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President: Mr. Ismat T. KITTANI (Iraq).

In the absence of the President, Mr. Legwaila (Botswana), Vice-President, took the Chair.

AGENDA ITEM 22

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

1. Mr. DASHTSEREN (Mongolia) (*interpretation from Russian*): The forces of imperialism, hegemonism and reaction have unleashed a broad-ranging political campaign about the so-called problem of Kampuchea, which they artificially created in order to cover up their true designs against the people of Kampuchea and other peoples of Indo-China.

2. The political spectacle that was played out this summer with the convening of the so-called International Conference on Kampuchea, staged by the United States and China, which are in the front rank of the so-called defenders of the right of the people of Kampuchea to self-determination, was part of that campaign. The holding of such a conference in spite of the protests of the legal Government of the Kampuchean people and the adoption by that Conference of decisions concerning the sovereign and independent State of the People's Republic of Kampuchea without its participation can only be regarded as a flagrant intervention in the internal affairs of that State and a flagrant violation of the tenets of international law and the Charter of the United Nations.

3. The Mongolian People's Republic firmly opposed the convening of that so-called International Conference on Kampuchea and did not participate in it. It considers that the Conference and the decisions taken at it, including the decision to establish the so-called *Ad Hoc* Committee of the International Conference on Kampuchea, have no legal force whatsoever. Many have spoken here about a "comprehensive political settlement" and the need to carry out the decisions of that so-called International Conference. But there is nothing here to be decided. As has frequently been stated by the People's Republic of Kampuchea, there is no such problem of Kampuchea and the situation in Kampuchea is irreversible. The impression it is attempting to create, that the changes taking place today in Kampuchea represent a threat to the peace, stability and security of the peoples of South-East Asia, is completely without foundation.

4. Almost three years have passed since the people of Kampuchea overthrew that bloodthirsty régime of Pol Pot

and Ieng Sary, which had carried out a policy of genocide against its own people and had eliminated almost half of the country's population. The Pol Pot clique physically eliminated all educated people, the intelligentsia, the workers, destroyed the structure of society right down to its basic unit, the family, drove the whole population into forced labour camps. The Khmer national culture was destroyed; the economy collapsed; factories and plants no longer operated; the fields were abandoned; there was no monetary system, no trade, no transport. Kampuchea was thrown back into the Middle Ages.

5. In those unbelievably difficult conditions, as a result of the revolution the people's power has begun to rebuild the country. After a tremendous effort and with assistance and support from fraternal socialist countries, the people of Kampuchea have now overcome the most serious difficulties.

6. General democratic elections were held in Kampuchea for the National Assembly, which, at its session in July of this year, adopted the new Constitution, elected the Council of State and confirmed the membership of the Council of Ministers.

7. There have been impressive achievements in normalizing the life of the people and rebuilding the economy. Now all forms of transport are working, hundreds of industrial enterprises are functioning again, agricultural output has increased. This year 1.4 million children are attending school. Higher educational institutions have also begun working again. There are campaigns to eliminate illiteracy throughout the country. National culture and art are being redeveloped. There are medical centres in all regions, localities and villages. There are campaigns to eradicate malaria and tuberculosis. In short, today the people of Kampuchea are busy working peacefully to restore their country, which was destroyed by the Pol Pot régime, and the people are vitally concerned to restore the peaceful conditions so essential to their creative endeavours.

8. The Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea pursues a policy of peace, friendship and non-alignment, which is reflected in its desire to establish good-neighbourly relations and co-operation with all countries in South-East Asia and to make its contribution to the cause of peace and progress throughout the world. It is quite clear that statements which suggest that this new Kampuchea is a threat to the security of neighbouring countries and to peace and stability in South-East Asia are pure fiction.

9. The real reason for the tense situation in that region and for the threat to peace is the big-Power hegemonistic policy of China, which has arrogated to itself the right to give "lessons" to those States which interfere with its expansionist plans. The Beijing leaders are carrying out a policy of aggression and intervention against neighbouring States and expanding their armed provocation all along the frontier with Viet Nam and the Lao People's Demo-

cratic Republic, as well as building up their psychological warfare against the countries of Indo-China. Unwilling to accept the realities and the growing strength of the people's power in Kampuchea, these aggressive and expansionist forces are making vain attempts to restore the Pol Pot régime, which was overthrown by the people of Kampuchea, and to forge some "common front" of Pol Pot supporters and reactionary immigrant cliques.

