

United Nations  
**GENERAL  
ASSEMBLY**

THIRTY-NINTH SESSION

Official Records



**40th  
PLENARY MEETING**

Monday, 29 October 1984,  
at 10.55 a.m.

**NEW YORK**

*President:* Mr. Paul J. F. LUSAKA  
(Zambia).

*In the absence of the President, Mr. Fajardo-Maldonado (Guatemala), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

**AGENDA ITEM 20**

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

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I call on the representative of Malaysia, who wishes to introduce draft resolution A/39/L.3.

2. Mr. ABDUL KADIR (Malaysia): I stand here today before the Assembly again to bring to the attention of the international community the open aggression committed by a relatively new Member of the United Nations, Viet Nam, against Democratic Kampuchea in December 1978, aggression committed against a helpless neighbour in open defiance of all international principles and decency, and in blatant disregard of the Charter of the United Nations.

3. Today I move the adoption of draft resolution A/39/L.3 on behalf of an ever increasing number of countries, this time 54. As Chairman of the Standing Committee of the Association of South-East Asian Nations [ASEAN], Malaysia wishes to record its deepest appreciation to the fellow sponsors of said draft.

4. It will be clear that the sponsors of this draft resolution represent a broad cross-section of the membership of the United Nations; this underscores the continuing concern of the international community about the flagrant violation by Viet Nam of Kampuchean independence and sovereignty. The present draft resolution adheres closely in substance to the resolution which the General Assembly adopted last year [resolution 38/3]. I shall not, therefore, go into it in any detail beyond drawing the Assembly's attention to the operative paragraphs which reiterate the conviction that the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea, the restoration and preservation of its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, the right of the Kampuchean people to determine their own destiny and the commitment by all States to non-intervention in the internal affairs of Kampuchea are the principal components of any just and lasting resolution of the Kampuchean problem.

5. The 54 sponsors submit this draft resolution for the consideration of the General Assembly and earnestly hope that, like the previous ones, it will receive the overwhelming support of its members.

We are, of course, aware that, despite the clearly expressed will of the United Nations in past years, peace and freedom have not yet returned to Kampuchea.

6. The consequences of these facts of invasion and military occupation must also not be forgotten. For Kampuchea they have meant the continued violation of its independence and territorial integrity, continued interference in its internal affairs and continued denial to its people of their right to choose their own Government and their own way of life. For the other countries of South-East Asia they have brought instability and danger to the region. For the international community they represent a threat to peace and security and a gross violation of rights which are sacred to all countries and which are enshrined as basic principles of the Charter.

7. There have, of course, been continuous attempts by the aggressor to obscure and confuse the issue and, in a continuing futile exercise, to erect a front of self-righteousness and reasonableness. But the facts that remain are glaring, plain and simple. First, Kampuchea today is completely controlled by the invading Vietnamese forces, numbering nearly 200,000, which sustain a puppet régime which they installed in December 1978. No one even pretends to deny this truth: Remove the Vietnamese troops and the Phnom Penh authorities would simply crumble and disappear—unmourned, I might add, by the Kampuchean people. The torment of this subjugated people can be measured by a simple yardstick: In what direction is the movement of refugees flowing? Despite the great dangers and hardships, thousands of refugees continue to flee by sea and by land to areas outside the control of the Vietnamese and their surrogates. Secondly, a most disturbing development is the Vietnamese attempt to "Vietnamize" Kampuchea. After six years of occupation, the Vietnamization process appears to be well under way. Kampuchea today is progressively being transformed into a permanent vassal State of Viet Nam, not only through control of the Kampuchean leadership and through economic integration with Viet Nam, but also through massive transfers of Vietnamese settlers who, according to the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, already number 640,000. Thirdly, the Government of Viet Nam has made a series of announcements about partial troop withdrawal from Kampuchea. At first, the countries members of ASEAN noted this development with interest, as we had hoped that it would initiate movement towards a political solution. But unfortunately our optimism was short-lived, because all that happened was that Viet Nam subsequently brought in fresh troops and upgraded its infantry and mechanized air units for use against the nationalist forces of Kampuchea. Alas, for "partial withdrawal" we must

read simply "rotation of troops". Fourthly, we have heard a good deal about the possibility of dialogue between the ASEAN countries and Indo-Chinese countries, including well-publicized hints about secret dialogue—which incidentally seems to us to be a contradiction in terms. Allow me to take a few moments to examine this issue of dialogue or negotiations.

8. All ASEAN countries welcome dialogue with Viet Nam. Indeed, we have been having these ministerial dialogues on and off ever since 1979, or, more accurately, since 1975, when many of our countries offered our friendship and expressed our willingness to assist in the rehabilitation and reconstruction of Viet Nam. Such dialogues have, therefore, been going on over the years, and the latest of these were the individual bilateral meetings which the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Viet Nam had with the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of a number of ASEAN countries here in New York only a few weeks ago. We hope these dialogues and conversations will go on, and we, for our part, will do all we can to facilitate the process.

9. However, in relation to dialogue, the important question is, dialogue about what? Dialogue for the sake of dialogue is not only useless but actually harmful, because it is deceptive and gives rise to hopes which are cruelly illusory. A solution—and hence a dialogue—is only possible when it begins with and is based on real facts and real issues, and these, I repeat, are the invasion and continued military occupation of Kampuchea by Vietnamese troops and the denial of the freedom and right of self-determination of the Kampuchean people. In the past few years Viet Nam has put forward various proposals for settling the Kampuchean problem; these are contained in documents such as the Vientiane statement.<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately, these proposals are designed merely to entrench Viet Nam's presence and to further its objective of bringing about a military *fait accompli* in Kampuchea. These proposals do not provide a basis for a solution, for they ignore and even deny the core of the problem: namely, the presence of Vietnamese forces in Kampuchea.

10. The ASEAN Ministers for Foreign Affairs for their part have continued their search for an acceptable political solution which will take into account all the relevant factors, including—let me emphasize—the fears and concerns of Viet Nam as well as the internal political situation in Kampuchea. Their proposals are embodied in the Appeal for Kampuchean Independence issued at Jakarta on 21 September 1983,<sup>2</sup> which calls for national reconciliation, contains provisions for peace-keeping forces and observer groups and is aimed at creating a momentum towards the total withdrawal of all foreign forces and a comprehensive and lasting political settlement. These indeed are the serious issues for dialogue. The ASEAN countries continue to welcome a dialogue on them which will ensure harmony within Kampuchea and peace between Kampuchea and Viet Nam.

11. However, again in relation to dialogue, the question also arises, dialogue with whom? The ASEAN countries have played an active role in this question because we care for the Kampuchean people, because what has happened in Kampuchea affects the long-term peace and stability in South Asia and because important principles of international conduct are at stake. Nevertheless, it is obvious

that the Kampuchean conflict primarily affects at one level the Kampuchean people themselves and at another level the Kampuchean people and Viet Nam.

