now the United States Government is trying to do exactly the same thing with respect to the People's Republic of Kampuchea, at a time when the armed forces of the United States have invaded a small State, Grenada. This is an attempt to make us forget what is happening in Kampuchea.
4. Thirdly, to disregard the situation in Kampuchea would do nothing to restore peace in the region and would only heighten tension and result in more deaths in that area.
5. The joint communiqué issued by Viet Nam and the People's Republic of Kampuchea, which is an attempt to find a solution and to secure the withdrawal of the Vietnamese volunteers from Kampuchea, is a step in the right direction, towards the restoration of peace and stability in the region. We support the joint communiqué for that reason.
6. These are the points that I wished to clarify.
7. Mr. MONDJO (Congo) (*interpretation from French*): It is with no light heart that the delegation of the People's Republic of the Congo feels obliged to speak in this "show trial" debate, a spectacle mounted by those who are striving to prove that the Vietnamese people, who

yesterday were the victims of the most brutal and unjustified colonialist and imperialist aggression, have now become as it were representatives of the devil, and particularly sinister representatives at that. A group of countries whose aims are unclear have been trying ever since 1979 to deny, in the face of all the evidence, that the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Kampuchea is effectively in power in the country, a Government which has been courageously building upon the ashes of the criminal Pol Pot and Ieng Sary régime a programme of national reconstruction and rebirth. For these critics the fraternal aid of the Vietnamese Government to the people of Kampuchea is necessarily suspect, as if those delegations wanted only to see a perpetuation of the nightmare which Pol Pot and his bloodthirsty henchmen inflicted on the brave Kampuchean people. Clearly, such a show trial can lead only to predetermined verdicts which they would like the General Assembly to endorse. Otherwise, why should we proceed, as we are invited to do in draft resolution A/38/L.2 and Add.1, to undertake an open-ended mobilization of the resources of the United Nations in order to maintain an international pseudo-conference at which the embarrassed monologue of the supporters of Pol Pot serves as a poor substitute for a true analysis?

8. In the view of my delegation, the fact that this fake question of Kampuchea has been kept on the agenda constitutes intolerable interference in the internal affairs of a Member State.

9. In the confusion created by such a situation, it becomes possible to reduce the principles underlying international relations to mere shreds, principles which are based in particular on respect for differences, non-interference in the internal affairs of other States and the recognized right of all peoples freely to choose their own political, economic and social systems.

10. Yesterday, reduced to slavery and doomed to the most barbarous genocide by Pol Pot, who now claims to be the incarnation of the virtues of a republic which is pompously described as democratic, the martyred people of Kampuchea welcomed as liberators the Vietnamese, thanks to whose effective aid it was possible to free Kampuchea from its horrible fate and to put an end to the bloodshed caused by that adventurer, Pol Pot. Of course, Pol Pot has since then had no difficulty in whitewashing his political image by securing "absolution" from the Western countries, the so-called heralds of the defence of fundamental human rights, or in perfidiously exploiting whatever international prestige still remains to one of his principal victims, Prince Sihanouk, who is now being trotted around from capital to capital. But all these manoeuvres fool no one except their authors.

11. Every year, all the nations come to this Assembly and proclaim their desire for peace, but peace is indivisible. How can one believe the sincerity of these loud professions of faith if, at the very time that the General Assembly is probing into the fake question of Kampuchea, certain States which are among the most ardent champions of the fundamental principles of the Charter decide, as happened a few days ago, to carry out, just

a few hours' flight time from here, a premeditated and needlessly bloody act of aggression, for which there is no justification whatsoever, against a small, peace-loving, defenceless country, a non-aligned State and a Member of the United Nations, namely, Grenada, a country which has just been invaded by the overwhelmingly powerful air and naval forces of the United States, on the pretext of upholding peace and "democracy". We are living in times which are fraught with threats for the survival of mankind. The newspapers report that this aggression has caused many casualties among the Cuban technical assistance personnel in Grenada. We pay our tribute to the memory of these martyrs.

12. There can be no doubt at all that certain eclectic minds, showing their usual selective amnesia, will try to justify the unjustifiable.

13. My delegation notes with satisfaction the unequivocal support of the three countries of Indo-China for "the spirit and letter of the Political Declaration on South-East Asia of the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries", held from 7 to 12 March 1983 at New Delhi. The Lao People's Democratic Republic, the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and the People's Republic of Kampuchea have solemnly declared their desire to live in peace with all their neighbours, whom they invite to enter, without prior conditions, into detailed negotiations with them, with a view to restoring peace and fraternity in the region.

14. Instead of instigating sordid plots throughout Kampuchea, the Western Powers should help to ensure that peace, mutual respect and co-operation are restored in South-East Asia. This is why the delegation of the People's Republic of the Congo cannot accept the draft resolution which is now before us.

15. Mr. FERM (Sweden): In its essential elements the situation in and around Kampuchea has remained unchanged since this item was considered by the Assembly a year ago. There is a form of military and political stalemate which neither of the contending parties appears capable of breaking. The people of Kampuchea continue to pay the price of this situation in the form of hardship and starvation, as well as casualties from military action. They are prevented from influencing their own destiny as a people.

16. Hundreds of thousands of Kampuchean civilians continue to live in encampments along the border with Thailand, totally dependent on the humanitarian assistance provided through international organizations. During the past year some of the border encampments have been subjected to military attacks that have further exacerbated the precariousness of their situation. Attacks on civilian refugees are condemned by the Swedish Government. It is essential that uprooted civilians seeking a safe haven across their national border should be accommodated and cared for at a safe distance from any battleground, thus avoiding exposure to physical danger. Experience has shown that the border encampments do not fulfil such safety requirements. In order to spare displaced civilians at the border further suffering and hardship and to ensure their protection as refugees, it seems advisable to provide care in the holding centres of UNHCR for those displaced Kampucheans who so wish.

17. Thailand, as a host country for thousands of uprooted and destitute Kampucheans, should continue to receive international assistance to alleviate the heavy burden that it has to carry as a result of events in Kampuchea.

18. The Programme of Humanitarian Assistance to the Kampuchean people has been consistently and substantially supported by my Government. In important respects

it has been a remarkable success, but assistance is still necessary. The Swedish Government is convinced that international assistance to the suffering Kampucheans, be they inside or outside their country, must continue. Recent reports on the food situation in Kampuchea indicate severe shortages in parts of the country. In the present critical circumstances, humanitarian assistance remains of the essence to avert starvation and new waves of refugees driven by deprivation to the border.

19. My Government continues to regard the free exercise by the people of Kampuchea of its right to self-determination as the basic element of any just political solution to the conflict. The right to self-determination cannot be freely exercised under foreign occupation. This is true in Kampuchea as it is in other small nations invaded by more powerful countries.

20. It is the Swedish view that, in the present circumstances, no Government can be regarded as the legitimate representative of the people of Kampuchea.

21. The Swedish Government views the continuing dialogue between the Governments most directly involved as the most positive element in the present situation. Both Viet Nam and the States members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations [ASEAN] have indicated a willingness to explore possible avenues to understanding. We urge the parties to develop a dialogue which would lay the foundations for a real negotiating process towards an agreed political solution that will allow the people of Kampuchea once more to determine their own destiny.

22. The efforts undertaken by the Secretary-General in order to facilitate and promote such a dialogue have the full support of my Government.

23. Mr. SOLARZ (United States of America): It is regrettable that the General Assembly must yet again consider the problem of Kampuchea, now almost five years after the invasion of that unhappy country by its more powerful neighbour, Viet Nam.

24. At four successive sessions, the General Assembly has called for the total withdrawal of foreign troops from Kampuchea, the restoration of the Khmer people's inalienable right to self-determination through free elections, and the provision of humanitarian assistance to the Kampuchean people uprooted and made homeless by the Vietnamese occupation of their country. Each year the resolution on Kampuchea has been adopted by an overwhelming margin, reflecting the strong and growing concern of the great majority of nations, aligned and non-aligned alike, over the fate of Kampuchea and the Khmer people.

25. Few countries in the world have suffered more over the course of recent decades than Kampuchea. First, a civil war raged there from the time Prince Sihanouk was overthrown in 1970 until the Khmer Rouge came to power in the spring of 1975. Then, between 1975 and 1979, the Pol Pot régime, in an act almost unprecedented in the annals of human history, embarked upon a policy which the French priest Father Ponchaud, in a memorable phrase, termed "autogenocide"—the murder of a people by its own people. Not since Hitler's Holocaust condemned and consumed a third of the Jewish people has the world witnessed anything like it. Turning their country into an Asian Auschwitz, the Khmer Rouge systematically slaughtered and starved an estimated 2 million people out of a total population of 7 million. And, as if that were not enough, the Vietnamese then invaded Kampuchea in late 1978, forcing hundreds of thousands of Kampucheans to flee the country, which approximately 170,000 troops are occupying to this day.

26. In an effort to bring this long nightmare of suffering and occupation to an end, the United Nations has repeatedly proclaimed the need—indeed, the absolute necessity—for those who have captured control of that beautiful but broken land to leave and let the future of Kampuchea be determined by the people of Kampuchea themselves.

27. As far as my own country is concerned, let me state that, although there are, under our democratic system of government, inevitably, differences from time to time between the Executive Branch and the Congress over key policy issues, on this issue both branches of government are clearly united. Only three days ago, the House of Representatives in Washington unanimously adopted a resolution endorsing the draft resolution that we are considering here today.

28. The adoption of this resolution by the Congress, without a dissenting vote, is indicative of the strong bipartisan consensus in our country in favour of the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea and of self-determination for the Kampuchean people. But while we fully intend to continue supporting this effort by the United Nations to resolve the Kampuchean problem, we also think it is important for Viet Nam to know that if and when it is prepared to withdraw its forces from Kampuchea, in the context of the kind of peaceful solution of the problem envisioned by this resolution, the United States will be prepared to adopt a different attitude towards it.

29. Unfortunately, the need to consider and adopt, year after year, these resolutions on Kampuchea is testimony to the stubborn policy of military conquest and colonization being pursued by Hanoi in disregard of the collective judgement of the international community and in violation of the Charter of the United Nations. Viet Nam's continued illegal occupation of its neighbour, in defiance of four successive resolutions of the General Assembly, weakens the security of all nations and is the fundamental source of instability in South-East Asia. All of us bear the burdens of Hanoi's unchecked and continuing aggression.

