



CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
Agenda item 77: Financial reports and accounts for the year 1972 and reports of the Board of Auditors: (a) United Nations; (b) United Nations Development Programme; (c) United Nations Children's Fund; (d) United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East; (e) United Nations Institute for Training and Research; (f) Voluntary funds administered by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees Report of the Fifth Committee	1
Agenda item 101: Consideration of the economic and social situation in the Sudano-Sahelian region stricken by drought and measures to be taken for the benefit of that region Report of the Second Committee	1
Agenda item 8: Adoption of the agenda (<i>continued</i>) Fifth report of the General Committee	2

President: Mr. Leopoldo BENITES (Ecuador).

AGENDA ITEM 77

Financial reports and accounts for the year 1972 and reports of the Board of Auditors:

- (a) United Nations;
- (b) United Nations Development Programme;
- (c) United Nations Children's Fund;
- (d) United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East;
- (e) United Nations Institute for Training and Research;
- (f) Voluntary funds administered by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/9223)

1. Mr. GARRIDO (Philippines), Rapporteur of the Fifth Committee: On behalf of the Fifth Committee, I have the honour to present its report on agenda item 77 [A/9223].
2. The Fifth Committee recommends to the General Assembly the adoption of the six draft resolutions contained in paragraph 10 of that report, as well as the recommendation contained in paragraph 11.

Pursuant to rule 68 of the rules of procedure, it was decided not to discuss the report of the Fifth Committee.

3. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): Since no representative wishes to explain his vote, we shall now take a decision on the six draft resolutions in paragraph 10 of the report. May I take it that the General Assembly adopts draft resolutions A to F?

Draft resolutions A, B, C, D, E and F were adopted (resolution 3053 A to F (XXVIII)).

4. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): May I take it that the General Assembly also adopts the recommendation contained in paragraph 11 of the Fifth Committee's report?

It was so decided.

AGENDA ITEM 101

Consideration of the economic and social situation in the Sudano-Sahelian region stricken by drought and measures to be taken for the benefit of that region

REPORT OF THE SECOND COMMITTEE (A/9219)

5. Mr. YAMADA (Japan), Rapporteur of the Second Committee: I have the honour to introduce, in my capacity as Rapporteur of the Second Committee, its report to the General Assembly on agenda item 101 [A/9219]. Paragraph 8 of that report contains a draft resolution which is recommended for adoption by the General Assembly. The Second Committee adopted that draft resolution by consensus.

Pursuant to rule 68 of the rules of procedure, it was decided not to discuss the report of the Second Committee.

6. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The Assembly will now take a decision on the draft resolution recommended by the Second Committee in paragraph 8 of its report [A/9219].

7. I have been informed that the Fifth Committee decided at its 1567th meeting that should the General Assembly adopt the draft resolution recommended by the Second Committee, no additional appropriation would be required for 1973 nor for the biennium 1974-1975 as it is expected that voluntary funds will be forthcoming to meet the expenditure. Should that expectation not be fulfilled and the need for an additional appropriation arise, the Secretary-General would report back to the General Assembly at the appropriate time. May I take it that the General Assembly adopts the draft resolution recommended by the Second Committee?

The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 3054 (XXVIII)).

AGENDA ITEM 8

Adoption of the agenda (*continued*)*FIFTH REPORT OF THE GENERAL COMMITTEE
(A/9200/ADD.4)

8. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The General Committee recommends, in its fifth report to the General Assembly [A/9200/Add.4], that it include in the agenda of the present session an additional item entitled "Restoration of the lawful rights of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia in the United Nations" and that it be considered directly in plenary meetings.

9. In accordance with rule 23 of the rules of procedure, I shall call on three representatives wishing to speak in favour of, and three against, the inclusion of this item.

10. Mr. MALILE (Albania) (*interpretation from French*): The General Assembly has just embarked upon the examination of the report of the General Committee which recommends the inclusion on the agenda of the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly of an item entitled "Restoration of the lawful rights of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia in the United Nations", in accordance with a request presented by the People's Republic of Albania and 31 other States [A/9195 and Add.1].

11. The Albanian delegation, while appreciating that reasonable decision of the General Committee, expresses the conviction that it will be fully supported and adopted by this Assembly. The Government of the People's Republic of Albania, in requesting the inclusion of this item on the agenda, is guided by the desire to put an end to this injustice against the Cambodian people and to remedy the abnormal situation in the United Nations in regard to the representation of Cambodia. The occupation, which has lasted more than three years, of Cambodia's seat in the United Nations by the representatives of the Lon Nol clique, who represent only a group of traitors, is a blatant violation of the will and sovereign rights of the Cambodian people. It constitutes an anomaly and a flagrant violation of the principles and fundamental provisions of the Charter. The Cambodian people have never reconciled themselves to such a situation. They have resolutely condemned the presence of representatives of the Lon Nol group in the United Nations and requested that this situation be ended. That demand is also strongly supported at the international level, including the United Nations. A great number of States have at previous sessions stated that they considered the credentials of the representatives of the present régime in Phnom Penh to be invalid.

12. In the general debate at this session very many delegations, in condemning the perpetuation of armed aggression and the brutal intervention of the United States in the internal affairs of Cambodia, have expressed themselves clearly in favour of the restoration of the lawful rights of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia and the expulsion of the representatives of the Lon Nol group from the United Nations and from all organs related

thereto. We feel that it is high time for the United Nations to draw the necessary conclusions and, in accordance with the principles of the Charter and the present realities in Cambodia, to remedy this injustice with regard to the representation of Cambodia.