12. In this connection, one of the most encouraging developments in recent years has been the increasing effectiveness and recognition of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea. That Government is now firmly in place under the leadership of Prince Norodom Sihanouk, whose fierce sense of national independence, deep pride in Kampuchean civilization and firm commitment to the principles of non-alignment, of which he was a co-author and major proponent, cannot be denied. It functions effectively in the liberated areas inside Kampuchea. Its forces have become increasingly effective in battle. The Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea embodies the political will of the Kampuchean people to free their country from foreign occupation and exploitation and to regain their right to choose their own Government and their own way of life. It is a measure of the stature and character of the Coalition Government that national reconciliation is a major element of its policy, so that all true patriots of Kampuchea can rebuild the independence, pride and unity of the Kampuchean nation after the nightmare of the last decade. Regrettably, this offer has been refused; but there is no doubt that the broad-based coalition has struck a responsive chord in the Kampuchean people.

13. In looking at the Kampuchean problem, therefore, it should be clear to all that it is not a problem between the ASEAN countries and Viet Nam as such; it is a problem between Viet Nam and Kampuchea, whose legitimate representatives are the Coalition Government, which, moreover, has opened its arms to national reconciliation involving all Kampuchean groups. These are the real parties to any negotiations. Meanwhile, bearing this in mind, the ASEAN countries stand ready now, as in the past, to join in meaningful dialogue to assist and facilitate the resolution of this tragic situation.

14. While a political solution to the conflict is an urgent and critical issue, we should also not forget those who are caught in this devastating war. My delegation wishes to express its most heartfelt thanks to donor countries, the United Nations and its agencies and the many humanitarian and voluntary agencies which have provided assistance to the Kampuchean refugees. But more still needs to be done, particularly for those on the Thai-Kampuchean border, as well as those awaiting resettlement in refugee camps. The international community must do its utmost to ensure that food relief and medical resources reach those most in need. We must plead that nations open their borders to speed up the resettlement process. We must resolve to provide continued assistance to those Kampucheans awaiting a safe return to their homes, so that in all these ways Kampuchea and its people will be assisted to survive their present ordeal.

15. For all these efforts, political as well as humanitarian, my delegation would like to take this opportunity to pay a warm tribute, first of all, to the Secretary-General for his careful, diligent and unremitting efforts in the cause of peace and justice in the region and to his dedicated and able associates; to Mr. Rafeuddin Ahmed, Under-Secretary-General and Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs in South-East Asia and to Mr. Tatsuro Kunugi, Special Representative of the

Secretary-General for the Co-ordination of Kampuchean Humanitarian Assistance Programmes; to Mr. Pahr, President of the International Conference on Kampuchea, for his initiatives in connection with the implementation of the decisions of the Conference; and to Mr. Sarré, of Senegal, Chairman of the *Ad Hoc* Committee of the International Conference on Kampuchea, and other members of the Committee for their constructive endeavours to bring about a political solution in Kampuchea.

16. It is ironic and tragic that, in discussing the subjugation of the helpless Kampuchean people, we are dealing with Viet Nam as the aggressor—a country which had cut for itself a significant niche in contemporary international history. We have many a time heard various leaders of Viet Nam stating their readiness to fight for a thousand years and to make whatever sacrifice was necessary to safeguard their independence and sovereignty, to bring about unity, to prevent outside interference in their internal affairs and to protect and uphold their right to choose their own Government and way of life. In this noble cause, a cause which they believed was to uphold important international principles, hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese sacrificed their lives or limbs and for long the whole Vietnamese people suffered untold hardship and deprivation. But these sacrifices and sufferings were not in vain. Viet Nam regained its independence, reunited its country and proudly took its place in the comity of nations.

17. However, lest it be forgotten, it is very much in order now to remind Viet Nam that much of the victory in its people's valiant struggle is owed also to the teeming millions all over the world who stood by them in their hour of need, giving all kinds of support, moral and other. They mourned the Vietnamese dead. They agonized over their sufferings and deprivation, and they took to the streets in the thousands and hundreds of thousands to voice their feelings—in Asia, in Africa, in Latin America, in London, in Paris, in Washington, in Peking, at the universities, at meetings of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and in other international forums and elsewhere—galvanizing international opinion and standing shoulder to shoulder in common cause until final victory.

18. What was this struggle for? Why this international movement? Let us remember that this was a struggle in common cause with Viet Nam to uphold those cherished international principles without which no small and weak country would be safe, without which world peace, prosperity and co-operation would be just a distant dream, and without which there would be only misery, chaos and death everywhere. Surely, therefore, the world has a right to expect Viet Nam, in its hour of victory, to be in the forefront of the continuing struggle to defend and fortify those very principles, in the continuing struggle to free the oppressed and subjugated, in the continuing struggle to protect the weak and the needy, and in the continuing struggle to build a peaceful and prosperous world free from oppression, hypocrisy and bigotry.

*Mr. Lusaka (Zambia) took the Chair.*

19. Alas, instead it turned its guns on a weak neighbour to subjugate it, in complete and defiant disregard of all those very principles which so many laid down their lives to uphold and for which the world over there has been so much agony and

suffering. The world is forced to witness the tragic and ironic spectacle of the national struggle to free Kampuchea from Vietnamese aggression and occupation being led personally by Prince Norodom Sihanouk, whose personal and national misfortunes are indeed a direct result of standing in brave and common cause with the Vietnamese in their hour of need.

20. We in ASEAN are well on the way to providing our peoples with a standard and quality of life consistent with their status as subjects of independent and sovereign countries, consistent with their good fortune as residents of countries well-endowed with mineral, oil, gas and other natural resources, consistent with their very rich and varied cultural heritage. We are doing all this through an institution of regional co-operation which has been acknowledged by and earned the respect of the international community.

21. However, all this can be permanent only if we can bring about long-term stability and peace in South-East Asia, of which Viet Nam and Kampuchea are an integral part. By working towards South-East Asian peace and stability we hope to contribute significantly towards international peace and stability. As a step towards this, we in ASEAN have declared our region to be a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality; and to be able to realize this we need the participation of Viet Nam and a solution to the Kampuchean problem. We in ASEAN have declared our region to be a nuclear-weapon-free zone; for this, too, we need Viet Nam's co-operation and the resolution of the Kampuchean problem.

22. Significantly, Viet Nam too is a country very well endowed with rich mineral and natural resources, basically still unexploited, and its people possess a very rich cultural heritage. In the solution of the Kampuchean problem, therefore, lies the key to the happiness, security and prosperity of the Vietnamese people, who have languished in poverty and deprivation for so long. In it also lies the future peace, security and prosperity of South-East Asia.