30. It is, of course, the Kampuchean people themselves who suffer most from Hanoi's policies. Nearly 230,000 Khmer civilians, encamped along the Thai-Kampuchean border, live in constant fear of Vietnamese attacks. From January to April of this year, Vietnamese forces launched a series of massive assaults, backed by armour and heavy artillery, against these civilian encampments. Hundreds of civilians were killed or wounded in these attacks and more than 85,000 were forced to flee to safety inside Thailand. There have been reports of atrocities by the attacking troops against civilians. The world community has reacted in horror to these attacks, which have been condemned by the United States and other Governments. The United Nations Economic and Social Council has asked the Secretary-General to investigate charges of atrocities committed by the occupying troops of Viet Nam.

31. In this regard, we wish again to express our sincere appreciation to the Secretary-General and his Special Representative for Humanitarian Assistance to the Kampuchean People, Sir Robert Jackson, for their efforts on behalf of the Khmer people uprooted by invasion and war. The staffs of UNBRO, WFP, UNHCR, and other United Nations specialized agencies, the International Committee of the Red Cross and the various voluntary organizations continued their untiring work in providing emergency food and medical care to the Kampuchean people, often in dangerous and hostile conditions caused by Vietnamese attacks. They deserve the heartfelt thanks and commendation of the international community.

Appreciation is also due to those members of the international community who have continued to support efforts to assist the Kampuchean people through their contributions to UNBRO and the other agencies involved in relief efforts. We must continue these efforts until the time when the Kampuchean people along the Thai-Kampuchean border can return to their homes in safety. My Government will continue its efforts and it hopes that other Members will join us in ensuring that this vital assistance continues to reach those Kampucheans still in need.

32. Vietnamese repression against Khmer civilians now is more evident in the interior as well. In their frustration at growing support for the resistance, the Vietnamese launched a major security crackdown and pacification campaign in western Kampuchea in May and June of this year. According to the reports of those who fled, hundreds of villagers were arrested. Torture was used in an effort to coerce those arrested into "confessing" their support for the resistance. Many of those arrested have not yet returned to their villages and some have reportedly been killed. Thousands of Khmer, including entire villages, have been driven by this crackdown to seek refuge along the Thai-Kampuchean border. They have told of beatings, torture, theft, rape and other excesses by Vietnamese troops—and these are the actions of an army which claims to protect the Kampuchean people.

33. The security crackdown has even extended to the ranks of the Heng Samrin régime. Scores of middle-level officials have been arrested or detained for questioning about suspected resistance sympathies. This demonstrates that the Vietnamese are not welcomed by the Kampuchean people. Despite its best efforts, even those chosen for their presumed loyalty are now suspected by the Vietnamese of supporting resistance efforts. Viet Nam faces an increasing resurgence of Khmer nationalism against its occupation army and its client régime.

34. What sort of régime has Hanoi created? Despite propaganda claims originating in Hanoi, the Heng Samrin régime does not enjoy the support of the Khmer people. It does not have loyal officials to administer the country. Vietnamese advisers dominate the civil administration, a fact reflecting the régime's inability to function effectively. Heng Samrin officials act only on sufferance of their Vietnamese advisers who hold real power. The Heng Samrin régime recently agreed to Viet Nam's position on the delineation of the Vietnamese-Kampuchean border, something every previous Kampuchean Government has refused to accept. These are not the actions of an independent government, but of one controlled by outsiders.

35. The very fact that Hanoi remains compelled, nearly five years after its invasion, to maintain a costly army of occupation of 150,000 to 170,000 in Kampuchea to prop up its client régime points up Hanoi's failure and the Heng Samrin régime's failure as well. Viet Nam bears the full weight of maintaining security and defending the régime. Despite increased conscription, the régime's own army remains weak and ineffective, plagued by widespread desertions. Without Viet Nam's protection, the régime would rapidly collapse. In 1982, Viet Nam claimed that it was withdrawing a portion of its army. There was no evidence of a genuine withdrawal and, in fact, the evidence clearly shows that Viet Nam acted to replace soldiers who had completed their military service and to strengthen its military forces in Kampuchea in a troop rotation exercise.

36. This year, Viet Nam staged another so-called troop withdrawal, but again the evidence indicates that there was no reduction in Vietnamese troop strength in Kampuchea. This second claimed withdrawal was simply a reorganization of Hanoi's occupation forces and part of

its annual troop rotation. Hanoi has claimed that it will make future withdrawals based on the security situation. Such a unilateral policy ignores the legitimate interests of its neighbours and the international community.

37. Hanoi would have us think that its policies in Kampuchea are based on saving the Khmer people from the Khmer Rouge. It is well documented that the ranks of Hanoi's client Heng Samrin régime are filled with former officials of the detested Pol Pot régime, including Heng Samrin himself and the Foreign Minister, Hun Sen. There is a double hypocrisy here in that Viet Nam supported the Khmer Rouge both before 1975, when the genocidal régime was installed in power, and after. It was only after Hanoi came into conflict with and toppled the Khmer Rouge that the Vietnamese Government belatedly condemned the Khmer Rouge's atrocities in an effort to promote an image of itself as the saviour of the Kampuchean people.

38. The presence in the General Assembly of the representatives of Democratic Kampuchea demonstrates that the international community will not accept a client Kampuchean régime imposed by Viet Nam. Past Vietnamese efforts to challenge the credentials of Democratic Kampuchea were soundly defeated by large majorities in the General Assembly. This year Viet Nam shrank from even challenging Democratic Kampuchea's right to be represented here. The formation in 1982 of the Khmer coalition broadened Democratic Kampuchea to include nationalist groups led by Prince Sihanouk and former Prime Minister Son Sann. We have been impressed by the response the Khmer people have shown to the leadership of these two respected representatives of Khmer nationalism.

39. Furthermore, in the past year thousands of refugees have fled Vietnamese-controlled areas to join the non-communists along the border. The growing number of forces loyal to Prince Sihanouk and Son Sann are increasingly active inside Kampuchea. The leadership of these two dedicated nationalists gives the Kampuchean people renewed hope, in contrast to the grim choice between a Vietnamese-controlled régime or a return of the Khmer Rouge. We welcome their presence in the United Nations. The international community will benefit from their participation and the opportunity to hear the authentic voice of Khmer nationalism.

40. Originally, the Vietnamese justified their invasion of Cambodia in terms of saving the Kampuchean people from themselves. Now the Vietnamese claim their reason for occupying Kampuchea is a perceived threat from China. These facile and transparent justifications for aggression cannot obscure the obvious fact that Hanoi has sought for three decades to dominate all of Indo-China.

41. Since the General Assembly last considered the situation in Kampuchea we have begun receiving disturbing reports of massive Vietnamese immigration into Kampuchea, apparently endorsed by Hanoi and the Heng Samrin authorities. Documents of the Vietnamese-controlled Heng Samrin régime and refugee reports reveal that thousands of Vietnamese civilians are now settling in Kampuchea in what appears to be a deliberate, long-term plan by Hanoi to alter the demographic make-up of the Kampuchean nation. Refugees report that Vietnamese farmers, fishermen and merchants are displacing Khmer in rich farming and fishing areas and in marketplaces as well. The Heng Samrin régime has acknowledged the existence of the directives which appear to reflect official support for this large-scale Vietnamese immigration.

42. When combined with Vietnamese-imposed changes in Kampuchean administration and Khmer society, this

immigration raises serious questions about Hanoi's intentions in Kampuchea. Viet Nam is often depicted in Khmer mythology as a crocodile trying to swallow its smaller neighbour. Viet Nam's attempts to colonize and absorb Kampuchea arouse among Kampuchean fears for the future existence, let alone the independence, of their country.

43. The costs to Viet Nam of its foreign war are exacting. Hanoi is at odds with China, estranged from its neighbours in ASEAN and isolated in the international community. Viet Nam, with a per capita income of less than \$200, maintains the world's third largest standing army. The burden of this ponderous military apparatus and the costs of Hanoi's military adventures fall on the shoulders of Vietnamese farmers, labourers and draftees, many of whom continue to risk their very lives each year as boat people in search of freedom rather than remain in Viet Nam. Soviet assistance exceeding \$1 billion a year supports Viet Nam's war effort but increases Hanoi's dependence on Moscow. Viet Nam's Kampuchea quagmire will in time, we hope, convince Hanoi's leaders that they cannot subjugate the Khmer people. Political isolation abroad, economic deterioration at home and a growing realization of the price it pays for Soviet support in terms of sacrificing its historical independence will eventually lead Hanoi to the realization that a comprehensive political solution to the Kampuchean problem is in its own long-term interests.

44. The door to a fair and just settlement remains open. The five member countries of ASEAN have pursued a flexible and unselfish course in this regard. Under ASEAN's leadership, the General Assembly resolutions on Kampuchea and the International Conference on Kampuchea held in July 1981 outline a basis for a comprehensive political settlement in Kampuchea based on the complete withdrawal of foreign forces, restoration of Khmer self-determination through free elections supervised by the United Nations, and non-intervention and non-interference in Kampuchean internal affairs. All of the elements for a settlement are in place. Such a settlement would meet the essential interests of all the parties involved and would restore to the Kampuchean people their right to control their own destiny.

45. No one, least of all the Kampuchean people, wishes to see those responsible for the atrocities of 1975 to 1978 return to power. If Viet Nam is reluctant to withdraw because it fears that were it to do so the Khmer Rouge would return to Phnom Penh, the answer is that the resolutions provide a mechanism specifically designed to prevent such an outcome.

46. The opportunity is there for Viet Nam. Peace is within its grasp. By agreeing to withdraw from Kampuchea in accordance with the terms of the resolutions it can both make possible the self-determination of the Kampuchean people and simultaneously protect its legitimate security concerns.

47. Instead, Viet Nam has continued trying to consolidate its hold on Kampuchea through military action, to legitimize its client régime and to confuse international opinion through phoney troop withdrawals and calls for discussions on a South-East Asian zone of peace. All of this ignores the real source of instability and the real threat to peace in the region, which is Viet Nam's continued occupation of Kampuchea.