10. The Beijing hegemonists, in alliance with American imperialism and with the participation of some circles in South-East Asia, are intensifying the supply of arms to the remnants of the Pol Pot régime and other Khmer reactionaries who are waging a war against their own people from neighbouring territories. In the light of the existence of that constant threat against the people of Kampuchea from the Chinese hegemonists, an agreement was reached between the People's Republic of Kampuchea and the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam under which Vietnamese troops were brought into the territory of Kampuchea. The presence of those troops in Kampuchea, as has frequently been emphasized by those States, is temporary. Those troops are not used against any country; they are designed only to defend Kampuchea against the Chinese hegemonists and the threat from them. Once there is no longer any such threat the two sovereign States will review the question of the withdrawal of the troops.

11. As expressed in the statement by the Conference of Foreign Ministers of Viet Nam, the Lao People's Democratic Republic and Kampuchea on peace, stability, friendship and co-operation in South-East Asia, held at Ho Chi Minh City in January 1981, "part of the Vietnamese troops will be withdrawn from Kampuchea, if Thailand puts an end to the use of Thai territory by the Pol Pot gang and other reactionary Khmer forces as their foothold to oppose the Kampuchean people, stops supplying them with weapons and food, disarms and concentrates them in camps far away from the border" [see A/36/86].

12. As is known, the States of Indo-China have put forward a whole series of constructive proposals designed to ensure and strengthen peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia. They have declared their willingness to sign bilateral agreements with China on peaceful coexistence. They have proposed the convening of a regional conference of countries of Indo-China and the members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations [ASEAN] with the aim of concluding a treaty on peace and stability in South-East Asia. In their proposal dated 14 June of this year [see A/36/328], the States of Indo-China further developed their initiative, proposing to invite to such a regional conference as observers the Secretary-General of the United Nations and representatives of some other States, on the basis of mutual agreement.

13. As a logical continuation of those proposals by the States of Indo-China designed to settle the problems of South-East Asia by using the powers of the States of the region, a memorandum by the Lao Ministry of Foreign Affairs was circulated concerning principles governing peaceful coexistence between the countries of Indo-China and the ASEAN countries, for peace, stability, friendship and co-operation in South-East Asia [see A/36/561]. That memorandum emphasizes that only dialogue can promote mutual understanding, trust and the elimination of the misunderstandings and distrust which threaten the independence and sovereignty of States, peace and stability in the region. There is also a proposal to set up a standing body to carry out that dialogue and consultations between

the two groups of States. Unfortunately, those proposals made by the States of Indo-China evoked no positive response from the ASEAN countries.

14. In conclusion, my delegation reaffirms the full support of the Mongolian People's Republic for the well-known proposals made by these three States of Indo-China—Viet Nam, the Lao People's Democratic Republic and Kampuchea—with the aim of transforming South-East Asia into a zone of peace, stability and good-neighbourliness. We believe that those proposals can serve as a constructive basis for normalization of the situation in South-East Asia in accordance with the interests of the peoples of the region.

15. In the light of the aforementioned, my delegation certainly cannot agree with the provisions of draft resolution A/36/L.3/Rev.1, and, accordingly, we shall vote against it.

16. Mr. RÁCZ (Hungary) (*interpretation from French*): The General Assembly is once again addressing itself to the question of the so-called problem of Kampuchea, which, purportedly, requires a comprehensive political solution. In my Government's view, there is no problem warranting such a debate in this world forum.