23. It is for these reasons, and others too, that we are again raising this question of Kampuchea. We need the United Nations and that very significant force, international opinion, to convince Viet Nam that in a just and political solution of the problem of Kampuchea, in accordance with established international principles, lies the key to its own stability, security and prosperity.

24. Prince NORODOM SIHANOUK (Democratic Kampuchea) (*interpretation from French*): On behalf of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, over which I preside, our patriotic resistance and the overwhelming majority of the people of Kampuchea, I should like to say how honoured I am to present before the General Assembly the thoughts which are inspired in me by the situation of my country, which has been invaded and occupied and is in the process of being colonized by our ungrateful, powerful neighbour, the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam.

25. I say ungrateful advisedly, because a restored and reunified Viet Nam has chosen to forget the commitments it had solemnly made prior to 1970 to myself and to the Khmer people—that is, to respect our independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity—while, at great risk, I helped it in many ways to carry on its own struggle for national liberation and

reunification. May I also recall that in 1969, when President Ho Chi Minh died, I was the only head of State to go to Hanoi to attend the funeral of that revolutionary patriot.

26. There is no doubt that the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam is indeed powerful. With a population ten times that of Kampuchea, with an army ten times more numerous and one hundred times better equipped than our resistance forces, it would seem at first sight that we, the David, must be powerless before that Goliath. Yet past and present history has taught us never to lose hope when our cause is just.

27. Viet Nam now has an army of occupation of 200,000 men in Kampuchea, which it can reinforce when necessary and which is equipped with up-to-date and complete Soviet weaponry. Moreover, Viet Nam has installed a puppet administration—which causes it quite a lot of trouble, since a growing number of its officials and soldiers, refusing any longer to be servants of the Vietnamese, have fled to join the liberated areas where they are taken in charge by the resistance. These defections, as well as those of young Vietnamese soldiers from South Viet Nam, have been widely reported by the media.

28. The Heng Samrin team, painfully shored up by Vietnamese bayonets, has no authority of its own, as has been noted by all independent observers. This team is controlled at all levels by an ever-increasing number of Vietnamese “advisers”, who ultimately take all the decisions on its behalf in every field.

29. Aware that they cannot count on their Khmer puppets, the Vietnamese are pushing to an even higher degree the direct colonization of our depopulated country by settling groups of “farmer-soldiers” from Viet Nam on the most productive land, while the puppet authorities are unable—and unwilling—to oppose this massive influx. Moreover, the Phnom Penh authorities have given instructions to the Heng Samrin urban and provincial “cadres” to call upon the Khmer population to assist in every possible way the installation of the Vietnamese “settlers”, to “share” food and cattle with them and to “give them a hand” in building their houses, under pain of very severe punishment.

30. No wonder, then, that thousands of our peasants, deprived and threatened, have fled on many occasions to the liberated areas or, if they have been unable to do that, have lent their valuable help on the spot to the resistance units.

31. Moreover, the people of Kampuchea have long since made up their minds about the sincerity and unselfishness of their so-called Vietnamese ally. At the beginning of the occupation of our territory, and constantly ever since, almost 1 million men and women of our country, of all ages and from all social strata, have demonstrated their deep-seated aversion to the occupiers by an exodus which has led some to the liberated areas and others to every part of the world, in particular, Thailand, the United States of America, France, Australia, New Zealand, the Philippines, Malaysia, Indonesia, the People's Republic of China, Hong Kong, Macao, Japan, the Federal Republic of Germany, Great Britain, Belgium, Switzerland, the Netherlands, Canada, Italy, Austria, Senegal and elsewhere.

32. Rejection of the “Vietnamese protectorate” is therefore almost unanimous among the people of Kampuchea, while the puppet “administration” and its small armed units, the soldiers of which are often

forcibly enlisted, are falling apart before our very eyes.

33. Had it been possible for you to put questions to our peasants who have sought refuge in the liberated areas of Kampuchea, you would have understood why they have insisted on requesting of us the privilege to be provided with weapons in order to fight the Vietnamese occupiers. They would have told you of the brutality they endured from their present masters if they refused to comply with the orders of those masters—for instance, to repair bridges, roads and railway lines damaged or destroyed by the resistance forces; to supply the enemy with agricultural products or cattle; to cut wood for the enemy, and so forth. Our refugees would have told you of the countless abuses by the occupiers and the Phnom Penh administration, the plunder carried out by puppet officials and the Vietnamese of humanitarian assistance given by international organizations, the Red Cross and certain countries; the seizure of lands and villages; the shameless exploitation of the country's natural resources, especially rice, rubber, forests, fish and the precious stones of Pailin; the looting of the antiquities of Angkor; the lack of hospitals, infirmaries and schools—with the exception of Phnom Penh, the “shop window” of the pro-Vietnamese régime, with which they want to make foreign visitors believe that the situation in the rest of the country is excellent.

34. The Socialist Republic of Viet Nam assures the international community that it would be judicious to entrust Viet Nam with the task of saving unfortunate Kampuchea and healing its wounds. Obviously, Viet Nam assumes that its interlocutors are incredibly naïve if it thinks that they are capable of believing, for even an instant, such childish reasoning.

35. A moment ago I referred to the brutal and autocratic manner, akin to archaic colonialism, in which Viet Nam has acted *vis-à-vis* the population of Kampuchea that is under its domination. Yet I should recall that Viet Nam, which now claims to be able to cure others of their ills, is not even able to give decent treatment to its own compatriots, those living inside Viet Nam. The Hanoi Government is not even able to relieve the poverty prevailing from the North to the South of Viet Nam, to reduce the inequalities, even to ensure respect for the most elementary human rights in Viet Nam. Reference should be made to a recent report published by Amnesty International, which calls attention to the existence in that country of gulags, those concentration camps and prisons where all political opponents—and a large number of persons wrongly accused by informers—rot and die. And what can we say of those hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese who, although attached to their native land, flee on old boats and junks to more hospitable lands, and of whom at least half, if they are not lost at sea, subsequently die of hunger or thirst? In Kampuchea itself, those who dare utter the slightest criticism of the occupiers or their Phnom Penh puppets are thrown into abominable prisons or simply disappear without any trace. And it is those people, masters and servants, who ask that they be allowed to heal the wounds of our compatriots who are in bondage.

36. Furthermore, we are witnessing the great diplomatic manoeuvres of Mr. Nguyen Co Thach, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Viet Nam, who goes from one capital to another in his attempt to persuade



countries that are friends of Kampuchea that Hanoi, in its desire for peace, is ready to make concessions in order to unblock the situation and would agree to a conference on Kampuchea if, for example, the Phnom Penh and the Vientiane puppet régimes could participate in it. Those declarations made by Vietnamese diplomats have no purpose other than to misdirect international opinion by misleading it about the realities of the problem of Kampuchea.