48. The members of ASEAN recently presented "An appeal for Kampuchean independence" [A/38/441, annex]. This appeal calls on Hanoi to demonstrate its sincere desire for peace by committing itself to a phased total withdrawal of its forces in Kampuchea, with a definite period to be worked out as part of negotiations. This

proposal, which is consistent with the principles of the International Conference on Kampuchea, can be accepted by reasonable Governments genuinely seeking the restoration and salvation of the Kampuchean nation. It would produce a free and neutral Kampuchea, a threat to none of its neighbours, respecting the fundamental rights of all its citizens. Hanoi's leaders should accept this opportunity for a settlement.

49. Such a settlement would then permit the Khmer people, with the help of the international community—including the United Nations—to turn to the task of rebuilding their country. Ravaged by conflict, famine, genocide and foreign aggression, Kampuchea's recovery will be a long-term and formidable task. The task of bringing peace to Kampuchea, however, is potentially less formidable. It would also end Viet Nam's international isolation, restore Viet Nam's dignity and freedom of action, and permit it to begin healing the wounds of 40 years of warfare and raise the living conditions of the Vietnamese people. All it takes is a step towards compromise and justice. The world, and above all the people, the tragic, long-suffering people of Kampuchea, are waiting for Viet Nam to take that one small step towards peace.

50. Mr. SHUSTOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): Once again the General Assembly, disgressing from other, real business relating to the basic problems of the maintenance of international peace and security, is obliged to engage in a discussion of the artificially inscribed question of the situation in Kampuchea. The desire to embroil the United Nations in the consideration of the internal situation in Kampuchea and to delve into its foreign policy is nothing other than an attempt to use the authority of the Organization to cover up interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign State, the People's Republic of Kampuchea. The illegality of such a discussion is also emphasized by the fact that it is taking place in circumstances under which the Kampuchean people are denied the right to speak at the United Nations inasmuch as they do not have their representatives here.

51. Now, at a time when the situation in the world is becoming dangerously tense and exacerbated, as a result of the aggressive militarist policy of the United States and certain other Western countries, the provocative hullabaloo whipped up over the question of the so-called Kampuchean situation is just a means of confusing international public opinion and diverting the attention of the United Nations from the vitally important problems involved in the prevention of a nuclear catastrophe and the guaranteeing of the peace and security of the peoples. This is yet one more reason why the Soviet delegation opposed the inclusion of this question on the agenda of this session of the General Assembly.

52. We fully endorse the position of the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, which regards this discussion in the General Assembly as an intolerable encroachment on the sovereignty of its country. We also decisively support the demand of the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea for the expulsion from the United Nations of those who have dubbed themselves the representatives of the in fact non-existent Democratic Kampuchea. They actually represent no one, other than the Pol-Potists and the Khmer reactionary forces who have been rejected by their own people and thrown on the scrap heap of history and have entered into a conspiracy with the Pol-Potists. The genocidal régime responsible for the destruction of more than 3 million totally innocent Kampucheans has no place in the United Nations. The only legitimate representative of the Kampuchean

people is the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, and it alone can speak and vote on behalf of Kampuchea in the United Nations and other international forums.

53. If anyone is truly interested in what is happening in today's Kampuchea, he can discover from various sources, including Western sources, that that country, after the barbarous bombings by the United States Air Force, after several years of government by the anti-popular puppet régime of Lon Nol and after the bloody genocide of the Pol Pot dictatorship, has at long last embarked upon the road to rebirth.

54. Where, before, the population was subjected to extermination, where there was the threat of starvation, now peaceful constructive life has been restored. Those who have visited Kampuchea, or intend to, will see that the Kampuchean peasants have actively started to work again. They have begun to cultivate 130,000 hectares of land abandoned under the Pol-Potists. In four years the number of head of cattle has grown to 1.4 million. In 1982 about 70,000 tons of fish were caught, and the population is being supplied with vegetables and fruits.

55. Work has been resumed by hundreds of industrial and communal economy enterprises and craftsmen; transport and postal links have been restored. The education and public health sectors have been developed successfully again. Every fourth citizen in Kampuchea is now attending school; in 1983, 1.6 million Kampuchean children attended school. There are five institutes of higher learning operating in the country; books and newspapers are being published and cultural institutions and theatres are again operating.

56. The State has guaranteed freedom of religious belief. It has returned to the Kampuchean soil the mass national festivals symbolizing the process of rebirth of the culture of Kampuchea, involving all the population, young and old, men and women. The pulse of this new life is particularly palpable in Phnom Penh, the political and cultural centre of Kampuchea, which now occupies its rightful place among the capitals of the countries of Indo-China and South-East Asia.

57. The speaker who preceded me painted thickly in dark colours his picture of life in Kampuchea today. That was a lie and a fabrication from beginning to end. I urge all members not to believe the words of that speaker. They were spoken by the representative of a Government that more than any other in the world has brought distress, suffering, death and destruction to the peoples of Indo-China, including the people of Kampuchea. Those words were spoken by the representative of a country which used napalm and toxic chemicals to exterminate millions of Lao, Kampucheans and Vietnamese. If the Government of that country had any conscience its representative would not come to this rostrum and say such things.

58. In the almost five years that have elapsed since the establishment of the People's Republic of Kampuchea the world public has had an opportunity to become convinced of the stability of the people's power in Kampuchea and of the people's trust in it. In that country, as is well known, democratic elections to the National Assembly have been laid. A constitution has been adopted and the organs of State authority have been established and are functioning successfully, both centrally and locally. They are going to have to overcome considerable difficulties in the way of national recovery, but they will do so.

59. The Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea has been following a humanitarian course in respect of refugees and is prepared to facilitate their

return to their country. It has declared that Kampuchean people who were tricked into hostile activity against the people of their own country and have broken away from such activity now have a real opportunity of becoming full nationals of Kampuchea if they return voluntarily and recognize the Constitution of the country.

60. In the international sphere, the People's Republic of Kampuchea, as a non-aligned country, has unwaveringly advocated good-neighbourly relations and co-operation with neighbouring States and the strengthening of peace and security in the region and throughout the world and of national independence, democracy and social progress.

Mr. Illueca (Panama) took the Chair.

61. It is regrettable that once again the Assembly has been dragged into a discussion whose true initiators hope thereby to make further use of the United Nations for interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign State, that is, the People's Republic of Kampuchea. For this purpose they are dragging out the argument that the overthrow by the Kampuchean people of the bloody régime of Pol Pot, Ieng Sary and Khieu Samphan and the advent of people's power in Kampuchea constitute a threat to the security of Thailand and other members of ASEAN and a cause of tension in South-East Asia. At the same time the Pol Pot régime is in fact being defended, the crimes it committed against the Kampuchean people and mankind are being glossed over, and the obvious fact that the Kampuchean people, by putting an end to that genocidal régime, has exercised its right to life is being disguised—and all this is being done within the walls of an organization that has condemned genocide as the gravest crime against mankind.

62. The true reason for the tension in South-East Asia, both in the past and now, is the interference by external forces in the affairs of the region. This was convincingly demonstrated by specific facts in the statements of the Vice-President of the Council of Ministers and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Lao People's Democratic Republic, Mr. Sipaseuth [20th meeting], and the Foreign Minister of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, Nguyen Co Thach [24th meeting], in the general debate at this session of the General Assembly. In their efforts to regain the positions lost as a result of the victories of the peoples of Laos, Viet Nam and Kampuchea in their national liberation struggle, the forces of imperialism and hegemonism are doing their utmost to thwart the building of a new, peaceful life in those countries and are pursuing a policy of dividing the countries of the region and provoking confrontation between them. One cannot fail to be alarmed by the plans of the United States to draw the members of ASEAN into their planning of military strategy and by the militarization of that group, which is being carried on with the active help of the United States.

63. In its arsenal of means of action against the countries of Indo-China, use is being made not only of political, diplomatic and economic means of exerting pressure, but also of psychological warfare, armed provocations and subversive actions designed to destabilize those countries.

64. Such is the truth if it is separated from the rhetoric that we now hear from the rostrum of the United Nations about respect for the sovereignty of Kampuchea, the right of the Kampuchean people to self-determination and a political settlement of the Kampuchean problem. Even the humanitarian assistance that is being given, in particular under the auspices of the United Nations, is being channelled to support the Pol-Potists and other Khmer reactionaries and their armed bands, which have taken refuge in Thailand and, with the direct connivance and

assistance of the Thai authorities, are engaging in bandit-like raids on the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

65. One cannot fail to realize that the ruling circles of the ASEAN countries have been drawn into this anti-communist hullabaloo. They have expended considerable resources and energy to keep the non-existent problem of Kampuchea afloat and are making efforts worthy of a better cause to prevent the national rebirth of Kampuchea. And they have not given up hope of changing the social structure in Kampuchea and imposing on the Kampuchean people a coalition of Pol-Potists and other Khmer reactionaries.

66. The unrealistic and short-sighted policy of the initiators of the inscription of the Kampuchean question on the agenda of the General Assembly has been reflected in their draft resolution. It is not difficult to see that if the basic provisions of that draft resolution were to be put into effect, Kampuchea would once again be returned to a situation of chaos, strife, bloodshed and hardship which would affect the entire region. That could be the principal consequence of acceding to the demand for the unilateral withdrawal of the Vietnamese volunteers from Kampuchea, while the Pol-Potists and their protectors would be left with a free hand. This is precisely what the draft resolution is aimed at. If the demands in the draft resolution were met, the armed gangs of the Pol-Potist clique, which is now recognized in the United Nations as the legitimate Government, would be entitled to return to Kampuchea. There can be no doubt that the Pol-Potists would try to take their revenge and would again impose on the Kampuchean people the yoke of genocide, while directing the sharp edge of their aggressive policy against the neighbouring countries of Indo-China. It ought to be clear to all that this cannot be allowed to happen.