13. The course of events in Cambodia has given the best evidence as to who are the legitimate representatives of the Cambodian people and who have betrayed their national interests. Everyone knows that before the coup d'état of 18 March 1970 Cambodia was a sovereign, free State which pursued a policy of peace, neutrality and friendship, in accordance with its national interests and its independent development. Cambodia's friends, the States which love peace and freedom, respected that policy, while its enemies, primarily the American imperialists, wanted to divert Cambodia from that path. The United States, which considered Cambodia as an obstacle to the realization of its aggressive plans in Indo-China and in all South-East Asia, has for years pursued against it a policy of pressure and blackmail, of armed plots and numerous provocations. Finally, the United States fomented the coup d'état in order to install the puppets of Phnom Penh. A short time afterwards they even launched their armed aggression by dispatching to Cambodian territory tens of thousands of American and Saigon troops. The whole of progressive mankind, and all peace-loving countries have indignantly condemned that act of aggression and expressed their solidarity with the Cambodian people. The Government of the People's Republic of Albania and the Governments of many other countries have declared that they considered unlawful the reactionary régime of Lon Nol, and that they will establish no relations with it.

14. It was clear from the very beginning that by installing their puppets in Phnom Penh and by launching their armed aggression against Cambodia the United States intended to intensify the war against the Viet-Nameese people and transform Cambodia into an American military parade ground in South-East Asia. The Cambodian people have indignantly condemned the coup d'état of the Lon Nol group and have never resigned themselves to its reactionary authority. Replying to the appeal made on 23 March 1970 by the legitimate Head of State, Prince Norodom Sihanouk, they engaged in an armed struggle against the mercenary troops of the Phnom Penh clique, the American aggressors and their tools in Saigon, in order to recover their freedom and national independence. The convening, at the beginning of May 1970, of the National Congress which proclaimed the formation of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia was a great victory for the Cambodian people in their liberation struggle. The formation of that Government, which emerged from the United National Front, which enjoys vast support among the Cambodian people and expresses their will and their enlightened aspirations, was an extremely important act in organizing the freedom struggle in Cambodia and the true representation of the State of Cambodia in the international arena.

15. The formation of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia was not only applauded by all the true friends of the Cambodian people throughout the world but was also recognized from the very beginning by many States, which have established diplomatic relations with it.

* Resumed from the 2153rd meeting.

16. There is no doubt that the maintenance in the United Nations of the Lon Nol group is gravely prejudicial to the prestige and authority of our Organization. However, the enemies of the Cambodian people are doing everything they can to make this intolerable situation last as long as possible. It is well known that the State principally responsible, the most active champion of this situation, is the United States. The slanderous references to the liberation struggle of the Cambodian people as "foreign intervention" can mislead no one, and they cannot hide the truth. In Cambodia there is only the Cambodian people, led by the United National Front of Cambodia and the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia, who have fought and are continuing to fight against the American aggressors and the traitors to that country. The only foreign intervention in the country is that of the United States and its tools in Saigon. It was precisely the United States which launched an armed aggression in Cambodia, savagely bombed its territory and caused immense destruction among the Cambodian people. It is precisely the United States which, even after having been compelled to stop the bombing on 15 August this year, still continues its military involvement in Cambodia and its intervention in the internal affairs of that country. Its obstinate obduracy in pursuing such an aggressive policy, its insistent attempts to incite Cambodians against Cambodians and Indo-Chinese against Indo-Chinese clearly show the true aims behind the appeals and so-called desire of the United States Government with regard to the ending of war and the restoration of peace in Cambodia.

17. No one will allow himself to be deluded by the fact that the United States is still using those slogans to oblige the Cambodian people to give up their armed struggle in order to save the Phnom Penh puppets. The plot regarding the cessation of war and the formation of a coalition Government means the submission of the Cambodian people to the colonial domination of the United States. But the people of Cambodia have already said what they have to say. They have not undertaken an armed struggle, shed their blood and made enormous sacrifices merely to share power with traitors. Closely united around the United National Front and the Royal Government of National Union, they are vigilant and determined to safeguard their national interests.

18. Nevertheless efforts are still being made to divert the Cambodian people from their proper path. The Soviet leaders are continuing to make considerable efforts in that direction. They have always been on good terms with the Lon Nol régime and have maintained close relations with it, while adopting a hostile attitude towards the Cambodian people and the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia. At the present time, when the Cambodian people are very near to total victory, the Soviet Government is engaging in manœuvres in order to conceal its real designs, and pretends to be supporting the just struggle of the Cambodian people and their legitimate Government. This new tactic changes nothing in practice with regard to its true attitude and its well-known goals concerning its plots against the interests of the Cambodian people.

19. The liberation struggle of the Cambodian people enjoys the support of all peace-loving peoples and countries in the world. Its great political and military victories further enhance the prestige and international authority of the

Royal Government of National Union. The fact that some 50 States have recognized that Government as the only legitimate Government of Cambodia and the success of the journeys made in many countries by the Head of State, Prince Norodom Sihanouk, bear clear witness to the unceasing consolidation of that Government's international positions. The Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries held at Algiers, solemnly declared that it recognized the Royal Government of National Union as the only legitimate Government of Cambodia [see A/9330 and Corr.1, p. 12, para. 38] and supported the rights of that Government in the United Nations and in other international organizations [*ibid.*, p. 65].