17. At previous sessions of the Assembly, many countries, including my own, have repeatedly stated their positions on this question. Everything that has occurred since has only borne out the soundness of my Government's analysis of events in South-East Asia. With the passage of time, two facts have become abundantly clear: first, the consolidation of the people's power, the strengthening of its base in the country, the unquestionable economic and social impetus in the People's Republic of Kampuchea; secondly, there have been increasingly obvious attempts by the adversaries of Kampuchea to resort to any diplomatic, political, material and other means, and to use any possible pretext, to obstruct the positive trend of the situation in the country and to undermine the growing international support enjoyed by the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

18. It is in the context of this activity of doubtful value that this debate is taking place, like other similar political events, such as the International Conference on Kampuchea. The documents adopted at that Conference serve as a spring-board for the pursuit of activities whose ill-disguised intent is to attempt to weaken the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

19. Hungary's position with respect to that Conference is well known. We continue to believe that the work of the Conference is not such as to foster the search for solutions to the thorny problems that have arisen in the region of South-East Asia. We regret that the Conference, as well as the relevant resolutions adopted by votes in the General Assembly, are based on a judgement which must at the least be called unilateral with regard to the situation in the area. The countries which refused to participate in it rightly pointed out that this entire exercise, independently of the wishes of those who chose to take part in it, had a single goal, namely, to prevent the achievement of a dialogue among the States of the region which, in turn, could open the way to agreements and arrangements designed to solve existing problems.

20. There may be differing opinions about the events and circumstances which led to the overthrow of the genocidal régime in Phnom Penh. For us, it was a popular

uprising which drove the Pol Pot clique from power. The assistance provided by Viet Nam for the consolidation of the new régime and the presence, by agreement, of Vietnamese armed forces on the territory of Kampuchea—subjects which have been blown up out of all proportion by certain countries and in certain segments of the press—are not in contradiction with the fact that there was an uprising of positive Khmer forces, which succeeded in ridding the country of rulers responsible for millions of deaths.

21. To persist in the course laid down in draft resolution A/36/L.3/Rev.1 is tantamount to encouraging elements which are interested in maintaining tension in the region and preventing the beginnings of a forthright dialogue among the countries in the area. Moreover, such a position poses the threat of permitting the country to return to the Pol Pot clique, unanimously and unequivocally condemned by the overwhelming majority of the countries of the world.

22. We have taken full note of the repugnance expressed by some speakers with respect to the Pol Pot régime. However, whether it is their intent or not, by their behaviour they are bringing grist to the mill of those who are truly responsible for the present state of affairs in South-East Asia.

23. One may ask the questions: why is it that the Pol Pot clique, almost three years after the change of régime, still constitutes a danger to the country? Does it enjoy popular support making it impervious to the attacks launched against it? Does it benefit from the sympathy of a population yearning for the good old times of the previous régime?

24. In fact, today when the tendency towards oversimplification in the political field is fashionable in certain circles, one cannot be surprised to hear an affirmative reply to those questions. What is striking is this insistence with which the absurdities of yesterday are repeated today, without taking into account the evidence of those who have visited the area and of countless documents which present overwhelming evidence against these trumped-up allegations.

25. It is clear that such assertions do not even deserve to be debated, because the basic reasons for the survival of the Pol Pot elements, and, with them, the myth of a so-called Democratic Kampuchea, should be sought elsewhere. Without intervention in the affairs of Kampuchea by certain States of the area and beyond, without the open complicity or the acquiescence of certain countries in that part of the world, the so-called Khmer Rouge, armed and financed by Beijing, would long since have disappeared from the political scene in South-East Asia. It would have become a horrible memory buried forever in the rubble of the destruction that it itself brought about in its own country. That is the truth, and it must be spoken out loud, because the fictions, distortions, misrepresentations, dishonest pictures of the situation, dubious references to a "threatening presence" of "invasion troops" which are sowing "terror" among the Khmer population and which, according to this line of argument, are denying the "conquered" people of Kampuchea all human rights and which, moreover, have the audacity to lay claim to part of the international assistance supplied to the inhabitants of the country, and so on—all those assertions are not taken seriously by their own authors.

26. Most recently, in order to try to give new life to this issue, added opposition to the Khmer Rouge has been brought about in order to establish a coalition of forces opposed to the People's Republic of Kampuchea. This mantle of respectability is a transparent disguise. One has to be blind not to see that the protégés of China, the vestiges of so-called Democratic Kampuchea, are those who benefit from it in the first instance. Behind them we can see the protecting shadow of Beijing. It is in their hands that the bulk of military equipment and weapons is concentrated, and it is they that use them in the struggle against the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea. The entire course of the Singapore meeting and the work of the International Conference on Kampuchea clearly attest to the relationship of forces established among the three components of this possible so-called coalition.