67. There are no grounds for affirming, as the authors of the draft resolution try to do, that the reason for the tension in South-East Asia is the presence of Vietnamese troops in Kampuchea. Viet Nam and Kampuchea do not seek to encroach on the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the neighbouring ASEAN countries. As was emphasized in the statement of high Government officials of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, the Lao People's Democratic Republic and the People's Republic of Kampuchea at the Summit Conference held at Vientiane on 22 and 23 February 1983 [A/38/98, annex II], the Vietnamese volunteers will be withdrawn from Kampuchea when the external threat to the People's Republic of Kampuchea has been removed, when the territory of Thailand is no longer used as a springboard for subversive activities against the People's Republic of Kampuchea, and when support and assistance to the Pol-Potists and other Khmer reactionaries have been stopped. As is well known, after the first withdrawal of the group of Vietnamese volunteer troops in 1982, in May of this year there was another partial withdrawal of Vietnamese volunteers from Kampuchea. It has been announced that as conditions become right the withdrawal of Vietnamese volunteer units will continue. Those facts are clear testimony to the temporary nature of the presence of Vietnamese volunteers in Kampuchea. It is also well known that those decisions taken by the Vietnamese Government are serious decisions that will be scrupulously carried out.

68. The true path to détente in South-East Asia and to the establishment of normal, mutually beneficial relations between the States of the region is not through the adoption by the General Assembly of lopsided resolutions which are beneficial to some but rejected by others. Nor is it through the inflation of imaginary problems and interference in the affairs of countries of the region. The

problems of the region can and must be resolved through a dialogue between the countries of the region. However, the internal structure and situation in Kampuchea clearly cannot be a subject for international negotiations; that is the business of the Kampucheans themselves.

69. The Indo-Chinese countries have frequently made specific proposals to the ASEAN States. On 19 and 20 June 1983, the Foreign Ministers of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, the People's Republic of Kampuchea and the Lao People's Democratic Republic, at their Seventh Conference, held at Phnom Penh, again made a number of constructive proposals to open the way for a dialogue in the region [see A/38/316]. In particular, they proposed as a basis for a dialogue with the ASEAN countries the Political Declaration adopted at the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi from 7 to 12 March 1983.

70. In this connection, the First Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Mr. Gromyko, made the following statement on 20 September of this year at a reception in honour of the Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Foreign Minister of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, Mr. Hun Sen:

“The cause of the improvement of the political climate in South-East Asia is promoted by the policies pursued by the People's Republic of Kampuchea, together with the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and the Lao People's Democratic Republic, in order to convert that region into a zone of peace and establish a dialogue between the countries of Indo-China and the ASEAN States. We express our support for this policy”.

71. The constructive approach of the Indo-Chinese countries was persuasively reflected in the four-point position outlined by the Foreign Minister of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam in the general debate at the 24th meeting of this session. Nobody interested in the establishment of peace and stability in South-East Asia can fail to agree with that realistic and reasonable position.

72. The Soviet Union is convinced that the elimination of tension in South-East Asia and the establishment there of a climate of trust and good-neighbourliness would be in the interest of the peoples and States of the region and also in the broad interest of security throughout Asia and the world as a whole. Our country resolutely opposes the abuse of United Nations machinery to support the Pol-Potist criminals and the Khmer reactionaries who are intriguing with them, and advocates their prompt expulsion from the Organization.

73. The United Nations will not live up to the hopes placed in it and will find itself left out of the process of a settlement in South-East Asia if it bases its position on recognition of the legitimacy of the genocidal Pol-Potist régime.

74. It is necessary to put an end to the activities of the *Ad Hoc* Committee of the so-called International Conference on Kampuchea, which is financed out of the United Nations budget, as being against the interests of the peoples of Indo-China and the normalization of the situation in South-East Asia.

75. Finally, instead of providing sustenance for the remnants of the Pol-Potist gangs outside Kampuchea's borders, the United Nations should provide more substantial assistance to the Kampuchean people in the restoration of their country.

76. In referring to those points, we wish to emphasize also that it is the duty of the United Nations to promote the normalization of the situation in South-East Asia and

the achievement of normal relations of good-neighbourliness and co-operation among the countries of the region. In particular, the United Nations could make its contribution to the development of a dialogue between the Indo-Chinese and ASEAN countries in the quest for a settlement of the problems existing between them on the basis of equality of rights, respect for sovereignty, non-interference in internal affairs and recognition of the need to take due account of each other's interests.

77. We will support any efforts to develop the dialogue and we are ready to contribute to such a commendable process. We reserve our right to state our position on this matter in due course when the General Assembly comes to discuss the question of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia.

78. In the solution of the many complex problems of national reconstruction, the Kampuchean people can count on the comprehensive assistance and support of the socialist countries. As far as the Soviet Union is concerned, it has provided and will continue to provide the Kampuchean people with the necessary assistance. For example, after 1979, in order to help the People's Republic of Kampuchea in the integrated restoration of their economy, the Soviet Union provided its Government with free assistance or long-term interest-free loans for the implementation in the period from 1980 to 1985 of work on 50 facilities and fields of activity. This aid is provided in a planned manner, on a long-term basis, according to mutually agreed programmes, through the implementation of planning and the provision of supplies and equipment and experts. Help is provided in the construction and reconstruction of industrial and agricultural facilities and in the fields of transport, telecommunications and public health and in the training of national experts in other spheres.

79. Last year alone, \$70.8 billion worth of goods were exported from the Soviet Union to the People's Republic of Kampuchea, and petroleum products, trucks, earth-moving equipment, bulldozers, tractors, automobiles, spare parts for machinery and equipment, ferrous metal castings, paper, fabrics, soap and other products were supplied to Kampuchea. At the same time goods were still being supplied free of charge, to a total amount of \$16.1 million. We hope that those who now provide sustenance for the Pol-Potist bands and egg them on to carry out provocations against the People's Republic of Kampuchea will not lose sight of this Soviet assistance—Soviet assistance which is expressed not just in words but in deeds.

80. In conclusion, my delegation wishes to express its hope that common sense will at long last prevail and that an end will be put to the ignoble manoeuvres in respect of Kampuchea, which undermine the authority of the United Nations. Attempts to prevent the construction of a new life and to divert the Kampuchean people from its chosen path are pure illusions. The people of Kampuchea has determined the social order of its country and is itself choosing its own friends and those it will rely on. No one has the right to interfere from outside in its internal affairs. No one can turn back the political and socio-economic development of Kampuchea. This process is irreversible.

81. Mr. OULD HAMODY (Mauritania) (*interpretation from French*): Once again, the delegation of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania wishes to express profound disappointment at the lack of any really encouraging development with regard to a clear expression of political will by a party which is essential to a peaceful solution to the tragedy inflicted since 1979 on the Khmer people. And yet, particularly since 1981, we have noted certain

developments which, though inadequate, are nevertheless promising.

82. First, the International Conference on Kampuchea, held here from 13 to 17 July 1981, and the Declaration¹ and resolution² adopted by all participants have established the proper framework—namely, the United Nations Organization—and the appropriate means—that is to say, negotiation—to achieve a genuine solution of the conflict. Then last year, the establishment of a tripartite Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, under the presidency of Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, demonstrated that resistance was based on a national Khmer consensus in a broad and representative national front.

83. Our country, which has always been friendly with all three of the Indo-Chinese peoples—Lao, Khmer and Vietnamese—is increasingly concerned by the continuation of the war in Kampuchea, with the usual cycle of invasion and resistance and the ensuing train of horror and destruction.

84. And so, more than ever, we reiterate our support for all the resolutions adopted by the Organization since its thirty-fourth session in 1979, urging a return to general peace over the whole peninsula and mutual respect for national sovereignty among these three nations.

85. In this connection, we would particularly like to mention the conclusions of the International Conference on Kampuchea and General Assembly resolution 37/6. Moreover, as a co-sponsor of draft resolution A/38/L.2 and Add.1, which is now before the Assembly, Mauritania would like to recall its unwavering position on this question. Its policy is based on the need for a total withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea and an end to foreign interference in the internal affairs of that country. In the view of our delegation, the international community, whose only true expression is to be found in the General Assembly, will have to ensure the achievement of these two requirements by peaceful, negotiated means, in order to facilitate the restoration and preservation of the independence, national sovereignty and territorial integrity of Democratic Kampuchea, and to enable the Kampuchean people to determine its own destiny by means of a free and democratic choice. By so doing, in keeping with its vocation, the Organization can re-establish the essential principles of the spirit and letter of the Charter of the United Nations and of the whole doctrine established by our community in the many resolutions adopted since the first session of the General Assembly.

86. We will thus also have contributed to a reduction of the tension in South-East Asia and to a lessening of the suffering of the Indo-Chinese peoples, who deserve our admiration. These three peoples, for whom we reaffirm our sympathy, respect and friendship, deserve this for having endured such sacrifices to achieve their freedom and for having suffered such hardships since 1945, the very year, coincidentally, in which our founding fathers signed the Charter of the United Nations.

87. Mr. LONG Qing (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): This is now the fifth time that the Kampuchean question, which attracts world-wide attention, is being considered by the General Assembly. Resolutions have been passed, with overwhelming majorities, at the previous four sessions, calling for the total withdrawal of foreign troops from Kampuchea so that the Kampuchean people can exercise their right to self-determination free from outside interference. All this reflects the grave concern of the international community over the Kampuchean situation and represents the voice of justice on the part of many third-world countries and their peoples. However, flouting the resolutions of the previous sessions

of the General Assembly, the Vietnamese authorities have refused to withdraw their troops from Kampuchea. And this is the root cause of the failure to find a just solution to the Kampuchean question. It is therefore an urgent task facing the international community today to give continued support to all sections of the patriotic forces of Kampuchea in their struggle against foreign aggression, and to expose the various tricks played by the Vietnamese authorities in connection with the Kampuchean issue so as to compel Viet Nam to carry out the United Nations resolutions and unconditionally withdraw all its aggressor troops from Kampuchea.

88. In the past year, the Kampuchean people and their armed forces have kept up the struggle amid untold hardships, and smashed the fifth dry-season offensive mounted by the Vietnamese troops. The Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea headed by Prince Norodom Sihanouk has withstood severe tests on the military, political and diplomatic fronts. It has strengthened the co-operation and unity of all sections of the patriotic forces, extended its influence at home and abroad, and promoted the successful development of the Kampuchean people's struggle against Vietnamese aggression in defence of their country. The emergence of this new situation is very encouraging indeed.