20. The course of events and the present realities in Cambodia prove that the Royal Government of National Union is not at all a Government in exile, as is slanderously claimed by the puppets in Phnom Penh and their protectors. The overwhelming majority of the members of that Government are discharging their duties and are living among the Cambodian people, on Cambodian soil, and are directing the struggle of the Cambodian people for the total liberation of the country. The major successes achieved by the Cambodian people against the enemy, thanks to its heroic and determined struggle carried on in unity with the other peoples of Indo-China, is the best evidence of the important role played by the Royal Government in the effective mobilization and leadership of the Cambodian people in its just struggle. The Cambodian people, by concrete acts, have already shown that they will accept no other authority than that of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia.

21. In the circumstances, the United Nations should also act in accordance with justice, reality and the will of the people of Cambodia. It is inconceivable that the representatives of groups of traitors who have usurped Cambodia's seat in the United Nations should continue to sit in this Assembly and to speak on behalf of the Cambodian people when the latter has its own legitimate Government. This constitutes an intolerable injustice and a flagrant violation of the United Nations Charter, and we should put an end to it as soon as possible.

22. The Albanian delegation appeals to Member States which cherish the principles of justice and respect the Charter to support the inclusion in the agenda of the item entitled "Restoration of the lawful rights of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia in the United Nations". The restoration of the lawful rights of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia in the United Nations and in the organizations allied thereto, and the immediate expulsion of the representatives of the Lon Nol group, would be an act of justice in keeping with the interests of all peace-loving peoples and countries, and would also serve to enhance the prestige and authority of the United Nations.

23. Mr. LONG BOKET (Khmer Republic) (*interpretation from French*): I thank you, Mr. President, for allowing me to speak at this time when the General Assembly is discussing a question that directly concerns my country. It was not my intention, in asking for the floor, to speak on the substance of the matter, but merely to raise a procedural question.

24. However, in view of the fallacious arguments and gratuitous accusations just levelled by one of the sponsors of the draft resolution in document A/9195, I am in duty bound to set things right in order to enable this Assembly to be objectively informed and to take a position accordingly.

25. The question is important, very important. Indeed it is too important—because it deals with the sovereign and sacred right of a Member State that is called into question—for the General Assembly of this august international Organization to discuss it lightly.

26. It is in fact not the first time that I have heard the same refrain, and in the face of such slanderous accusations I am not surprised that the Governments which the speaker represents should have decided to recognize the government in exile of Prince Sihanouk. I would even say that I am relieved to hear him speak in such terms because this enables me to understand him and to understand also the reasons on which their decision was based. As I said yesterday, they are but actors in a bad comedy presented, we must admit, by an excellent comedian.

27. I do not believe that anyone is better informed about Khmer problems than the Khmers themselves. We understand full well the reasons why those Governments want to prevent us from speaking from the different rostrums in the United Nations; it is simply in order that we shall not have the possibility of denouncing, in this the highest international forum, the presence of foreign troops committing aggression against us.

28. The sponsors of the draft resolution, in good or bad faith, are attempting to mislead representatives in this Assembly by attempting to prove that this is a question of the restoration of a right of the so-called Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia. In fact, to restore a right obviously presupposes the existence of that right, and one could not speak of the restoration of a right that has never existed.

29. Sihanouk has no right to form a lawful government, since he himself was overthrown as Head of State in accordance with the Constitution of the former Kingdom of Cambodia; he was deposed by the two chambers of the Cambodian Parliament which had designated him Head of State 10 years earlier, that is to say, in 1960.

30. He was divested of his functions and authority on 18 March 1970 and at that time the Khmer Government, presided over by Lon Nol, duly invested with authority by the National Assembly many months before the fall of Sihanouk, continued to ensure the conduct of governmental affairs. It was not Mr. Lon Nol, but Mr. Cheng Heng, then President of the National Assembly, who in accordance with the Constitution of the former Kingdom of Cambodia, rightfully succeeded Sihanouk. Seven months later, the Khmer people, through the unanimous voice of their representatives in Parliament, proclaimed the Republic on 9 October 1970 and thus we definitely abolished the Khmer monarchy. The Republican Constitution was then adopted on 30 April 1972, in the course of a national referendum, that is to say, two years later.

31. By virtue of that new Republican Constitution, Marshal Lon Nol was elected President of the Republic by universal and direct suffrage, in the first presidential election of 4 June 1972, with the participation of three candidates, namely, himself, Mr. In Tasm, former President of the National Assembly, and Mr. Keo An, the former dean of the faculty of law at the University of Phnom Penh.

32. As for Mr. Sihanouk, very unhappy with that popular decision, a few days before his fall he had illegally formed a government in exile permanently based in Peking. Since its creation, that so-called government remains based in Peking, because, even if he had not been deposed, under article 97 of the Constitution, he could not have named a minister. The ministers and members of this so-called government in exile have never set foot on Khmer soil since that government was established. Only some Red Khmers are fighting in the ranks of the Viet-Cong and with North Viet-Nameese troops against the lawful Government of my country. Here I should like to open a small parenthesis to stress the fact that the Red Khmer that existed in Cambodia about 20 years before the fall of Sihanouk, were constantly fighting against the personal power of Sihanouk until 18 March 1970, the date of his fall. Those Red Khmer do not want Sihanouk to return to Cambodia at any price.

33. These are the historical facts which prove that: first, the rights of the so-called Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia have never existed; secondly, there was never a coup d'état, since Sihanouk was deposed and divested of his powers as Head of State following the existing constitutional procedures; thirdly, it is absurd to say that the government in exile of Sihanouk is the lawful government because it is formed by the so-called United National Front of Kampuchea and supported by a large number of the population.

34. I should like to point out here that that Front, which was so eloquently spoken of, was formed in Peking and can under no circumstances replace the legislative powers of the Khmer Parliament in the Khmer country itself.