37. May I be permitted to repeat that this problem can be solved only when Viet Nam gives up its military occupation and colonization of Kampuchea and recognizes the latter's right to hold free general elections under United Nations supervision, which would enable it to choose its own régime or leaders. But Mr. Nguyen Co Thach and his Government want nothing of the sort. What they want to do is induce the States members of ASEAN and other Powers concerned to recognize *de facto* the Vietnamese *fait accompli* in Kampuchea and the existence of the Heng Samrin puppet Government, although the latter is spurned by the entire people of Kampuchea. To accept this solution of acquiescence, to call it but that, would simply encourage Vietnamese ambition and thirst for expansion to make even greater inroads. These manoeuvres on the part of Mr. Nguyen Co Thach and his Government cannot be given any favourable reception by free peoples that are anxious to preserve their independence and sovereignty.

38. Furthermore, the Vietnamese and their Phnom Penh puppets have tried to make people believe that our Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea is a group of rebels *vis-à-vis* the so-called legitimate Government of Heng Samrin, composed of traitors at the service and under the orders of an occupying, annexationist foreign Power. How could the Khmer patriots ever be regarded as rebels *vis-à-vis* the avowed servants of the enemy, who are assisted by foreign advisers at all levels?

39. Only the firm and repeated resolutions adopted by the United Nations on Kampuchea can provide a just and reasonable solution to the problem which is today under consideration by the General Assembly. As a Member of the United Nations, Viet Nam is duty bound strictly to respect the Organization's resolutions, which have been adopted by overwhelming majorities.

40. I express my deep thanks to the majority of the States Members of the United Nations, all countries committed to justice, freedom and progress, ASEAN and the competent Committees of the United Nations for their invaluable contribution to the search for an equitable solution to the problem of Kampuchea. My thanks go also, of course, to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, to the *Ad Hoc* Committee of the International Conference on Kampuchea and particularly its Chairman, and to all the relevant committees and personalities of the Organization, as well as to the humanitarian organizations, for their dedication to relieving the misery and suffering of our people.

41. The highly acute problems of our refugees, of divided families and, of course, of restoring peace, cannot be resolved so long as the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and its allies continue to oppose the just resolutions of the United Nations.

42. Vietnamese stubbornness and arrogance is so great today that, in spite of their ardent desire for

peace and concord, the Khmer patriots and their Coalition Government have no other course than to continue their armed struggle. We fight without hatred, but we must continue our sacred struggle until the Vietnamese agree to sit down at the conference table, that of the International Conference on Kampuchea, under United Nations auspices, with the avowed purpose of peacefully resolving our dispute. When Viet Nam informs us of its agreement to participate in such an international meeting, we will at last see some light at the end of this long tunnel.

43. Recently Mr. Nguyen Co Thach, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, tried to make international public opinion and the United Nations believe that through the goodwill of his Government the problem of Kampuchea would soon be solved.

44. In this respect the so-called flexibility of Hanoi's position exists only in the framework of the diplomatic manoeuvring of Mr. Thach, who is seeking to avoid a new and serious Vietnamese defeat in the next vote held in the General Assembly on the draft resolution on Kampuchea.

45. Those manoeuvres are designed to give Governments friendly to the people of Kampuchea false hopes—the hope that an end will soon be put to the misery of the Khmer nation thanks to an equitable solution of the problem of Kampuchea and the hope that peace and concord will be established among all the countries in South-East Asia.

46. Those manoeuvres are therefore aimed at inducing a number of delegations, present here in this assembly and friendly to the Khmer people, to refrain this time from casting a positive vote in support of the just United Nations resolutions on Kampuchea—the only resolutions likely one day to restore peace and freedom to the long-suffering people of Kampuchea.

47. Mr. Nguyen Co Thach has proposed, first, talks between the countries members of ASEAN and the so-called Indo-Chinese States, namely, Viet Nam and its two satellites: the régime of Vientiane and that of Phnom Penh; secondly, an international conference on Kampuchea in which 15 countries would participate, including the Phnom Penh régime, Hanoi's puppet, but which would exclude the participation of Democratic Kampuchea; thirdly, the sending of an international control commission to monitor the partial withdrawals of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea.

48. The Vietnamese Minister for Foreign Affairs, Nguyen Co Thach, formulated those proposals without, however, giving them any official character.

49. I should also like to point out that, in formulating those proposals with such a lack of real seriousness, Mr. Thach has made it clear that he despises and totally rejects the just and noble United Nations resolutions on Kampuchea, resolutions officially adopted by the General Assembly by an overwhelming majority of Member States.

50. If an international conference on Kampuchea were to be organized it should be held under the auspices of the Organization and should include among its participants the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, a sovereign country, a Member of the United Nations and a victim of the acts of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, the aggressor country, which is occupying and colonizing

the greater part of Kampuchea with 200,000 and 600,000 settlers.

51. How could an international conference on Kampuchea solve the problem of Kampuchea if the legal representatives of the people, nation and State of Kampuchea, namely, the three components of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea that was formed following the Declaration of the Formation of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea<sup>3</sup> signed at Kuala Lumpur on 22 June 1982, were excluded?

52. Indeed, Mr. Nguyen Co Thach and his Government are able to eradicate on paper—but only on paper or else by the spoken words—the armed resistance of the people of Democratic Kampuchea; but on the ground, on the battlefield of Kampuchea, the Vietnamese aggressors and colonialists will never prevail against the armed forces of the tripartite Coalition of Democratic Kampuchea. At present we already have more than 60,000 well-armed and well-trained combatants who are fighting the enemy with courage, determination and a lofty patriotic spirit. Next year we will have more than 70,000 combatants and in a few years there will be more than 100,000.

53. Even though numerically fewer than the Vietnamese occupation troops at present, our armed forces of national liberation, by avoiding the waging of conventional warfare against the enemy and instead engaging, with the support of the people, in guerrilla warfare, will be able to create insurmountable difficulties for the occupiers. With the support of the international community, our forces will eventually compel the enemy to respect the just resolutions of the United Nations.

54. Mr. Nguyen Co Thach has proposed unconditional talks between the countries members of ASEAN and the bloc of so-called Indo-Chinese States. In fact, those unconditional talks are very conditional indeed, for Viet Nam thereby wants to induce ASEAN to give implicit recognition to the illegal régime of Heng Samrin in Phnom Penh and, consequently, to recognize the Vietnamese *fait accompli* in Kampuchea. ASEAN is a free association of independent, sovereign and truly democratic States that are associated on a perfectly equal footing. Unlike ASEAN, the bloc of the three Indo-Chinese States is composed of one master and two slaves. The latter are nothing but the “voice of their master” in north Viet Nam, and they must obey him completely. ASEAN is too respectful of Kampuchea’s sovereignty to accept the Machiavellian proposal of Hanoi to settle the fate of the Khmer people behind the backs of their legitimate and legal Government, and it is too clear-sighted to fall into the obvious trap set by Mr. Nguyen Co Thach, who wants it indirectly to recognize the quisling régime in Phnom Penh.