89. Nevertheless, the Vietnamese authorities are still sticking obdurately to their policy of aggression against Kampuchea despite increasing difficulties on the battlefield, growing isolation in the international arena and diminishing domestic support for their policy of expansion. The Vietnamese aggressor troops are occupying large tracts of Kampuchean territory and continue to launch wild attacks on the Kampuchean liberated areas in a vain attempt to destroy the patriotic Kampuchean forces. They have continued to bombard refugee camps and villages, killing innocent refugees and peaceful civilians. They have time and again made incursions into Thai territory and asserted on many occasions that there would be an "escalation of antagonism" and a "possible extension of conflicts" in an effort to make military threat and blackmail against Thailand and other ASEAN countries.

90. Particularly noteworthy is the fact that in the past few years Viet Nam has transported hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese to Kampuchea for settlement so as to assimilate the Kampuchean nation, plunder its natural resources and step up the scheme of Vietnamization. This is a vicious plot to perpetuate their occupation of Kampuchea. The Vietnamese authorities claim that settlement of Vietnamese in Kampuchea has the approval of the Phnom Penh Government, but this Government is just a puppet of Viet Nam. Its approval is but another name for endorsement from Hanoi. Such a claim only shows unwittingly that the Vietnamese authorities are admitting the fact of Vietnamization in Kampuchea.

91. In persisting in their war of aggression against Kampuchea, the Vietnamese authorities defy United Nations resolutions by various means. Apart from the old tricks of spreading the myth of the "Chinese threat" and calling for "collective dialogue" between Indo-China and the ASEAN countries, they have tried hard this year to dish up quite a few new ones in order to hoodwink international opinion and extricate themselves from isolation.

92. One of the new tricks is to invent the lie that the Kampuchean issue is "an issue between China and Viet Nam". People can clearly recall that the Kampuchean issue arose only after Viet Nam invaded and occupied Kampuchea by armed force at the end of 1978. The armed invasion of Kampuchea by Viet Nam is an armed occupation of a neighbouring country through the use of military force. It is a crucial step in Viet Nam's scheme,

supported by a super-Power, to establish an "Indo-Chinese federation" and then to proceed with its expansion towards South-East Asia. In doing so, it not only tramples underfoot the independence and sovereignty of Kampuchea but also poses a serious threat to peace and security in South-East Asia as well as in Asia at large; therefore the Kampuchean issue is one of the Kampuchean people fighting to oppose Vietnamese aggression and an issue in the struggle by ASEAN countries, China and all the other justice-upholding countries and peoples against aggression and for peace in South-East Asia and the world. It is in no case a bilateral issue between China and Viet Nam, nor is it a regional issue between ASEAN countries and the countries of Indo-China.

93. As far as Sino-Vietnamese relations are concerned, the peoples of the two countries have a tradition of friendship of long standing. The efforts made by the Chinese Government and people to strengthen and enhance this friendship are well known to all and have even been admitted by the Vietnamese leaders themselves. Of course there had been some problems and disputes between the two countries, but the rapid worsening of relations between them came only after Viet Nam invaded Kampuchea. The causes are not difficult to find. These are China's determined opposition to the Vietnamese policy of aggression and expansion, firm support for the Kampuchean people's struggle against Vietnamese aggression in defence of their independence and sovereignty, and the upholding of justice on the Kampuchean question together with the international community.

94. At present, the Kampuchean issue has undoubtedly become a major obstacle to the restoration of normal relations between China and Viet Nam. For this reason, the Chinese Government has repeatedly stated that, provided Viet Nam undertakes to withdraw unconditionally from Kampuchea and takes practical steps to this end, the Chinese side will be ready for talks to normalize the relations between the two countries. Moreover, China agrees that after the withdrawal of the Vietnamese troops a plebiscite should be held in the new and independent Kampuchea under United Nations supervision to elect its Government. China sincerely hopes that the elected Government will maintain friendly and good-neighbourly relations with all its neighbouring countries, including Viet Nam. All this demonstrates the just position of China, which seeks no selfish gains of its own. Obviously, the Kampuchean issue is not an "issue between China and Viet Nam", as the Vietnamese authorities would have us believe. This argument of theirs is nothing but an attempt to cover up Vietnamese aggression against Kampuchea.

95. Trick number two is the farce of "partial troop withdrawal". Since their swindle of "partial troop withdrawal" last year was exposed and condemned by the international community, the Vietnamese authorities spared no expense in making a big fuss over the same trick last May, when they held various kinds of ceremonies with much fanfare in both Phnom Penh and Ho Chi Minh City. They even invited some foreign correspondents to the show. However, according to the eyewitness reports of those foreign correspondents, only 1,500 persons turned out to the ceremony. At this pace, it will take more than one hundred years for the Vietnamese aggressor troops to withdraw from Kampuchea. What is more, facts amply prove that what the Vietnamese did was nothing but a garrison relief, and it is simply a hoax to describe this as troop withdrawal.

96. If Viet Nam has a sincere desire to implement the resolutions of the General Assembly and undertakes to pull out all troops from Kampuchea, it may be possible

to consider withdrawing troops in batches as a specific way of troop withdrawal, but there must be an explicit timetable for the troop withdrawal, which should be undertaken under supervision and should not drag on too long. In the mean time, no troops should be sent to Kampuchea again in any form or under any pretext. This is the only way to show a sincere desire for troop withdrawal. Otherwise, it will be meaningless even if the Vietnamese authorities could give their aggressor troops a name that would sound better than "volunteers" or stage more and bigger withdrawal ceremonies.

97. Trick number three is the claim that Viet Nam is in favour of Kampuchea's independence, neutrality and non-alignment and that Viet Nam has the same goal as ASEAN. But, as is well known to all, the independent, neutral and non-aligned status of Kampuchea, as advocated by the Chinese Government and the international community, is predicated on the total withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea and self-determination of the Kampuchean people. This has been laid down explicitly in the previous resolutions of the General Assembly. On the other hand, what the Vietnamese authorities mean by Kampuchea's independence, neutrality and non-alignment is to legitimize the Heng Samrin puppet régime and to demand recognition by the international community of the *fait accompli* of the Vietnamese occupation of Kampuchea. Though identical in wording, they are diametrically opposed in meaning. If Viet Nam is really in favour of Kampuchea's independence, neutrality and non-alignment, why has it refused to implement the relevant United Nations resolutions? Nguyen Co Thach, the Vietnamese Foreign Minister, had to admit that, although Viet Nam's wording is similar to that of other countries, this should not be construed as identity of their positions, and that some formulations are similar only in appearance. His remarks belie the claim that Viet Nam is "in favour of Kampuchea's independence, neutrality and non-alignment".

98. Viet Nam's war of aggression against Kampuchea has been going on for almost five years. It has not only brought untold hardships to the Kampuchean people, but also posed a serious threat to peace and stability in the South-East Asian region. Like the peace-loving and justice-upholding countries and peoples all over the world, the Chinese Government and people sincerely hope for a just and reasonable settlement of the question of Kampuchea at an early date, so that the national independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Kampuchea will be restored as soon as possible and the Kampuchean people will again live a peaceful and happy life, and so that the Vietnamese people, who have suffered grievously from decades of war, will be able to rebuild their homeland in earnest. However, in order to perpetuate their occupation of Kampuchea, the Vietnamese authorities have all along defied the United Nations resolutions and the Declaration of the International Conference on Kampuchea¹ and have not shown the least good faith in withdrawing their troops from Kampuchea. In the face of such stark reality, the international community cannot but, in accordance with United Nations resolutions and the principles of the Declaration of the International Conference on Kampuchea, take every measure to expose and condemn in time the crimes and schemes of the aggressors and to render powerful support in every way to the Kampuchean people in their struggle for national liberation. This is the right way to achieve an early solution of the Kampuchean question.

99. It is the hope of the Chinese Government that, adhering to the principle followed by previous sessions of the General Assembly that Viet Nam must withdraw

its troops from Kampuchea so as to let the Kampuchean people determine their own destiny, the current session of the Assembly will make new contributions towards creating conditions for the settlement of the Kampuchean question, upholding justice and the dignity of mankind and safeguarding the Charter of the United Nations and the basic norms of international relations. We appreciate the draft resolution jointly proposed by the five ASEAN countries and other States and call on all Member States to support it.

100. Mr. ALATAS (Indonesia): The stark reality of continuing conflict and human tragedy in Kampuchea remains a matter of deep concern to the international community and especially to the neighbouring countries of South-East Asia. The fact that for the fifth year in succession the General Assembly is again deliberating the fate of this tormented land is a graphic reminder of this. During those years the Organization has made every effort to arrive at a political solution, but successive resolutions to that effect have remained unheeded. Foreign forces are still in Kampuchea today, and its people are still being denied their inherent right to determine their own future under a government of their own choice. Moreover, the situation in Kampuchea continues to be the primary source of tension in South-East Asia today and has caused a severe setback in the emergence of new patterns of relationships based on harmony and mutual co-operation, in a region which for so long has been the arena of internecine strife and great-Power intervention.

101. Our hopes for a peaceful settlement of the conflict were raised when the International Conference on Kampuchea, attended by the majority of Member States, adopted a Declaration¹ and a resolution² offering a balanced and equitable framework as well as the pertinent elements of such a settlement. Indonesia was further encouraged when the Non-Aligned Movement endorsed the call for a comprehensive political solution which would ensure full respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Kampuchea. The Movement also stressed the right of the Kampuchean people to determine their own destiny, free from interference, subversion and coercion.

102. Despite this world-wide concurrence of views on ways towards a solution of the problem and the emphatic reaffirmation by the international community of the cardinal principles of non-use of force in international relations and non-interference in the internal affairs of States, we are not appreciably closer to a settlement than we were five years ago.

103. Consequently, the Kampuchean people have been forced to continue their struggle to liberate their country. The courage and tenacity with which this struggle is being waged, in the face of great odds, are grounded in the realization that they are fighting for their very survival as a nation.

104. National resistance has now been consolidated by the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, under the leadership of Samdech Norodom Sihanouk. Prince Sihanouk's patriotism and dedication to the independence and territorial integrity of Kampuchea are beyond question, as is his international stature. His statement in the Assembly on 25 October [35th meeting] was a resounding affirmation of his Government's resolve to restore the sovereignty and the non-aligned status of Kampuchea. Indonesia views the formation and the increasingly effective functioning of the Coalition Government as a decisive development which clearly signifies the unified determination of all nationalist forces to rid their country of foreign occupation. The authenticity and

legality of the Coalition Government are widely acknowledged by the international community, and this has been confirmed again by the acceptance of the credentials of its representatives by this Assembly without a vote.