35. It is a gross falsehood to assert that the government in exile of Sihanouk controls certain areas, representing some say, more than 80 per cent or 90 per cent of the territory, and some say over 80 or 90 per cent of the population.

36. In fact, of the 23 provinces of the Khmer Republic, only 4 are permanently occupied by the North Viet-Nameese troops and their allies, the Red Khmer. Six sevenths of the population are still under the control of the Government of the Khmer Republic and even now as I speak, our forces are fighting as they have fought bravely to liberate our country from foreign invasion.

37. Moreover, the participation of over 80 per cent of the electors in the last referendum and elections bear this out.

38. Here, one thing is clear and one may well ask one's self: if Mr. Sihanouk controls the country and enjoys the support of the Khmer people, as he and his foreign supporters say, why is he so afraid of that people, as I have had occasion to repeat frequently, and why is he still living in exile in Peking?

39. Can a clear answer be given to this question? I doubt it.

40. One cannot, on the other hand, speak of a policy of peace and neutrality of Sihanouk, because, while he was still in power, he had violated that neutrality by permitting foreign troops, North Viet-Nameese and Viet-Cong, to occupy the territory of Cambodia. After his overthrow, he appealed to all these foreign troops, whose infiltration he had authorized since 1965, that is, five years before his fall, to help him to take power by force.

41. Whereas, since 6 July 1973 we have been proposing a cease-fire and a political settlement of the Khmer problem without foreign interference, Sihanouk continues to incite the North Viet-Nameese forces and their allies to continue the war against our innocent population. It is he and his supporters who are the cause of this war and of the many sufferings of the Khmer people, this war that world public opinion has not clearly understood.

42. Nor should anyone abuse this Organization by asserting that the majority of Member States that participated in the Algiers Conference have all recognized the Government of Sihanouk. Actually only 38 that are Members of the United Nations have done so. On the other hand, the Government of the Khmer Republic maintains diplomatic relations with about 60 States, 27 of which also attended the Algiers Conference. Moreover, we have many friends here in the United Nations.

43. On the other hand, I should like to emphasize the fact that all the non-aligned countries in South-East Asia maintain excellent friendly and diplomatic relations with the Khmer Republic. Being our neighbours, they know us better than those who arrogate to themselves the right to interfere in our affairs. The government in exile of Sihanouk depends from every point of view on Peking. It exists thanks only to the financial, material, political and diplomatic support of Peking, and the day when Peking drives it out of Chinese territory it will be nothing. Having no power over the Khmer population, it deploys in our country North Viet-Nameese and Viet-Cong, as well as Khmer Reds, and Norodom Sihanouk recognizes that, if North Viet-Nam and China no longer give it support, Lon Nol can well remain many years in Phnom Penh. That was stated in an interview given to *The Guardian* on 17 September in Algiers.

44. On the other hand, the Khmer people have been fighting alone since 15 August 1973 to free the country from the foreign forces, the direction of which Sihanouk has attributed to himself.

45. Moreover, at the three preceding sessions of the General Assembly, the representatives of the Khmer Republic have consistently occupied a seat in the United Nations, and their credentials have been properly verified. Consequently it is an aberration to say now that the seat has been unlawfully occupied.

46. We are convinced that the Khmer people alone, and not the United Nations, have the right to decide on the choice of a political system or government. They have already made their choice: on 9 October 1970, by proclaiming the Republic; on 30 April 1972, by choosing a republi-

can constitution through a national referendum; on 4 June 1972, by electing their first President of the Republic by universal direct suffrage; on 3 September 1972, by electing the National Assembly of the Republic; and on 15 September 1972, by electing the Senate of the Republic.

47. The Khmer people have abolished the monarchy. The United Nations cannot compel them to restore it. This is an internal affair of Cambodia. Since its establishment has there been a single example where the United Nations has admitted as a Member a government that does not have its seat in the capital city of its country? The admission to the United Nations of a Government domiciled in a foreign capital would be tantamount to depriving the United Nations of the possibility of having its resolutions implemented in the country concerned. Such an admission would create a very embarrassing precedent for all countries that already have or might have in the future a government in exile and would at the same time be a flagrant violation of the principles of international law and of the very provisions of the United Nations Charter.

48. Before I conclude I should like to refer to Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter of the United Nations, which stipulates:

“Nothing contained in the present Charter shall authorize the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state or shall require the Members to submit such matters to settlement under the present Charter”.

This is the truth. But the sponsors of the request for inclusion of the item have sought to distort it, some because of alignment or selfish interests, others because they themselves have been misled. Now, it is undeniable that the choice of a political system or system of government depends exclusively on the will of the people of the State concerned. Neither a third State nor the United Nations can impose such a choice on the Khmer people.

49. To accept the inclusion of this item as contained in document A/9195 of 11 October 1973, would, in our view, be tantamount to adopting the principle that the Members of the United Nations are empowered to debate the choice of a system of government instead of the Khmer people concerned. Such an act would constitute inadmissible interference in the internal affairs of a Member State and a flagrant violation of both the spirit and the letter of the United Nations Charter.

50. I should like, in conclusion, to stress the fact that the overwhelming majority of delegations of Member States in the course of the general debate that has just ended emphasized the need for the United Nations to respect the sacred right of the Khmer people to decide their own destiny without foreign interference.