55. As I have recently been told by some highly placed ASEAN officials, the latter supports the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, but would not, however, replace that Government in any attempt to settle the conflict between the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, Kampuchea’s aggressor, and the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, which represents the invaded country. The Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, through its Minister for Foreign Affairs, has therefore sent its proposal to ASEAN for unconditional talks on Kampuchea to the wrong address. Should any talks or negotiations on the fate of Kampuchea take

place, they could only be between the Government of the aggressor country, Viet Nam, and that of the invaded country, Democratic Kampuchea.

56. It only remains for me to say a few words about Mr. Thach’s proposal concerning the sending of an international control commission allegedly to monitor in Kampuchea the repatriation of some units of the Vietnamese army of occupation. In this regard, the Vietnamese Minister for Foreign Affairs has taken care to make it clear that the total withdrawal of Vietnamese occupation forces from Kampuchea will not take place before five or even 10 years have elapsed—and I use his very words.

57. That being so, of what possible benefit would it be for the international community to send, at great cost, an international control commission to Kampuchea? That commission would quickly become a laughing-stock if it were merely to monitor the repatriation of some tired remnants of Vietnamese troops without having in addition the means to detect the surreptitious introduction into Kampuchea of an equivalent or larger number of fresh troops from Hanoi.

58. I do not believe that any Governments, apart from the allies and supporters of expansionist and colonialist Viet Nam, would be prepared to recognize the Vietnamese *fait accompli* in Kampuchea by sending or approving the sending to Phnom Penh of an international control commission to monitor a mere masquerade termed a “partial withdrawal” of Vietnamese troops.

59. In Kampuchea, the Heng Samrin régime would not survive a single day if its Vietnamese masters dared proceed with the total withdrawal of its army of occupation.

60. The sending of an international team of controllers would hardly be justified unless they were called upon to supervise the total and final withdrawal of foreign troops—that is, Vietnamese troops—from the national territory of Kampuchea.

61. In conclusion, I appeal to all delegations of States committed to justice, peace and freedom attending this thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly to vote for the just United Nations resolutions on Kampuchea. In so doing they will make a powerful contribution to preventing the law of the jungle from prevailing in South-East Asia while at the same time remaining faithful to the letter and the spirit of the Charter of the United Nations.

62. In his report on the work of the Organization [A/39/1], the Secretary-General states, *inter alia*:

“I . . . believe that an extended and tolerable future for all humanity ultimately depends upon our success in making the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations the basis of the day-to-day relations of Governments and peoples. . . .

“As the Preamble to the Charter puts it, the main purpose was, and is, ‘to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security’”.

63. The Socialist Republic of Viet Nam seeks to enjoy all the rights and advantages of a full Member of the United Nations, but it arrogantly refuses to carry out the duties which constitute the indispensable counterpart of those rights and advantages. Encouraged and assisted in its aggressive expansionist policy by the USSR, the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam is the only State in our region to violate the

letter and the spirit of the Charter of the United Nations.

64. I venture to hope that the delegations of all countries that cherish justice, peace and freedom will vote in favour of the United Nations resolutions on Kampuchea. In so doing they will make a practical contribution to safeguarding the noble ideals that are the very *raison d'être* of the Organization.

65. Mr. SARRÉ (Senegal) (*interpretation from French*): We are meeting again within the framework of concerted international action to give responsible and mature consideration to a question that will threaten international peace and security unless it is solved in the near future. I am, of course, referring to the question of Kampuchea.

66. The general debate at this session clearly demonstrated the continued concern of the international community at the situation prevailing in Kampuchea. As everyone knows, that concern stems from our common unreserved adherence to the ideals of peace and justice as defined in the Charter of the United Nations and enshrined in international law. That is why, since the outbreak of that crisis, the United Nations, faithful to its principles and desirous of strengthening its credibility, has rightly decided to deal with that question with a view to arriving at a just and lasting solution.

67. The chosen framework for that purpose was the International Conference on Kampuchea, held in New York in July 1981. It is worth recalling that that conference was marked not by confrontation but rather by dialogue in which all ideas were acceptable provided they would help bring about reconciliation and understanding among all segments of the Kampuchean people. Better still, that conference gave the international community an opportunity to reaffirm the principles to which we are all wedded, namely: the primacy of law over force, wherever it may come from; the right of peoples and nations to choose their political and economic systems free of foreign interference; respect for the independence and sovereignty of States regardless of their political, geographic or economic dimensions in the international arena.

68. It was on the basis of those universal principles that my country agreed to participate in that conference, especially since its purpose was not to condemn one State or absolve another. It may be remembered that the Conference established the following objective conditions as indispensable elements of a just and therefore lasting settlement of the question of Kampuchea: first, the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea; secondly, the restoration and preservation of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Kampuchea; thirdly, a commitment by all countries not to interfere in the internal and external affairs of Kampuchea; fourthly, the organization, under the auspices of the United Nations, of free elections in that country; fifthly, finally, the establishment of a zone of peace, freedom and co-operation in that region.

69. It was also on the basis of those principles that my country, Senegal, agreed to take part in the work of the *Ad Hoc* Committee of the International Conference on Kampuchea, over which it has the honour to preside, being convinced that it is its duty and responsibility to ensure that law, peace and justice prevail wherever they are threatened. Far from being directed against any State, that attitude is, rather, the result of the adherence of the diplomacy

of Senegal to such inviolable principles as respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States, which should freely decide their own future. Therefore, as President Abdou Diouf has declared, Senegal "is determined to support all sections of the people of Kampuchea in every effort to find ways and means capable of leading to a just and honourable political solution to the conflict".

70. It goes without saying that my country could not condone the intervention of foreign troops in a country without the consent of that country's legal authorities. In fact, in the case that we are considering, whatever the reasons given, we are confronted with deliberate recourse to force against the independence and territorial integrity of a sovereign State, which is, moreover, a Member of the United Nations. As I said at the thirty-eighth session [*35th meeting*], such intervention not only is contrary to the purposes and principles of the Charter, but could, if it were tolerated, engender generalized conflicts with incalculable consequences.

71. Because of what is at stake, the Assembly should once again this year do everything in its power to honour the juridical and political commitments that it has assumed for the settlement of this question. It should use all appropriate means to ensure that practical effect is given to the decisions of the International Conference on Kampuchea, which it has endorsed in its relevant resolutions. At the same time, it should turn to the best possible advantage certain positive gestures or declarations by the parties interested or involved in the conflict. Essentially, these are the following: the proposals made by the Coalition Government, led by Prince Norodom Sihanouk; the declarations by one of the interested parties on the withdrawal of foreign troops from Kampuchea; the proposals made by the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the countries members of ASEAN at their annual meeting in Jakarta on 9 July 1984 [*see A/39/352, annex*]; the five-point declaration of the Chinese Government; the remarks and opinions of certain countries anxious to see unity and peace restored in Kampuchea; and the initiatives and efforts of the Secretary-General, to whom we pay a tribute for his ceaseless efforts to find a satisfactory and honourable solution to the question of Kampuchea.