27. Seeing in the draft resolution before the Assembly the name Khieu Samphan, one of the executioners of the Khmer people, arouses our disgust because that name, like the names of Pol Pot and Ieng Sary, is a synonym for the reign of death that has been so eloquently referred to by previous speakers. Are their professions of faith in this respect consonant with acceptance of a text that praises the activities of a person so loathed by the entire Khmer people? Is this not a desperate effort to square the circle, to reconcile the irreconcilable? The inclusion of the names of such criminals in a draft resolution of the United Nations in our view constitutes an affront to the international community. It is clear that it is the Pol Pot elements that will benefit mainly from the exercise that is being imposed upon us.

28. Hungary, a country far removed from the region in question, can only hope that peace will return to that region and that normal and cordial co-operation will be established among the countries of Indo-China and ASEAN. That can be done only on the basis of the sovereign equality of all the States of the region. We are against interference in the internal affairs of the countries of the region, but we firmly support a dialogue, which we are certain would lead to the settlement of all the problems that arise in intergovernmental relations in the region, subjects of concern that have been referred to more than once in the course of this debate.

29. The many proposals and initiatives of the three countries of Indo-China provide a constructive and appropriate framework for efforts that should be undertaken to settle these questions. The more earnestly we undertake this work, the sooner we shall reap the rewards of this positive initiative, which will benefit all the countries of the region.

30. In our view the draft resolution is far from satisfying those requirements because it follows the course of action laid down by the International Conference on Kampuchea and, further, introduces machinery that would not promote the dialogue so earnestly desired by the countries of the region. Consequently the Hungarian delegation cannot support the draft resolution and will vote against it.

31. Mr. PELLETIER (Canada) (*interpretation from French*): It is an honour to address the Assembly today and to express Canada's continued and abiding interest and concern regarding the ongoing situation in Kampuchea and the efforts to resolve what remains one of the most serious threats to stability and economic and social development in Asia.

32. Canada is happy to note that since the General Assembly adopted resolutions 34/22 in 1979 and 35/6 in 1980—in both cases, I might add, by an overwhelming majority—there has been real progress towards the establishment of those basic mechanisms that are necessary to achieve a solution to the Kampuchean problem. The sponsors of those draft resolutions can justly claim responsibility for the progress made to date.

33. It is unfortunate that these contributions have not been enough, for, as we know, the major protagonist in Indo-China today, the country that maintains 200,000 troops in Kampuchea, has chosen not to support the efforts of the United Nations. Indeed, Viet Nam has publicly rejected the United Nations efforts and has ignored various international appeals for it to co-operate not only with its neighbours in South-East Asia but also with the international community as a whole. In this regard Viet Nam's position is not only unfortunate but tragic. Surely it is only through concerted and sustained efforts by all involved that a lasting solution to the Kampuchean problem can be arrived at, which will bring peace, stability and prosperity not only to Kampuchea and Viet Nam but to all the countries of the region.

34. I have spoken of the progress made on the Kampuchean problem in the past year despite the lack of co-operation by Viet Nam and its supporters. In this respect it would be remiss of us not to congratulate the Secretary-General on his success in implementing resolution 35/6 on Kampuchea. In accordance with that resolution the International Conference on Kampuchea was held in New York in July of this year. More than 90 countries, among which Canada was proud to be included, attended that Conference. It was clearly a success. The Conference served to demonstrate clearly the strong and deeply held belief of the international community in the principles embodied in international law and the Charter with respect to the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States. Moreover, we must all wonder whether those countries that are directly involved in the issue but were absent from the Conference really lack respect for the principles embodied in international law and the Charter. I think not, and we all certainly hope not, but where are the actions to disprove it?

35. Canada fully supports the results of the International Conference on Kampuchea. The Declaration of the Conference¹ clearly articulates the basic requirements for a peaceful solution of the Kampuchean problem: a cease-fire and the withdrawal of foreign forces under the supervision of a United Nations peace-keeping force or observer group; appropriate measures to maintain order in Kampuchea pending free elections; and the actual holding of free elections under United Nations supervision. As has been stated on previous occasions, these basic requirements coincide with Canada's objective of seeing the establishment in Kampuchea of a Government that genuinely reflects the wishes of the Kampuchean people and respects their right to self-determination. The resolution of the International Conference,² which established an *Ad Hoc* Committee to assist the Conference in seeking a comprehensive political settlement of the Kampuchean question, also coincides with Canada's objectives. Canada supports the work of that Committee, which has the arduous task of examining, with the assistance of the Secretary-General, ways in which the basic principles for a peaceful solution might be implemented.