51. Mr. ANWAR SANI (Indonesia): The Assembly has before it the General Committee's recommendation on a proposal for the inclusion in its agenda of a new item entitled “Restoration of the lawful rights of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia in the United Nations” [A/9195 and Add. I]. The proposal is accompanied by a draft resolution and an explanatory memorandum. It is not my intention at this stage to go into the substance of the draft

resolution. During the general debate, the head of the Indonesian delegation, my Foreign Minister, expressed Indonesia's view on what is happening in Cambodia in the following manner:

"The tragic events in Cambodia revolve, in our view, primarily around the question of contending national leaderships, further compounded by foreign interference and conflicting major-Power interests. It is hoped that a peaceful solution to the Khmer problem will be brought about through negotiations among the parties concerned. In the final analysis it is for the Khmer people themselves to decide on the leadership they want and the system of government under which they choose to live. Therefore my delegation is of the view that we should not take any action which might prejudice the decision of the Khmer people themselves and might prolong the tragic suffering and loss of life and property in Cambodia." [2135th meeting, para. 50.]

52. Article 2, paragraph 7 of the Charter states:

"Nothing contained in the present Charter shall authorize the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any State or shall require the Members to submit such matters to settlement under the present Charter; but this principle shall not prejudice the application of enforcement measures under Chapter VII."

53. It is my delegation's view that the Assembly would do wrong to discuss a matter which is essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of Cambodia and to try by resolution to impose upon the Khmer people the choice of whom they should accept as their leader and their government. The imposition by resolution of a choice by the Assembly will certainly not end the fighting now going on in Cambodia. On the contrary, it may, in the opinion of my delegation, intensify and prolong the tragic fighting among Cambodians. Certainly that cannot be the intention of this Assembly, as it is purely against the purposes and principles of the Charter.

54. In the event that the United Nations is prepared to take action, it would be more in accordance with the provisions of the Charter if the General Assembly would appeal to the contending parties to stop the fighting and start negotiations for a peaceful solution acceptable to the Khmer people and, at the same time, request all outside Powers not to intervene in Cambodian internal affairs, so that the Khmer people can settle their problems themselves without interference or pressure from foreign forces.

55. My delegation is of the view that the General Assembly should reject the proposal to inscribe a new item entitled "Restoration of the lawful rights of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia in the United Nations" on the agenda, as the proposal is clearly contrary to the provisions of Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter.

56. I should like to add that this view is shared by many of the South-East Asian and Pacific countries, neighbours of Cambodia and Members of this Organization, as was so eloquently stated by the representative of the Philippines when he intervened on behalf of his delegation in the debate at the General Committee's 212th meeting.

57. Mr. GIAMBRUNO (Uruguay) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I should like on behalf of my delegation to express our most resolute opposition to the inclusion of the proposed item. Without wishing to dwell on substantive arguments from this rostrum on a matter with which all representatives are familiar, I do wish, however, to voice the concern of all the small countries that see their integrity threatened by this attempt at interfering in the internal affairs of a State.

58. The United Nations Charter enshrines the principle of safeguarding domestic jurisdiction, the so-called exception of domestic jurisdiction, as enshrined in Article 2, paragraph 7 of the Charter. Until now it had not been possible to attempt so flagrant a violation of that principle. We have followed with sorrow and pain the crisis besetting the Khmer Government and people, but we believe that that Government and people alone can settle their own crisis by endowing themselves with the Government that they think is best suited to them. Otherwise, we would be violating a fundamental principle on which the very existence of our Charter is based.

59. Neither shall I dwell on the meaning and significance of the unacceptable premise that it is possible through imposition, force and manœuvres on the part of some Powers to interfere in the legitimate processes of a people to determine its own destiny.

60. I have learned with some surprise that rather than deal here with the classical principles of law and instead of asking whether there is responsibility and legality on the part of a Government to pursue its own ends, the argument is being adduced that the so-called Government whose existence is being invoked is actually to be found outside the Khmer territory, no less than in the capital of one of the great Powers.

61. I am wondering whether that great Power, about whose purposes and designs we have heard nothing but progressive arguments, is now giving us an example of what dictatorship and intervention mean, an example which could hardly be reconciled with populist views, since it would appear that monarchies are now being forged in Peking.

62. In any event, I voice here the profound preoccupation of my delegation at seeing that an attempt is being made to violate one of the fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations, namely, to intervene in the internal affairs of a State. We categorically object and we say again that only the Khmer people have the right to decide their own destiny.

63. Mr. RAHAL (Algeria) (*Interpretation from French*): Thirty-two members of this Assembly have presented a request for the inclusion on the agenda of an item entitled "Restoration of the lawful rights of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia in the United Nations". The General Committee having recommended this inclusion, it is now up to the Assembly to confirm the recommendation.

64. Cambodia has been a Member of our Organization for almost 20 years, and the problem which arises now is

that of its representation in the Organization. For us, at this stage of our discussion, it is not a question of dealing with the substance of the problem or embarking upon the presentation of our arguments. We would simply like to show that the discussion we would like to see begin is both necessary and useful and that it is urgent, which explains the procedure we have resorted to in order to request its inclusion in the agenda.

65. A rapid review of certain historical facts would suffice to establish that in fact there has been no discontinuity in the exercise by Prince Sihanouk of the legal and legitimate representation of Cambodia. It was following a military coup d'état, encouraged and supported by foreign Powers, that a new régime was established in Phnom Penh, while the head of the constitutional Government was making an official visit to a foreign country. If Prince Sihanouk has never accepted the fact established by this rebellion, he has been supported in this by a large proportion of the Cambodian people and by the most representative leaders of Cambodia. Internationally, many countries, particularly in the third world, have continued to consider Prince Norodom Sihanouk as the only lawful and constitutional head of State of Cambodia.