105. Some delegations have referred to the decision of the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi from 7 to 12 March 1983, to leave the Kampuchean seat in the Movement vacant. It should be recalled, however, that it was at the Sixth Conference, held at Havana from 3 to 9 September 1979, that the decision was first taken, in contravention of a basic procedure of the Non-Aligned Movement, namely decision-making by consensus. At that time, Democratic Kampuchea was deprived of its right to a seat over the explicit and strenuous objection of a large number of Member States. True, at New Delhi it was not possible to reach a consensus to reverse this erroneous decision, but the Conference instructed the Coordinating Bureau to continue to examine the issue and to make its recommendation for a solution to the meeting of Foreign Ministers in 1985. This contentious issue is therefore still under review within the Movement, and Kampuchea's vacant seat can in no way be regarded as a final decision by the Movement.

106. In the aftermath of invasion and foreign occupation, the people of Kampuchea have had to endure untold suffering and deprivation. Large numbers of Kampuchean refugees have fled to Thailand or to the Thai-Kampuchean border in search of food and safety. The continued fighting and instability have again raised the imminent prospect of a new movement of thousands of Kampucheans into Thailand, whose refugee facilities are already being taxed to their limit. Although this has resulted in the displacement of thousands of Thai villagers and has created an immense burden for the Thai Government, that Government has none the less steadfastly upheld its humanitarian commitments and continues to facilitate humanitarian aid programmes. The Thai Government deserves our full commendation and we hope that the Kampuchean refugees and the Thai population along the border will continue to receive the international assistance they so desperately need.

107. Distressed as we already are about the flow of more refugees to the Thai border, our attention has lately been drawn to reports of the large-scale introduction of new Vietnamese settlers into Kampuchea. Prince Sihanouk in his address mentioned a figure of 600,000. Estimates of the actual numbers involved may be open to dispute, but the incidence of an increased flow of Vietnamese settlers into Kampuchea has not been denied. If this flow is allowed to continue at the rate that is claimed, it will impose a demographic change that will threaten the very integrity and identity of Kampuchea as a nation.

108. Undeterred by the lack of notable progress so far, Indonesia and the other countries members of ASEAN have none the less consistently pursued their efforts to find a just and lasting solution to the Kampuchean problem, which at present constitutes the major obstacle to regional peace and stability in South-East Asia.

109. At the Sixteenth ASEAN Ministerial Meeting, held at Bangkok on 24 and 25 June 1983, the ASEAN Foreign Ministers reiterated their call for a comprehensive political settlement on the basis of the elements contained in the Declaration of the International Conference on Kampuchea.

110. We in ASEAN are convinced that these elements provide for the most equitable approach to a solution as they would ensure the re-emergence of Kampuchea as an independent, sovereign and non-aligned State, while fully taking into account the legitimate security interests of all

countries of the region, including Viet Nam and Laos. The restoration of Kampuchea's sovereignty and territorial integrity, however, remains the central issue. Hence all efforts must be premised on the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Kampuchean soil and the establishment of a government of the people's own choosing, through internationally supervised elections in which all Kampucheans and all political groups shall participate.

111. While being fully committed to these principled objectives, ASEAN has time and again shown its flexibility as regards the framework and the process within which these aims could be achieved. In this context, I should like to refer to a joint statement recently issued and subsequently circulated in document A/38/441. In that statement, a renewed appeal was made, in particular to Viet Nam, the major Powers and other States concerned, to join the ASEAN countries in intensifying efforts to achieve a just solution whereby Kampuchea could emerge once again as an independent and sovereign nation in fact as well as in law. Specifically, the statement reiterated ASEAN's willingness to discuss possible initial steps that could be taken in pursuit of a comprehensive settlement. Such steps could include phased Vietnamese troop withdrawals on a territorial basis and within a definite time frame as part of a total withdrawal; the observance of a cease-fire in the areas thus vacated, which should then be constituted as safe areas for uprooted Kampuchean civilians under the auspices of UNHCR; the introduction of peace-keeping forces or observer groups to ensure that the withdrawals have taken place; and respect for the cease-fire and safe areas.

112. Neither the tone nor the intent of the joint statement can be regarded as being confrontational or condemnatory, as we in ASEAN cannot believe that the goal of a Kampuchea at peace with itself and with its neighbours, free from foreign intervention as well as from external manipulation, should give cause for contention by anyone. Indonesia therefore sincerely hopes that this joint appeal by ASEAN will be responded to in the same constructive spirit as that in which it is being offered.

113. In this regard, we share the Secretary-General's concern, as expressed in his report [A/38/513], that continued failure to achieve decisive progress towards narrowing differences on substantive aspects of the problem may well lead to further tension and deterioration of the situation in Kampuchea. My delegation is deeply indebted to the Secretary-General and to his Special Representative, Mr. Rafeuddin Ahmed, for their dedication in seeking a peaceful solution of the conflict consistent with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the relevant General Assembly resolutions.

114. I should also like to take this opportunity to express our sincere appreciation to the President of the International Conference on Kampuchea, Mr. Willibald Pahr, and to the Chairman of the *Ad Hoc* Committee, Mr. Sarré of Senegal, for their untiring efforts towards achieving the same goal.

115. More than any other State in the region, Viet Nam knows the cost and implications of continuing conflict and polarization in South-East Asia, which will bring in their wake only heightened tensions, greater sacrifices and intensified major-Power interference and contention in the region. Indonesia views this prospect with deep concern since we believe that such a course would not be in the interest of any single country in South-East Asia. My Government therefore hopes that Viet Nam will recognize that it would be in its own interest to join the international efforts to achieve a negotiated settlement and, towards this objective, show greater flexibility and willingness to initiate a process of genuine dialogue and negotiation.

116. Indonesia has always welcomed the idea of bilateral dialogue and consultations between the ASEAN countries and Viet Nam and Laos. Regional consultations alone, however, cannot lead to a comprehensive political solution. It is obvious, and indeed it has been Viet Nam's contention all along, that a peaceful, durable and just solution is hardly possible without the co-operation of certain major Powers external to the region. Indonesia and the other members of ASEAN have therefore consistently maintained that it is only within the context of a widely representative international conference, such as the one envisaged by the Declaration of the International Conference on Kampuchea, that a political solution can be fashioned, taking into account the vital interests of all the parties concerned.

117. It is to those objectives that draft resolution A/38/L.2 and Add.1 is dedicated. Its implementation will provide us with the opportunity to begin the task of restoring tranquillity and stability in the region of South-East Asia, thus opening the way for the establishment of a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality. Its endorsement by the Assembly would also affirm our common commitment to the peaceful resolution of conflicts within the United Nations system.

118. Mr. VO ANH TUAN (Viet Nam) (*interpretation from French*): The position of Viet Nam and of the Indo-Chinese States, as well as of many other countries which have spoken on agenda item 23, is to oppose a discussion by the General Assembly of the so-called situation in Kampuchea and to reject any United Nations resolution or arrangement on this question for the following three fundamental reasons.

119. First, because a discussion on Kampuchea without the agreement of the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, an independent and sovereign State, is a gross intervention in the internal affairs of that country and a flagrant violation of the United Nations Charter.

120. Secondly, because the United Nations persists in recognizing as the representative of the Kampuchean people the Pol Pot clique which has massacred more than 3 million Kampucheans and which, no matter what name it goes under, was and still is a band of criminals guilty of genocide. It is ironic and immoral that those criminals, who should be severely punished according to international law, should instead be allowed to take part in the discussion and the vote on the question of Kampuchea.

121. Thirdly, because this discussion on Kampuchea, despite the declared opposition of one of the parties directly concerned, will only exacerbate confrontation and thus will run counter to the common desire of the peoples of South-East Asia and the majority of the countries of the world to see international disputes settled by peaceful means and through dialogue on an equal footing. A situation of confrontation in South-East Asia is profitable only to China, which is engaged in inciting the countries of ASEAN to oppose the three Indo-Chinese countries, in order to promote its traditional policy of expansion towards South-East Asia.

122. Having heard the statements of some delegations and having read the draft resolution on the situation in Kampuchea, the Vietnamese delegation feels that it must clarify the following points. Who is trampling underfoot the right to self-determination of the Kampuchean nation? Who is responsible for aggression against and massacres of the people of Kampuchea? Who is using the Kampuchean refugees as a shield to protect those guilty of the crime of genocide? Who is using its nationals to interfere in the internal affairs of other States?

123. The answers to those questions are crystal clear. First, those who so loudly urge us to defend the right to self-determination of the Kampuchean people are the same people who have opposed and continue to oppose not only the right to self-determination but also the most sacred right of that people, that is, its right to life and the enjoyment of peace in independence and freedom. Those people are in fact the authorities of Peking, the master-minds and protectors of the genocidal Pol Pot clique. Furthermore, it was the United States of America which not long ago dropped millions of tons of bombs and toxic chemicals in order to exterminate the people of Kampuchea and of the other Indo-Chinese countries and is now acting in collusion with China in its policy of aggression against the Indo-Chinese countries; it is the United States which at this very moment is using its absolute military superiority in a cynical invasion of a country a thousand times smaller than the United States, for the simple reason that the Grenadian people refuses to submit itself to the diktat of the United States and has resolved to pursue the course of development that it has freely chosen. After the overthrow and expulsion of the Pol Pot clique from Kampuchea, the United States continued to maintain, train and equip the Pol Pot bands in sanctuaries located on the other side of the border, so that they could be sent back to Kampuchea to sabotage the efforts of its people to rebuild their nation. In mid-1982, with the co-operation of some ASEAN countries, the United States took it upon itself to create the so-called Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea and appointed this one President and that one Prime Minister, in a vain attempt to disguise with cheap make-up the hideous face of the genocidal Pol-Potists.