36. The draft resolution before the General Assembly today reiterates the principles laid down in the Declaration

of the International Conference on Kampuchea and requests the Secretary-General to consult with, to assist and to provide the Conference and the *Ad Hoc* Committee with the necessary facilities to carry out their functions. Canada is pleased to be one of the sponsors of this draft resolution. We believe that only through the efforts of the Conference and the *Ad Hoc* Committee can a peaceful solution to the Kampuchean problem be found. I wish to assure the Assembly that we remain strongly committed to the achievement of peace in Kampuchea, under the aegis of the United Nations, as a prerequisite for stability, development and progress in the region, and look forward to further sessions of the Conference.

37. Despite the efforts of the United Nations over the past two years there remains the stark reality of continued conflict in Kampuchea and the inhuman suffering attendant upon it. Kampuchea and the Khmer people have been rescued from the brink of starvation and annihilation in the past two years. This has been done through the laudable efforts of international organizations such as UNHCR, UNICEF and the International Red Cross and the selfless donations of many private non-governmental organizations around the world.

38. However, it is not possible to say more than that the Khmer people have survived. Food shortfalls persist in Kampuchea and thousands of Kampucheans continue to flee to Kampuchea's border with Thailand. They flee to escape famine, conflict and the harsh conditions imposed by the Vietnamese-backed régime in Phnom Penh. I am sure the international community will continue to respond to the plight of the Kampuchean people.

39. It is obvious from the thousands of Kampucheans who have "voted with their feet" and left Kampuchea or who have gathered in western Kampuchea along the Thai border that the régime imposed on Kampuchea by Viet Nam is not acceptable to the people of Kampuchea. Opposition to the régime in Phnom Penh by Kampucheans outside Kampuchea, particularly by organized political groups, has been amply demonstrated. It was repeated by the leaders of the various Khmer groups at the International Conference in July. The solidarity of the opposition to the Heng Samrin régime has been recently further demonstrated by the welcome efforts of Democratic Kampuchea, the Khmer People's National Liberation Front and Prince Norodom Sihanouk and his followers to form a united coalition Government. The illegitimacy of the Vietnamese-backed Heng Samrin régime has been reaffirmed throughout the past year. That régime remains unacceptable. Canada believes, firmly and unequivocally, that there is no real choice between the Vietnamese-backed régime at present in Phnom Penh and the reprehensible régime of Pol Pot, a person whom no one wishes to see return to power in Kampuchea, and that the Kampuchean people would choose neither if they were allowed to choose freely.

40. Canada has been involved in efforts to achieve peace, stability, development and progress in South-East Asia for many years. Our involvement in two international control commissions in Indo-China and our close and supportive relations with the member countries of ASEAN are evidence of this. In the present situation, Canada believes that the creation of an independent, neutral and non-aligned Kampuchea, achieved in accordance with United Nations resolutions, will result in peace and stability in the region. We also believe that a strong and independent Viet Nam is essential to the attainment of that goal.

41. The struggle which the Kampuchean people have had to undertake to support their right to self-determination in the face of over 200,000 Vietnamese troops has seriously undermined development and progress in that part of the world and threatened the independence of all the nations there. Security in South-East Asia will be achieved only through economic development and mutual respect for the right to self-determination of those countries. Canada would like to continue to participate in the further development of those States. Only a political solution to the Kampuchean problem, only the co-operation of all the States in the region and indeed in the world, with the efforts of the United Nations, can make that development possible.

42. Mr. BHATT (Nepal): I have more than once expressed to this body the grave concern of my country over the situation in Kampuchea. Kampuchea has been the victim of forcible occupation through military intervention by Viet Nam in contravention of all the norms of inter-State relationships and the cherished ideals of the Charter. This situation has given rise to tension which tends seriously to endanger the peace and stability of the entire South-East Asian region.