66. To restore his authority in Cambodia and put an end to the military rebellion, Prince Sihanouk and his Government could adopt no other course but that of armed struggle in order to compel the military rebel chiefs to abandon the power they had acquired unlawfully. We know the external support that the new leaders of Phnom Penh have always relied upon, and the scope and size of the assistance they have been receiving militarily to keep themselves in power against the will of the people of Cambodia. The struggle being waged in this way, under the leadership of Prince Sihanouk, became a veritable liberation war, and could only develop with the voluntary and spontaneous support of the bulk of the population. The progress achieved in this struggle proves by itself both the prestige that has been preserved by Prince Sihanouk among the Cambodian people and the unpopularity of the usurping régime of Phnom Penh, whose survival would be unthinkable without the extensive military support provided to it by foreign Powers.

67. The unpopularity of the so-called Phnom Penh Government is not due solely to the illegal conditions in which it came to power. It is the result also, and perhaps especially, of its flagrant incompetence in meeting its responsibilities and of the widespread corruption in quarters close to power, which has attained such dimensions that it has finally been denounced by the international press which is most favourable to that régime.

68. At the present time, the success of the struggle of the Cambodian people for its liberation is such that almost all of the territory of Cambodia is under the exclusive authority of Prince Sihanouk and his Government. Of course, battles are still being fought around Phnom Penh, but however long they last and however fierce they are, and however great the resistance which may still be shown by the Lon Nol régime, the result is beyond doubt. Accordingly, Prince Sihanouk has never ceased, in spite of the coup d'état of March 1970, to embody Cambodian legitimacy, not only

because of the illegality of the assumption of power by Lon Nol, but also, and mainly, because of the attachment always shown to him by the Cambodian people, and the implacable struggle, which is now approaching final success, being waged by the Royal Government of National Union to restore constitutional legitimacy in Cambodia.

69. We have been told that this was an Asian problem and that we should leave it to the countries that are neighbours of Cambodia to study and to find a solution. Of course, we would be ready to support that argument, which would make it possible for the countries of each geographical region to settle their disputes free from foreign intervention. The neighbours of Cambodia, which today see in our initiative an unacceptable intrusion into matters which are of primary concern to them, would have been more justified in reproaching us if they had always shown the same intransigence to the actions of all foreign Powers in their region. We know, unfortunately, that this is far from the case and that the tragic situation still prevailing throughout the Indo-China peninsula, particularly in Cambodia, was engendered by American intervention in South-East Asia. It is out of friendship for these countries that I shall omit to explain the role that some of them have played in this affair.

70. But when it is the United States that accuses us of interfering in the internal affairs of Cambodia, as their representative did yesterday in the General Committee, I think that this is really the limit and one has to have a very acute sense of humour to appreciate such a situation.

71. It is true that it is for the Cambodian people itself to choose its leaders and to decide its own destiny. But its ceaseless attachment to Prince Sihanouk and its commitment to the liberation struggle are the clearest and most unambiguous reply that a people can offer when it is compelled to choose between legitimacy and usurpation, between national authenticity and submission to foreign Powers, between healthy forces that have roots in history and the shifting sands of corruption and mediocrity.

72. The Cambodian people has thus made a clear choice, and it is in order to prevent that free choice from being disregarded that the voice of the Cambodian patriots is being stifled, that our Organization must put an end to a mystification which has lasted too long and which has detracted from its prestige and authority.

73. That choice of the Cambodian people was endorsed by the non-aligned countries, which met just a few weeks ago in Algiers, by accepting among them the representatives of the Royal Government of Prince Sihanouk to participate in their work in the name of the Cambodian people. The Algiers Conference seriously concerned itself with the situation in Cambodia, not, certainly, because it wished to deny the Asian peoples their right to be those primarily concerned and those most interested, but because the long and difficult struggle of our peoples in this last quarter of a century, if it has taught us anything, has taught us that these problems can not be separated one from another, that any threat to the liberty of one is also a threat to the liberty of others and that, in the final analysis, misfortunes, difficulties and under-development have even increased their solidarity, a solidarity which they would never have achieved on their own.

74. That is why the problem of Cambodia is not just a Cambodian problem or an Asian problem, it is the problem of all of us who are exposed to the danger of foreign intervention, who are devoted to the liberty of all peoples and to the establishment of true peace based on justice, not violence.

75. In requesting today that the Assembly accept the recommendation of its General Committee we do not mean to prejudge the results of the debate on this subject. The problem, which is the subject of the item we want to see on the agenda, is a real problem because it casts doubt on the validity of the representation of the Cambodian people by a delegation which speaks in our Assembly on behalf of a certain Khmer Republic which, in fact and provisionally, boils down to the city of Phnom Penh. The Assembly cannot shirk an examination of this problem because it is a matter of the justice which should be rendered to a people which has had the courage to express its will without fear of death. It is a matter of the prestige of our Organization, too, which can be based only upon representation which is the authentic representation of the peoples of the world.

76. Mr. MOJSOV (Yugoslavia): The Yugoslav delegation fully supports the decision of the General Committee to recommend to the General Assembly the inclusion in the agenda of the twenty-eighth regular session of an item entitled "Restoration of the lawful rights of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia in the United Nations", as contained in document A/9200/Add.4. The explanatory memorandum submitted by the group of 32 sponsors [A/9195 and Add. 1], including my delegation, sufficiently explains the motives and reasons for the inclusion of this item in the agenda. What is actually involved is redressing the injustice done to the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia, presided over by the head of State, Prince Norodom Sihanouk, in its capacity as the only legitimate Government of Cambodia, by preventing it from representing its people and country in the United Nations. The causes of this state of affairs are well known. The Lon Nol group, supported from abroad, carried out a coup d'état in Phnom Penh in March 1970 and established an illegal régime which occupies unlawfully the seat of Cambodia in our Organization. Thanks to the struggle of the people of Cambodia for liberation and independence and to the very wide support enjoyed by it, the Government of Prince Sihanouk—which Yugoslavia has recognized all along as the only legitimate Government of Cambodia—controls today the largest part of the territory of its country, with over 80 per cent of the population. The Lon Nol group maintains itself only in Phnom Penh and in a few strongholds, and only with the help of foreign assistance and support expressed in various forms of direct or indirect assistance and support expressed in various forms of direct or indirect intervention by foreign Powers.