72. The *Ad Hoc* Committee of the International Conference on Kampuchea, established by the International Conference on Kampuchea, over which my country has the honour to preside, has tried to make its modest contribution, in keeping with its mandate, to the search for a solution on the basis of the aforementioned facts. Therefore, a mission of the Committee this year visited Senegal, Nigeria, Yugoslavia, New Zealand, Australia and Thailand and met the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the countries members of ASEAN. In the course of those visits, the mission held in-depth consultations with the interested Governments on the situation in Kampuchea and the prospects for an overall political settlement, bearing in mind developments since the adoption of General Assembly resolution 38/3. It was explained that the aim of the consultation was to reaffirm the continuing concern of the international community and to secure the widest possible support for efforts aimed at bringing about the comprehensive political solution of the conflict in Kampuchea.

73. As in previous years, the mission of the *Ad Hoc* Committee declared that one of the main objectives

of the measures taken by the Committee was to contribute to the opening of negotiations that would lead to the implementation of the Declaration on Kampuchea<sup>4</sup> adopted by the International Conference on Kampuchea and the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly. Moreover, it emphasized that a just and lasting settlement of the Kampuchean problem should be based on two fundamental principles: the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea and the right of the Kampuchean people to decide its own destiny.

74. The settlement should also take into account the legitimate concerns of the States of the region for their own security. In particular, a commitment should be obtained from all the countries concerned not to interfere or intervene in the internal affairs of Kampuchea.

75. It is heartening and encouraging that the representatives of the Governments visited by the mission reaffirmed their resolute support for the principles and objectives in the Declaration adopted by the International Conference and for some years now endorsed by the General Assembly. Those representatives also expressed their satisfaction with the work accomplished by the Committee and strongly encouraged it to continue its efforts to carry out its mandate.

76. The *Ad Hoc* Committee is determined to continue its consultations and to take other appropriate measures to make the principles and objectives enunciated by the International Conference and the General Assembly better understood and more widely supported. It will also try to promote the initiation of a process of negotiation on the substance of the question. The Committee is convinced that it is in the long-term interests of all the parties to the conflict to reach a negotiated settlement paving the way for the establishment of peace in Kampuchea and an era of exemplary co-operation and understanding between the States of the region. In that spirit, the Committee very much hopes that the other parties interested in the conflict will participate effectively in this universal effort.

77. It must be emphasized that the international community seeks above all to restore peace with Kampuchea, and hence with the participation of the entire Kampuchean people, and not peace in Kampuchea, imposed from outside, just as it hopes to build co-operation with the States of the region, that is, with their responsible participation.

78. In a few months the United Nations will celebrate its fortieth anniversary. I am sure that it will use that occasion to draw up a balance sheet. Let us ensure that the question of Kampuchea appears on the credit side. There should be nothing to prevent that. The juridical instruments have been identified and the political will is beginning to take shape. Let us be the catalysts.

79. Mr. MORENO-SALCEDO (Philippines): The General Assembly is this year again considering the problem of the Vietnamese invasion and occupation of Kampuchea, which occurred six years ago. The illegal military occupation continues to this day.

80. To the casual observer, the situation would appear unchanged. This is what the military occupiers want us to believe when they tell us that the Kampuchean situation is "irreversible" and that we must therefore be "realistic" and accept it.

81. There are, however, visible changes that have altered the situation in Kampuchea. To understand them better, we should bear in mind certain constant facts. The first is that the overwhelming majority of the international community remains opposed to the military intervention in and occupation of Kampuchea, because these acts contravene the Charter of the United Nations; the second is that the Vietnamese-Kampuchean conflict is a primary source of instability in South-East Asia; the third is that freedom-loving Kampucheans continue to be deprived of their right to self-determination; and the last is that a comprehensive political settlement remains the best solution, one that would ensure long-lasting stability in the region.

82. Since 1978, when Viet Nam invaded Kampuchea and installed a puppet régime in that unfortunate country, new dimensions to the situation have emerged. Foremost among these is the increased commitment of the Kampucheans themselves to bringing about the withdrawal of Vietnamese forces from their homeland. Hence, in 1982 the Kampuchean factions joined forces in a Coalition Government headed by Prince Norodom Sihanouk. The fact that Kampucheans of different ideological persuasions rallied together behind Prince Sihanouk is telling evidence of the Kampuchean people's repudiation of foreign subjugation.

83. Six years of Vietnamese occupation have not weakened the resistance against it, but have instead strengthened it. The world community's rejection of this invasion and occupation and its overwhelming support of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea headed by Prince Sihanouk have been manifested year after year in the votes in the Assembly on the credentials of Democratic Kampuchea and on the resolutions calling for the full withdrawal of Vietnamese forces from Kampuchea.

84. On the part of the Kampucheans, the unity and viability of the Coalition Government have been maintained and strengthened. The effective military resistance of the joint Kampuchean forces to the Vietnamese forces during the latter's offensive this dry season, their increasing capability to operate and attack in any part of the country, the defection of soldiers from the Heng Samrin régime to the Kampuchean nationalist forces, and the swelling of the latter's ranks with new recruits from among Kampuchean villagers have, unhappily for the Vietnamese, altered the military configuration in Kampuchea.

85. The Philippines, together with other States members of ASEAN, adds its voice once again to Prince Sihanouk's call for national reconciliation among all Kampucheans. We believe that national unity among all Kampucheans is essential for any enduring settlement of the Kampuchean conflict and for the creation of a viable political structure for Kampuchea's future development.

86. The future of Kampuchea and its survival as an independent and sovereign nation are—and rightfully must be—the concern of all Kampucheans. The total withdrawal of foreign troops from Kampuchea and the exercise by all Kampucheans of their right to self-determination are essential elements for the attainment of these objectives. It is imperative, in our view, that the parties to the Kampuchean conflict recognize this fundamental reality and take action accordingly.



87. In presenting for the sixth consecutive year a draft resolution on the situation in Kampuchea, the 54 sponsors underscore their determination to remain firm in their call for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Kampuchea and for a comprehensive political solution to the Kampuchean problem.

88. The States members of ASEAN have done their part to achieve these objectives. In their joint appeal for Kampuchean independence, issued on 21 September 1983,<sup>2</sup> the ASEAN member States outlined the bases for such a political solution, namely: phased withdrawals which would lead to a total withdrawal of foreign troops within a definite period; a cease-fire and the introduction of peace-keeping forces; the establishment of safe areas for displaced Kampuchean, where withdrawals have taken place; and the convening of an international conference for the reconstruction and rehabilitation of Kampuchea. The joint appeal also called for the exercise of the right of self-determination by, and the national reconciliation of, all Kampuchean factions. ASEAN submits these proposals to the parties in conflict as a possible framework for direct negotiations between and among them.