124. Secondly, the history of past centuries and of the last four decades demonstrates that the three Indo-Chinese countries have never committed an act of aggression against any other country; on the contrary, they have been the victims of external aggression by the feudal lords, militarists, colonialists, imperialists and big-Power hegemonists. The fighting solidarity and co-operation in all fields among the peoples of the three Indo-Chinese countries which have suffered the same afflictions constitute their sharp-edged and effective weapon in the struggle of every people to fight and beat the common enemy and to defend the independence and sovereignty of their respective countries. It is in this spirit that Vietnamese volunteers came to Kampuchea to help the people of the country and with them to fight the colonialists, imperialists and the genocidal Pol Pot clique, the agents of Peking. On two previous occasions they withdrew from Kampuchea; the same will happen again this time. The Vietnamese volunteers are withdrawing progressively, and will withdraw fully from Kampuchea as soon as the security of the People's Republic of Kampuchea has been assured. To ask Viet Nam to withdraw all its volunteers from Kampuchea while China and the countries bordering on Kampuchea, in collusion with China, as well as the Pol Pot gangs, retain complete freedom of action, amounts to giving every facility to China to bring back to Kampuchea the Pol Pot clique, disguised under the label of the "Coalition Government", and to reimpose that genocidal régime on the people of Kampuchea. Why is it that China and those who are so zealous in calling for the immediate and total withdrawal of the Vietnamese volunteers from Kampuchea remain silent about the occupation by Chinese troops of part of Viet Nam's territory and their intention of remaining there, and equally silent about the establishment by the United States of military bases in an ASEAN country in order to threaten the security of the countries of the region?

125. With respect to the United States, nothing could be more ironical than to hear the representative of that country, which perpetrated the most hideous crimes against the peoples of the three countries of Indo-China during the wars of aggression—the most barbaric in history—and which has just carried out a brutal invasion and cynical aggression against Grenada, resort to lies in order to slander Viet Nam, preaching American morality to us and shedding crocodile tears about its own victims. My delegation wishes to reject categorically all the false and slanderous allegations of the representative of the United States.

126. Thirdly, what is the real truth about these so-called attacks on the refugees in the Thai-Kampuchean border areas? The international community should severely condemn the shameful actions of those who misuse the situation of the refugees to divert international humanitarian assistance, and who use these refugees as a shield to protect those who are guilty of the crime of genocide.

127. Everyone knows that for five years now, the Pol Pot gangs have been building bases in sanctuaries located on the other side of the border, that Peking sends them war *matériel* and equipment, and that they are being given abundant supplies out of the international aid food stocks intended for the Kampuchean refugees. From these bases, the Pol Pot gangs and other Khmer reactionaries are making raids into Kampuchean territory, plundering, killing and terrorizing the civilian population, spreading devastation and committing barbarous crimes in their attack on the Kampuchean people's work of peaceful reconstruction.

128. Every time these gangs receive a well-deserved punishment, as was the case in March of this year, the Peking authorities and their followers shriek wild calumnies against the Vietnamese volunteers and the people's army of Kampuchea and accuse them of "attacking refugee camps" and "massacring civilians". This subterfuge of the thief shouting "Stop thief" has been used too often and deceives no one.

129. Fourthly, why is there such a clamour about the so-called Vietnamization of Kampuchea? According to the figures for mid-1983, the number of Vietnamese nationals who have returned to live in Kampuchea amounts to only 56,000—that is to say, less than one tenth of the Vietnamese who were living in that country in 1970. By way of comparison, we can quote the figures for Chinese residents, who at the end of 1982 amounted to 61,400 in the five provinces of Kampuchea alone, including 40,000 in Phnom Penh.

130. It is clear that since Viet Nam and the People's Republic of Kampuchea jointly decided on a progressive withdrawal of the Vietnamese volunteers, the slanderous campaign about a military occupation of Kampuchea by Viet Nam no longer carries any weight with public opinion. This is why the authorities of Peking and their henchmen have unleashed this new campaign of calumny for the evil purpose of dividing Viet Nam and Kampuchea, sabotaging the solidarity of the three countries of Indo-China, and diverting international public opinion from the reality of the presence in the South-East Asian countries of 20 million Chinese nationals, including many millionaires controlling the finance, trade and economy of these countries, and of other more or less armed groups engaged in subversive activities against the legal Governments.

131. The so-called "growing effectiveness of the Coalition Government", so much praised by certain delegations, exists only in the imagination of its sponsors.

How can one speak of effectiveness regarding a "government" which does not control a single inch of territory and has no popular support whatever? Thailand's request for a withdrawal of the Vietnamese troops to a distance of 30 kilometres from the Thai-Kampuchean border is proof of this. At the same time, it demonstrates the intention of the other side to help the genocidal criminals and other reactionary Kampuchean factions to install themselves once more in the territory of Kampuchea and to establish their subversive bases, to the detriment of the work of recovery being undertaken by the valiant people of Kampuchea.

132. The present situation in the People's Republic of Kampuchea is quite different from the bleak picture painted by certain delegations and by draft resolution A/38/L.2 and Add.1. Many foreign visitors and Western journalists have referred to the rebirth of the Kampuchean people as a miracle. Indeed, the statement issued on 21 October by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea clearly indicates this. I will quote it:

"Liberated from the genocidal régime of Democratic Kampuchea, the Kampuchean people has experienced rapid recovery. Famine has been stemmed. A national assembly which emerged from direct and free universal suffrage has given the country a democratic constitution and a people's government which ensures order and security throughout the country. Schools, hospitals and pagodas have reopened their doors. One million six hundred thousand students and pupils are attending school. Illiteracy is being eradicated. Despite the heavy toll inflicted by the genocide of the past, the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea and the Kampuchean people are making steady progress along the path of reconstruction and development.

"The improvement of security has enabled the People's Republic of Kampuchea and the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to decide jointly on a yearly withdrawal of Vietnamese volunteer troops. This decision and the two partial withdrawals of the Vietnamese volunteers which took place in 1982 and 1983 demonstrate the stability and consolidation of the People's Republic of Kampuchea and the steadfast policy of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam of respecting the independence and sovereignty of Kampuchea".

133. In order to appreciate fully the value and the meaning of these great achievements of the Kampuchean people under its people's Government, we must recall that this miraculous rebirth started from nothing, from a society which had been completely destroyed and razed to the ground, from charnel houses and common graves, and from famine and exhaustion. Moreover, these results have been achieved despite the economic blockade and the sabotage of all kinds carried out by Peking and its allies.

134. Kampuchea, Laos and Viet Nam desire to live in peace and friendship with all the neighbouring countries. They wish to forget the past and to turn a new page in the history of their relations with China as well as with the member countries of ASEAN. The three countries of Indo-China are sparing no effort to find an adequate solution to the present situation in South-East Asia. To that end, they have on many occasions clearly stated their position with regard to a comprehensive solution of the problems of South-East Asia, including the question of Kampuchea.

135. At the 24th meeting, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Viet Nam, Nguyen Co Thach, once again reaffirmed this consistent position, which encompasses,

first, the withdrawal of Vietnamese volunteers from Kampuchea; secondly, the signing of treaties of non-aggression and non-interference between China and the countries of Indo-China and the establishment of a zone of peace in South-East Asia; thirdly, respect of the right of the Kampuchean people to determine its own affairs; and fourthly, international guarantees of the agreements thus reached. This is a most serious position, containing realistic proposals for a comprehensive political solution designed to encourage dialogue in order to resolve both the differences between the countries of Indo-China and China and the divergency of views among the countries of the region, on the basis of equality, mutual respect for the interests of the two groups of countries, those of Indo-China and those of ASEAN, without intervention from outside.

136. Day by day the number of countries which believe that the position of the three countries of Indo-China is appropriate grows, and this includes Western countries. This takes into account the just interests of both sides and does not seek to impose the views of one side upon the other. These countries seek to contribute to the quest for a solution outside the United Nations in order to break the present deadlock, which is due to the fact that the United Nations resolutions on Kampuchea do not reflect anything but the interests of one side, to the detriment of the interests of the countries of Indo-China, and they have been rejected by the countries of Indo-China as well as by many other countries.

137. In the section of the Political Declaration of the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries dealing with the situation in South-East Asia, the Heads of State or Government "urged all States in the region to undertake a dialogue which would lead to the resolution of differences among themselves and the establishment of durable peace and stability in the area . . ." [A/38/132, annex I, para. 113].

138. The appeal was favourably received and accepted by the two groups, the countries of Indo-China and the ASEAN member countries. These are new positive developments, yet once again the General Assembly is made to discuss the so-called situation in Kampuchea. The draft resolution which some are attempting to impose upon the United Nations not only maintains the erroneous provisions of past resolutions but adds new negative aspects which are not at all in keeping with the realities of the situation. These are aspects which we analysed and rejected earlier. Moreover, the falsified quotations from official documents of the countries of Indo-China and the incorrect interpretation, for propaganda purposes, of our goodwill concerning the question of the representation of Kampuchea merely bring out more clearly the confrontation sought by certain delegations. This an exercise is not designed to promote dialogue between the two groups of countries in the region, which has been welcomed and encouraged by many countries as well as world public opinion. Such an exercise would be tantamount to raising new obstacles in the way of the dialogue which has barely started.

139. We feel that if the United Nations wishes to get out of the present deadlock and play its proper role with respect to peace and stability in South-East Asia, it should help to eliminate such obstacles. The three countries of Indo-China sincerely hope that the United Nations will take the right steps to promote the dialogue between the two groups of countries in the region. If for the time being the United Nations is unable to act in this way, then at the very least we hope it will abstain from any action which would create further obstacles to the development of dialogue.

140. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I shall now call on those representatives who wish to speak in explanation of their vote before the vote.

141. Mr. BEKHBAT (Mongolia) (*interpretation from French*): The delegation of Mongolia would like to say how profoundly it regrets the fact that a sterile discussion has yet again been imposed on the General Assembly in connection with the bogus question of the situation in Kampuchea. We believe, and will continue to do so, that consideration of this question in the General Assembly is wholly illegal since it is taking place without the participation or the clearly expressed assent of the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, the sole legitimate representative of the Kampuchean people. In our view this discussion is detrimental to the prestige of the Organization and serves the interests of those who have manoeuvred and intrigued to have the item placed on our agenda and whose sole purpose is interference in the internal affairs of Kampuchea, in violation of the purposes and principles of the Charter.