77. During the debate we have heard those who are opposed to the inclusion of the item in the agenda advance as an argument the allegation that the United Nations is interfering in this way in the internal affairs of Cambodia and that it is for the people of Cambodia to decide which government will represent it in international organizations. Of course, it is the inherent right of the people of Cambodia to decide its own fate, and this is in fact the basic motive that has prompted the sponsors to request the restoration of the

legitimate rights of the Royal Government of National Union, because it is precisely that Government which enjoys the support of its people and which is being given ever wider recognition by other States.

78. May I recall here the declaration and resolution adopted by the Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, which was held recently in Algiers and attended by nearly two thirds of the Member States of the United Nations [see A/9330]. Those documents clearly and unequivocally lend full support to the aspirations of the people of Cambodia to live in peace, freedom and independence and demand that all foreign intervention in Cambodia should cease forthwith. At the same time, they call upon all countries to recognize the Royal Government of National Union as the only legitimate Government of Cambodia. The non-aligned countries, for their part, have already decided that only that Government can represent Cambodia among the non-aligned.

79. I must admit that it sounds rather strange, and in any case unconvincing, that the principle of non-interference should be invoked precisely by those who have been interfering in the internal affairs of that country all the time, in their endeavour to maintain the illegal Lon Nol régime in power by all means, including the use of armed force, the indiscriminate bombing of the territory of Cambodia and the use of military bases in some neighbouring countries, from which this direct military involvement was launched. Was that not the most evident and the most eloquent direct interference in the internal affairs of Cambodia? The war in Cambodia is a component of the over-all situation in Indo-China, and everyone knows that it constitutes an international problem, and not a specific local dispute in which, allegedly, only the neighbouring countries or a narrower area are interested. War and foreign intervention in any part of the world affect the peace and security of all countries in the world. Therefore the United Nations, under the Charter, has the right and duty to take action in accordance with its principles and objectives. As a matter of fact, we are fully aware that not so long ago the General Assembly already decided in another concrete case which Government should represent a Member State in our Organization. There, also, in that case, the argument of the opposition of some neighbouring countries was again used; and we all know what the final outcome was.

80. Consequently, reference to Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter by the Lon Nol group and its foreign supporters constitutes an attempt to prevent the legalization of an outcome for which the people of Cambodia have already opted by their struggle.

81. In conclusion, I should like again to point out that what we are discussing now and what we are deciding upon is not the matter in substance. We shall have an opportunity to argue and to discuss the merits of this problem at the appropriate time. We are now faced with a much simpler decision: to adopt the report of the General Committee of the General Assembly, which yesterday decided by an overwhelming majority to include in the agenda the item entitled "Restoration of the lawful rights of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia in the United Nations".

82. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): In accordance with rule 23, we have now heard three speakers in favour of, and three against, the inclusion of the item in the Assembly's agenda. We shall proceed to the vote, in accordance with rule 90. A recorded vote has been requested.

83. I now put to the vote the recommendation of the General Committee that an additional item entitled "Restoration of the lawful rights of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia in the United Nations" should be included in the agenda of the twenty-eighth session.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Argentina, Bahrain, Bulgaria, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Congo, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Democratic Yemen, Egypt, Equatorial Guinea, Finland, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Guinea, Guyana, Hungary, Iceland, India, Iraq, Jamaica, Kuwait, Libyan Arab Republic, Madagascar, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Niger, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Togo, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: Barbados, Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Costa Rica, Fiji, Greece, Honduras, Indonesia, Israel, Japan, Khmer Republic, Laos, Malaysia, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Paraguay, Philippines, Singapore, South Africa, Thailand, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela.

Abstaining: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bhutan, Burma, Canada, Cyprus, Denmark, Ecuador, Ethiopia, France, Germany (Federal Republic of), Ghana, Iran, Ireland, Italy, Ivory Coast, Kenya, Liberia, Luxembourg, Nepal, Netherlands, Nigeria, Portugal, Rwanda, Spain, Swaziland, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

The recommendation was adopted by 68 votes to 24, with 29 abstentions.¹

84. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I shall now call on those representatives who have asked to be allowed to explain their vote after the voting, after which we shall decide whether the item is to be referred for consideration directly in plenary meetings, in accordance with the recommendation of the General Committee.

85. Mr. CARRANCO (Mexico) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I wish to repeat what was said by the representative of Mexico yesterday in the General Committee, at which the Committee decided to recommend the inclusion of item 106 in the agenda. Our representative stated the following, *inter alia*:

"I merely wish to place it on record that the vote cast in favour by the Mexican delegation is in keeping with its

¹ The delegation of Yemen subsequently informed the Secretariat that it wished to have its vote recorded as having been in favour of the recommendation.

position of principle of supporting the request of one or more countries for the inclusion of an item in the agenda. We have serious reservations concerning the title of the item, and our vote must not be construed as a pronouncement on the draft resolution contained in document A/9195."²

86. Mr. BOATEN (Ghana): I wish briefly to explain my delegation's position in the vote that has just taken place.

87. My delegation deplores interference, military or otherwise, in the internal affairs of any independent, sovereign State by any other State. That is why we were concerned about the United States military presence in South-East Asia and were relieved by that Government's decision to withdraw its presence from Viet-Nam to enable that country to solve its own problems. It is my delegation's view that that decision should be made to apply with regard to all countries in that area. We would have had no difficulty about supporting the inscription of an item which gave opportunity for a debate on any such interference in the Khmer Republic.