89. It is regretted that these proposals have failed to receive a serious hearing in Viet Nam. Despite the lack of real progress towards genuine and serious negotiations on the problem, the ASEAN member States will nevertheless continue to keep the door open to constructive proposals from Viet Nam which will enable ASEAN to provide the necessary means and assistance for serious negotiations between the immediate parties to the conflict to begin at an early date.

90. The Philippines, in concert with other States members of ASEAN, entertains no other desire but to attain a comprehensive political settlement in Kampuchea which will ensure for all Kampucheans their right to self-determination free from foreign influence and intervention and their right to live in peace and prosperity in a free, independent and sovereign homeland. Short of this, genuine peace cannot prevail in South-East Asia.

91. My delegation earnestly hopes that draft resolution A/39/L.3 will receive the unanimous support of the Assembly.

92. Mr. VONGSAY (Lao People's Democratic Republic) (*interpretation from French*): The delegation of the Lao People's Democratic Republic is very disappointed to see that this year again the pseudo-question of the so-called situation in Kampuchea is being considered by the Assembly. The cause for our disappointment is known, and we shall return to it presently.

93. It may be recalled that on 20 October [34th meeting], my delegation, speaking on behalf of the delegation of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and, of course, of the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea and its courageous people, entered its express reservations regarding the report of the Credentials Committee, which, scorning the fundamental principles of international law, morality and justice, has allowed the representatives of the genocidal Pol Pot band and other reactionary Khmer factions, hiding under the title of "Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea", illegally and impudently to occupy the seat in the United Nations which rightly belongs to the sole, authentic and

legitimate representative of the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

94. Thanks to this political conspiracy, the Pol Pot criminals and other reactionary Khmers—betrayers of their nation on whom the people of Kampuchea have turned their backs—have been able, together with their protectors and masters, to claim the right to admonish their own victims. What could be worse! These victims, in this case the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea and its suffering people, as the process of national rebirth and rehabilitation proceeds irreversibly, have quite clearly reached the end of their patience and do not intend to tolerate this insult indefinitely. For that reason Mr. Hun Sen, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, addressed a letter on 18 October to you, Mr. President, and to the Secretary-General, which reads as follows:

"On behalf of the Government and the people of the People's Republic of Kampuchea and on my own behalf, I extend to you the most distinguished greetings.

"Having learned that the present session of the General Assembly of the United Nations has once again allowed the Pol Pot genocidal criminals and the disguised Polpotists under the banner of so-called 'Democratic Kampuchea' to occupy illegally the seat of Kampuchea at the United Nations, and that it has included in its agenda an item entitled 'The situation in Kampuchea', I must express the profound indignation and strong protest of our Government and our people at such misguided decisions of the United Nations. This represents a serious affront to the memory of more than three million of our fellow countrymen who were massacred by Pol Pot and his clique in an act contrary to the dictates of the human conscience, the fundamental rights of nations, international law and the Charter of the United Nations. The decisions concerned, taken as a result of the machinations of the Peking expansionists and hegemonists and the international imperialist and reactionary forces, merely further their goal of maintaining tension in South-East Asia and are seriously prejudicial to the prestige of the United Nations.

"On behalf of the Government and the people of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, I would reaffirm our unswerving position in this respect:

"1. The Polpotists and the disguised Polpotists under the banner of Democratic Kampuchea are criminals condemned by the Phnom Penh people's court for crimes of genocide and condemned by progressive mankind as a whole. They have no right to represent the Kampuchean people and should be expelled from the United Nations.

"The only authentic and legitimate representative of the Kampuchean people is the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

"2. The debates at the United Nations on the situation in our country in the absence of representatives of the People's Republic of Kampuchea constitute a gross interference in the internal affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea and a flagrant violation of its independence and sovereignty.

"3. Any resolution concerning Kampuchea adopted at the United Nations without the representation and agreement of the People's Republic of Kampuchea is considered null and void.

"I should be grateful if you would circulate this text as an official document of the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly." [A/39/595, annex]

95. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea expressed in his letter, as can be seen, his extreme disappointment and indeed his indignation at a flagrant injustice which his Government and his courageous people have suffered for six years. A serious examination of our consciences is, therefore, incumbent upon us. Out of respect for the memory of more than 3 million victims of the Pol Pot massacres and to demonstrate our sympathy for and solidarity with the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea and its suffering people, my delegation, like others, will refrain from participating in this unilateral debate, whose purpose is essentially: first, to indulge once again in flagrant interference in the external and internal affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, an independent sovereign country; secondly, to hamper the immense and noble work of bringing about the rebirth and national reconstruction of the country which was undertaken six years ago by the courageous people of that country; thirdly, to reanimate and rehabilitate the genocidal band of Pol Pot followers and their cohorts disguised under the pompous title of "Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea", whose international credibility is shrinking day by day precisely because of its sinister criminal record; and, fourthly, to impose on the three countries of Indo-China, in disregard of the cardinal principle of mutual respect for independence, sovereignty, equality and reciprocal advantages, a half-hearted solution of the problems relating to peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia. Such are the purposes the sponsors of draft resolution A/39/L.3 intend to serve during the debate on the so-called problem of the situation in Kampuchea.

96. The delegation of the Lao People's Democratic Republic, along with all those sharing our views, believes that it is our duty to be mindful of the wishes and legitimate aspirations of the Kampuchean people who have suffered so long, as expressed so movingly in the letter of 18 October from the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea to the President of the Assembly and the Secretary-General of the world Organization, which I have just read out. It is in this spirit, therefore, that my delegation calls upon the representatives present to vote against draft resolution A/39/L.3. The Government and people of the People's Republic of Kampuchea take this opportunity to express in advance their gratitude for such a noble gesture.

97. Mr. McDONAGH (Ireland): I have the honour to speak on behalf of the 10 member States of the European Community.

98. Another year has passed without substantial progress towards a peaceful political solution of the Kampuchean issue that could bring an end to the suffering of the Kampuchean people. The continuous refusal of Viet Nam to abide by the resolutions of the General Assembly, which provide in particular for the right of the Kampuchean people to decide their own destiny, continues to arouse the deep concern of the 10 member States of the European Community.

99. Basic human rights have been grossly violated in Kampuchea. That country has suffered under a

régime of unparalleled brutality and now finds itself subject to occupation by a neighbouring State. The destruction and atrocities wrought in Kampuchea for three and a half years by the infamous régime of Pol Pot are unmatched in recent history. This, however, does not justify the subsequent invasion and continuing occupation of Kampuchea by a foreign Power. The unfortunate people of Kampuchea are still denied the right and the means freely to determine their own future and Government, to exercise their fundamental human rights and to live at peace with their neighbours.