142. As to draft resolution A/38/L.2 and Add.1, it is based on the erroneous recognition of the representativeness of a small group of criminals who were responsible for the genocide of the people of Kampuchea and who now illegally occupy Kampuchea's seat in the United Nations. Moreover, it reflects a one-sided position, that of only one group of countries of South-East Asia and, to put it mildly, gives a very inadequate account of events in the region. In the view of my delegation, the adoption of such a draft resolution would not only constitute flagrant interference in the internal affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea and an act of contempt for the memory of the more than 3 million innocent Kampuchians who died at the hands of the Pol Potists, but also unfortunately a further obstacle to the long-wished-for dialogue between the parties directly concerned. That is why the delegation of the People's Republic of Mongolia will vote against the draft resolution.

143. Mr. HUCKE (German Democratic Republic): The position of the German Democratic Republic with regard to the so-called Kampuchean question is well known. My delegation considers draft resolution A/38/L.2 and Add.1 to be a renewed attempt to abuse the United Nations for the purpose of interfering in the internal affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

144. In order to see the real reasons for the provocative clamour around the so-called Kampuchean question one only has to look at those imperialist forces which instigated that useless debate. It is those imperialist forces that step up the cause of confrontation and arms build-up and foment tensions world-wide. It is those same forces that ruthlessly use international conflicts for their own interests and do not even shrink from sacrificing innocent people to their big-Power ambitions. Interference in internal affairs, economic pressure and political defamation, as well as the demonstration and use of military force, mark their adventurist course. What the Kampuchean people really needs above all is peace and security for its economic and social development. This is an important field in which the United Nations can make its contribution, but that presupposes in particular the recognition of reality and the abandonment of unfounded distrust, ignorance and hostility. So far the United Nations has regrettably not been equal to that task. The Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea is still refused the seat in the United Nations to which it is entitled as the sole legitimate representative of Kampuchea.

145. The continued interference in the internal affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea is the real source of tensions and the real threat to peace and stability in

that region. This realistic position, which has already been expressed by several speakers during the debate, is in no way taken into account in the draft resolution. For these reasons, my delegation will vote against it.

146. Mr. KOROMA (Sierra Leone): My delegation has studied carefully draft resolution A/38/L.2 and Add.1. As may be recalled, this Assembly has been seized of the question of Kampuchea for some five years now. During that period the Assembly, and indeed the international community as a whole, has been making untiring efforts to seek a peaceful political solution to the Kampuchean problem.

147. In the past, the delegation of Sierra Leone has abstained in the voting on resolutions concerning the situation in Kampuchea. Our abstention has been based on principle and commitment to respect for human rights and the Charter of the Organization. We believed then and still believe that we should not become an accomplice of those responsible for the nightmarish experience of the Kampuchean people in the past or in making it possible for such an experience to be repeated by those who were responsible for it in the first place.

148. However, today, having studied the draft resolution, my delegation will support it. In so doing we are guided by the desire to see a peaceful solution to this problem. We have tried to take into consideration the solution to this problem. We have tried to take into consideration the interests of all parties concerned and we believe that the essence—I repeat, the essence—of the draft resolution addresses the various and varied interests concerned. Our vote is also a demonstration of confidence in Prince Norodom Sihanouk and of the belief that the Organization can play a constructive role in bringing peace to Kampuchea and to South-East Asia as a whole.

149. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The Assembly will now vote on draft resolution A/38/L.2 and Add.1 on the situation in Kampuchea. The report of the Fifth Committee on the administrative and financial implications of this draft resolution is contained in document A/38/531. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Belize, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Burma, Burundi, Canada, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Comoros, Costa Rica, Democratic Kampuchea, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Fiji, France, Gabon, Gambia, Germany, Federal Republic of, Greece, Guatemala, Guinea, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, Indonesia, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lesotho, Liberia, Luxembourg, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Qatar, Rwanda, Saint Lucia, Samoa, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Solomon Islands, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Thailand, Togo, Tunisia, Turkey, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United Republic of Cameroon, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: Afghanistan, Albania, Angola, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Congo, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Ethiopia, German Democratic Republic, Guyana, Hungary, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Mongolia, Mozambique, Nicaragua, Poland, Syrian Arab

Republic, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Viet Nam.

Abstaining: Algeria, Benin, Cape Verde, Finland, Ghana, Guinea-Bissau, India, Iraq, Lebanon, Madagascar, Malawi, Mexico, Panama, Sao Tome and Principe, Trinidad and Tobago, Uganda, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Zimbabwe.

Draft resolution A/38/L.2 and Add.1 was adopted by 105 votes to 23, with 19 abstentions (resolution 38/3).³

150. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I shall now call upon those representatives who have asked to explain their vote after the vote.

151. Mr. BORIO (Brazil): Although my delegation voted in favour of the resolution just adopted, we would like to put on record our reservations with regard to its fourth preambular paragraph. We consider that this paragraph prejudices the legitimacy of the régimes in conflict in Kampuchea.

152. Mr. O'CONNOR (Ireland): Ireland voted in favour of the draft resolution. We did so because, as in previous years, we are in agreement with the general thrust of the draft resolution. I wish to make it clear, however, that the fact that we have voted in favour of a draft resolution does not imply any change in Ireland's position regarding Kampuchean representation, despite the wording of the fourth preambular paragraph of the draft resolution.

153. The records of the Assembly clearly show that on 25 October 1982, when that question was last raised formally at the thirty-seventh session [43rd meeting] in the context of the presentation to the Assembly of the report of the Credentials Committee, Ireland, as in previous years, abstained.

154. Mr. FERM (Sweden): As in previous years, my delegation has supported the resolution on the situation in Kampuchea just adopted. Our position thus remains the same on the situation in Kampuchea. We see the resolution as yet another confirmation of the principles which must be the basis for any just settlement of the Kampuchean conflict. Such a settlement must be based on the withdrawal of all foreign forces, the restoration of the sovereign independence of Kampuchea and the right of its people to self-determination.

155. I wish to make it clear, however, that my delegation is not prepared to subscribe to every formulation in the resolution. I refer in particular to some elements in the preambular part that have been introduced or changed since last year. We are not convinced that those changes were warranted.

156. Mr. SIBOMANA (Rwanda) (*interpretation from French*): The delegation of Rwanda voted in favour of the draft resolution because the great upheaval suffered by the people of Kampuchea cannot fail to move my country. But we wish to emphasize also that our vote can in no way be interpreted as a change in my country's attitude with regard to the two factions claiming power in Kampuchea. This means that if a separate vote had been taken on each paragraph, the delegation of Rwanda would have abstained on the fourth preambular paragraph, referring to the coalition which claims to represent Democratic Kampuchea.

157. Miss MONCADA BERMÚDEZ (Nicaragua) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The Non-Aligned Movement has repeatedly spoken out in favour of a comprehensive political solution of the situation in South-East Asia. It has spoken out also in favour of the withdrawal of all foreign troops as a guarantee of the independence, integrity and sovereignty of all the States of the region, including Kampuchea. The Movement has also recommended the creation of a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality

in the region, and asked all States to lend their support to this initiative.

158. Nicaragua fully supports these principles, which are to a large extent also recognized by the interested parties, although they differ as to the relative importance of each. As a matter of principle, my Government rejects the goals and purposes of those forces sharing the same objectives in various parts of the world which wish to establish or to restore régimes that represent terror, violence and exploitation instead of human and economic progress for their peoples.

159. The Pol Pot régime, whatever form it may take, is exactly that type of régime, and that is why my Government, like many other Governments and the Non-Aligned Movement, does not recognize it as the legitimate Government. In this connection, we believe that the United Nations will have to shoulder its responsibility towards the principles of the Charter and change its position by allowing the seat of Kampuchea to be occupied by the Government that should legally represent it, namely, the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

160. My Government rejects any action in the United Nations that may lead to accepting the ambitions and machinations of the bloodthirsty Pol Pot régime. On the other hand, my Government will support any action which, echoing the position of the Non-Aligned Movement, is designed to seek a true and just solution of this problem. We are firmly opposed to the increasingly obvious intention of the United States Government to expand and strengthen military options in Africa, the Middle East, Central America and the Caribbean, which have been demonstrated by the recent invasion of Grenada, an action which amazed the whole world. That action is unjustifiable from every standpoint, although there are those who try to disguise it as one coming from a group of democratic forces and as the legal expression of a subregional treaty.

161. Since the draft resolution we were considering does not take into account the views we have just stated, my Government voted against it.

162. Mr. TRAORÉ (Mali) (*interpretation from French*): The delegation of Mali voted in favour of the draft resolution because, as may be recalled, in his statement before the Assembly [33rd meeting], the Minister for Foreign Affairs of our country referred to a number of principles which in our view should govern conduct among States. Basically these are the principles of the United Nations, to which the Non-Aligned Movement is deeply attached. I shall not repeat those principles; they are well known in the Organization. I shall refer to just one or two examples. We are speaking of the principle of settling disputes by negotiation and not through force, and the principle of the self-determination of peoples, a basic principle to which my country is devoted.

163. I think it is clear from the statement made by the representative of Mali that the situation prevailing in Kampuchea can be resolved only through a political solution. We feel that this element is contained in the draft resolution and therefore we voted for it.

164. However, as compared to last year's text, this text contains certain changes, and it is mainly because of our delegation's attitude to those changes that we wanted to speak in explanation of vote. Indeed, last year we thought that, instead of allowing the situation to deteriorate, a glimmer of hope or perhaps a new approach to solving the situation of Kampuchea was apparent. However, after a year during which we believed that this was so, we find that there has been no change in the situation. In other words, the fourth preambular paragraph of the text before

us is neither in keeping with the development of the real situation in Kampuchea nor in accordance with Mali's practice with respect to the recognition of States. Therefore, if a separate vote had been requested on that paragraph, Mali would have abstained on it.

165. Mr. GUMUCIO GRANIER (Bolivia) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Bolivia voted in favour of the draft resolution because it is in keeping with the principles contained in the United Nations Charter and rejects all forms of intervention, direct or indirect, in any part of the world. At the same time, we wished to support the action the Secretary-General has initiated in order to achieve a broad solution of this question. We also wish to express our reservation with regard to the fourth pre-ambular paragraph because it prejudices a situation that

is still uncertain, and we should like our reservation to be taken into account.

The meeting rose at 1.40 p.m.

NOTES

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

² *Ibid.*, annex II.

³ The delegation of Saint Vincent and the Grenadines subsequently informed the Secretariat that it would have voted in favour of the draft resolution.