88. My delegation feels that way because, given the background of relaxation of tension in many areas of conflict in the world, particularly the growing détente among the big Powers, the policy of containment, which initially appeared to have given rise to the policy of military intervention in South-East Asia, has ceased to have any meaning. We cannot build international peace by blowing hot and cold.

89. My Government cannot, however, ignore the implications of the item that we have just accepted. In our view, the situation in Cambodia is an unsettled one. We believe that if that country were left alone it would be in a better position to solve its problems. My delegation is encouraged in that view by the relaxation of tension in other parts of the world where the countries concerned have been given the opportunity to evolve their own solutions. Further, since my country is a member of the Organization of African Unity, which has always justifiably demanded the opportunity to resolve issues affecting the African region, my delegation found it difficult to ignore the views expressed by the countries in the region most directly affected by the issue which the item raises. My Government recognizes this principle because it has the potential of developing into an important instrument for the peaceful resolution of international issues.

90. My delegation, however, subscribes to the principle that Members of this Organization should be enabled to ask for the inclusion in the agenda of items that they consider relevant to international concerns. This right my delegation has no intention of denying to any State Member of this Organization.

91. It was for those reasons that my delegation abstained in the vote.

92. Mr. PONCE (Ecuador) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Generally speaking my delegation has invariably supported the inclusion of a new item on the General Assembly's

² For a summary of this statement, see *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-eighth Session, General Committee, 212th meeting.*

agenda because, to our way of thinking, this makes it possible for us to consider matters of interest to the international community and to solve them in keeping with the principles of the Charter.

93. In this instance, however, we were compelled to abstain in the vote because, in my delegation's view, we were not called upon to decide on the inclusion of an item at the request of a Member State but, rather, we were faced with a demand from a very estimable group of States for the inclusion of a matter which the Member State affected by the request regards as interference in its internal affairs.

94. My delegation believes that its abstention will enable it—now that the item has been included by the will of the majority of the Assembly—to consider the matter freely, without any prior commitment on the final outcome of the debate, thus allowing it to arrive at a judicious decision on this question and on the draft resolution.

95. Mr. RYDBECK (Sweden): In casting its vote in favour of the adoption of the fifth report of the General Committee and in favour of the inclusion in the agenda of the item "Restoration of the lawful rights of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia in the United Nations", the Swedish delegation has followed a principle that we have consistently supported, namely, not to oppose a request for the inclusion of an item in the agenda that has reasonably wide support among the Members of the United Nations, in particular if it is also supported by a majority of the General Committee.

96. I want to make it quite clear, however, that our vote on the issue of the inclusion of this item in no way prejudices our position as to the substance of the matter.

97. Mr. RAE (Canada): The delegation of Canada abstained in the vote on the inclusion in the agenda of the item proposed. While normally, as a matter of principle, we do not oppose the inclusion of any appropriate item of international interest in the agenda of the General Assembly, we consider that the language and formulation of the proposal under consideration are prejudicial to constructive discussion of its substance and we could not, therefore, support the inscription of the item in its present form.

98. This position is taken wholly without prejudice to any eventual view which Canada might express on the substance of the matter under consideration.

99. Mr. LONGERSTAEY (Belgium) (*interpretation from French*): My delegation did not vote against the inclusion on the agenda of the item entitled "Restoration of the lawful rights of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia in the United Nations" because, following an already old tradition, my country does not oppose the inclusion of items on the agenda. However, the title of the new item is such that a favourable vote on our part would

have implied a value judgement on a Government with which we have normal diplomatic relations.

100. I should like to confirm that the abstention of my delegation in no way prejudices the attitude that my country will adopt in the discussion of the substance of the item in the Assembly.

101. Mr. PLAJA (Italy): As previous speakers have already emphasized, the vote just taken was of a procedural nature and related to the inclusion in the agenda of a new item. The Italian delegation follows the principle of not opposing the inclusion of new items on the agenda of the General Assembly out of respect for the right of Member States to raise in the Assembly matters which they consider important. In casting our vote on this procedural question, however, we kept in mind that not only the substance of the item but also the wording of the proposal were controversial. My delegation therefore abstained in the vote on it.

102. I must point out that the vote I have just cast does not prejudice the position my delegation will take when the substance of the matter is discussed. Of course, that position will take into account the fact that the Italian Government considers the Government of the Khmer Republic to be lawfully constituted, since it was constitutionally appointed by the National Assembly of that country.

103. Mr. JIMETA (Nigeria): My delegation firmly believes in the capacity of the people of Cambodia to resolve the problem now facing them, given encouragement on both sides, without undue interference by external forces on either side. The inclusion of the item as it has been adopted does not, in the view of my delegation, necessarily facilitate the solution of the problem.

104. Our decision to abstain in the vote on the proposal should not be construed as implying a position on the substance of the item.

105. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The Assembly, having decided to include in the agenda the item entitled "Restoration of the lawful rights of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia in the United Nations", has still to decide on subparagraph 2 (b) of the General Committee's recommendation, which reads: "Decided to recommend to the General Assembly that the item should be considered in plenary meeting." [A/9200/Add.4.]

106. If I hear no objection I shall take it that the Assembly decides that the item should be considered in plenary meetings.

It was so decided.

The meeting rose at 5.10 p.m.