100. The Ten reiterate their abhorrence of the Pol Pot régime. They are convinced that, had the Kampuchean people had the opportunity of free elections, they would have decisively rejected the Khmer Rouge. Instead of that opportunity, however, they have had almost six years of occupation by Vietnamese forces and today they have a régime in Phnom Penh that was installed by and remains totally dependent on the neighbouring country of Viet Nam.

101. The overwhelming majority of the Assembly has repeatedly called for the complete withdrawal of all Vietnamese forces, recognition of the right of the Kampuchians to determine their own future and a commitment by all States not to interfere or intervene in the internal affairs of the country. All efforts towards a political solution, however, have foundered on the refusal of Viet Nam to comply with the United Nations resolutions.

102. The world community and the countries of the region in particular continue to be profoundly disturbed by Viet Nam's breach of fundamental international principles in relation to Kampuchea. The Ten are seriously concerned at the implications of that breach of international principles for the stability and security of the region. Furthermore, the States members of ASEAN have had to cope with the many difficult problems spilling over from the Kampuchean situation, most notably the problem of refugees. The Ten fully share the urgent desire of those States to see peace and stability restored to an independent Kampuchea, both in the interests of that country and of peace and stability in the region as a whole.

103. The Ten profoundly regret that comprehensive approaches to a political solution of the Kampuchean issue have been blocked so far by the refusal of Viet Nam to accept the United Nations resolutions. The Ten recall the initiative of the ASEAN countries in convening the International Conference on Kampuchea. They support the principles of the Declaration<sup>4</sup> adopted by that Conference and consider that it constitutes a good basis for a political settlement. They have noted with appreciation the report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee of the International Conference on Kampuchea.<sup>5</sup> The Ten also consider the establishment of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, under the presidency of Prince Norodom Sihanouk, a significant step, and welcome the Prince's call for national reconciliation.

104. As to the humanitarian aspect of the question, the Ten would like to pay tribute to the Royal Thai Government for the generosity with which Thailand has absorbed—and continues to absorb—Cambodian refugees in such large numbers, despite the considerable difficulties which this has entailed for it and for the Thai people. The European Community is following the refugee problem in the region with profound concern. The Ten deeply deplore the

continued attacks by Vietnamese forces on camps of refugees and displaced persons, which constitute a blatant violation of fundamental humanitarian principles and of the Charter of the United Nations.

105. The Ten view with satisfaction the efforts which have been undertaken over the past year by countries and international organizations to sustain humanitarian support for the people of Kampuchea. They note that programmes in the border area continue to be funded. In general, the response of the international community has alleviated to a certain extent the food deficit problem. The Ten wish to commend the assistance being given by international institutions as well as by voluntary agencies. The European Community will continue to assist in relief operations in the area as long as the need persists.

*Mr. Farah Dirir (Djibouti), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

106. The Ten attach great weight to the preservation of the Kampuchean people and respect for their identity. It is high time that their suffering ceased and that they regained their right to self-determination without disruption, intimidation or coercion. It should not be impossible to find a solution which accommodates the legitimate concerns of all interested parties.

107. The Ten welcome the report of the Secretary-General on the Kampuchean issue [A/39/576] and have noted with appreciation the Secretary-General's continued determination to use his good offices in the search for a peaceful solution.

108. As they have repeatedly stated, the Ten are ready to support any initiative aimed at establishing a democratic Government in a neutral and independent Kampuchea, maintaining friendly relations with all States in the region. They are convinced, however, that the key requirement for any just and lasting solution to the Kampuchean question remains the complete withdrawal of Vietnamese forces. Effective measures must also be taken to ensure that no armed group either seizes power by force or uses the threat of force to intimidate the people of Kampuchea and so deprive them of their right to sovereignty and the exercise of free choice in determining their own future.

109. The Ten will support the draft resolution on the situation in Kampuchea, submitted by the ASEAN countries, as they have supported their resolution on this issue at each session of the General Assembly since the item was first inscribed on the agenda in 1979.

110. As ASEAN recognizes, there can be no political solution without the participation and co-operation of all those concerned in the conflict in Kampuchea. The Ten, therefore, would like to see all parties concerned prepared to play their part in the search for a negotiated political settlement that would fully use the framework of the United Nations resolutions in seeking a lasting solution for the Kampuchean people.

111. Mr. HUSSAIN (Maldives): The situation in Kampuchea raises several disturbing questions which are of a political and humanitarian nature. The root cause of that situation is well known and requires no further elaboration.

112. My delegation has on many occasions expressed its policy on issues involving foreign military interventions and invasions. We have condemned them. The United Nations resolutions that call for

the withdrawal of foreign forces and that condemn foreign interventions have always received our full endorsement. We believe that the people of Kampuchea must be given the opportunity freely to decide their own destiny. They must be given their legitimate rights without outside interference, including the rights of the refugees to return to their homes in security and honour.

113. We note with satisfaction the progress made by the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea under the leadership of Prince Norodom Sihanouk, which has grown in strength and in cohesiveness. These positive developments confirm the international recognition of that Government.

114. We are aware of the increasing strength of the armed forces of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea. Those forces have been able to stand with moral and military strength in defence of their country against threatening foreign military forces.

115. My delegation also notes with satisfaction the General Assembly's historic decisions in the struggle of the Kampuchean people for their national liberation. Such actions confirm the right of small and weak countries to pursue their own destiny without being coerced by the big and the strong. They symbolize the value of the commitment of all countries to peace and justice in this world.

116. Maldives is concerned about the reported demographic changes which are being imposed in Kampuchea by the foreign occupying forces. We are greatly disturbed that fighting still continues in that country, making it unstable, and that people are fleeing into the neighbouring countries in search of food and safety.

117. We believe that to achieve the noble objective of stable and lasting peace in South-East Asia and to avoid threats to international peace and security, the international community must seek with urgency a sound political solution to the Kampuchean problem. We are convinced that all States must adhere to the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, which calls upon us all to respect the national independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of all States and the principles of non-intervention and non-interference in the internal affairs of States, the non-use of force or the threat of the use of force and the peaceful settlement of disputes.

118. We reaffirm our conviction that the withdrawal of all foreign forces is the first essential in order to safeguard the independence, territorial integrity and sovereignty of the Kampuchean people. We believe that a solution can be found and that it will be consistent with the legitimate national security of all countries of that region.

119. My delegation expresses its appreciation of the efforts made by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and is happy to associate itself with the positive recommendations contained in the report of the Secretary-General.

*The meeting rose at 12.30 p.m.*

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup>Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-eighth Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1983, document S/15626, annex II.

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*, Supplement for July, August and September 1983, document S/15999.

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*, Thirty-seventh Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1982, document S/15252.

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

<sup>5</sup>A/CONF.109/8.