43. To us the principles of sovereign equality among nations, respect for each other's independence and territorial integrity and non-interference in the internal affairs of one country by another remain highly sacred. Those fundamental principles and that trust have been blatantly violated in Kampuchea. A powerful neighbour, through massive military intervention, has installed a pliant régime there, and as a result of external interference and coercion the Kampuchean people have been grievously denied their inalienable right to determine their political destiny freely. Viet Nam's attempts to justify its armed intervention in Kampuchea cannot be accepted on any grounds or by any standards.

44. The question of the denial of their sovereign right to the Kampuchean people has remained on the agenda of the United Nations for some time and we regret that the repeated calls by this body upon Viet Nam to cease its intervention and to withdraw its forces from Kampuchea continue to remain unheeded.

45. Nepal was one of the sponsors of the texts adopted as resolutions 34/22 and 35/6, which provided a viable basis for negotiations among the parties involved in the conflict to arrive at a peaceful and amicable settlement of the problem. We reaffirm our conviction that the withdrawal of foreign troops and the granting to the Kampuchean people of their right to self-determination are the essential conditions of a just and durable settlement of the Kampuchean problem. In this context my delegation wishes to recall the provisions of the Declaration of the International Conference on Kampuchea, in July 1981, which, among other things, called upon other interested States and parties involved in the conflict which did not participate in the deliberations of the Conference to reconsider their position and take part actively in the negotiation process. Those recommendations were made with careful consideration of the vital interests of all nations concerned with lasting peace and stability in the South-East Asian region.

46. We consider the recent agreement among three factions in Kampuchea, led by the former head of State Prince Norodom Sihanouk, Mr. Khieu Samphan and Mr. Son Sann to make combined efforts for the restoration of

peace in their troubled land to be an encouraging development.

47. My delegation has noted with admiration the earnest efforts made by the Secretary-General to create a favourable climate for negotiation, and I pledge my delegation's support to the Secretary-General in his search for a negotiated peaceful settlement of the conflict in Kampuchea.

48. The situation in Kampuchea has grave and tragic human aspects in terms of the immense human suffering caused by a massive uprooting of people from their homeland because of political disturbance and foreign invasion that has few parallels in history. We appreciate the international efforts directed towards alleviating the human suffering in Kampuchea. The refugee problem, which is the direct result of the political situation, could hardly be solved in the midst of persistent turmoil there and without proper settlement of the political problem.

49. I hope and believe that the *Ad Hoc* Committee will succeed in its efforts to find a peaceful settlement of the Kampuchean problem. The delegation of Nepal earnestly urges the Assembly to vote in favour of draft resolution A/36/L.3/Rev.1, which provides a realistic and just basis for the solution of the Kampuchean situation.

50. Mrs. LOZOVSKAYA (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): The delegation of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, like the delegations of many other Members of the United Nations, notes with regret that once again consideration of the so-called question of the situation in Kampuchea has been imposed on the General Assembly. From the outset the artificial nature and complete lack of foundation of this item have been evident. The actual events of historic significance that have taken place in the life of the Kampuchean people and their independent sovereign State, the People's Republic of Kampuchea, during this short period of time are the best possible proof of that. There is no doubt that inglorious results await those who proposed this agenda item—the imperialists and hegemonists and all those who again followed them.

51. In the view of the delegation of the Byelorussian SSR, if we seriously and objectively try to evaluate the events that have taken place and the facts of this question, we find that it is not difficult to see the absolute impropriety of bringing this item to the United Nations. Our delegation proceeds on the premise that, first, the inclusion in the agenda of this session of the so-called question of the situation in Kampuchea, without the consent of, and against the will of, the Kampuchean people and their single authentic legal representative—the Council of State of the People's Republic of Kampuchea—is nothing but a direct violation of the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of sovereign States, a principle enshrined in the Charter.

52. Secondly, the time has come to understand that no single question affecting the interests of the Kampuchean people can be settled in any international organization, including the General Assembly, without the participation of representatives duly appointed by the highest organs of State authority of the People's Republic of Kampuchea. The presence in the United Nations of the Pol Pot clique, which represents no one, is damaging to the authority of the Organization. Indeed, it is an insult to the memory of 3 million Kampuchean people who died at the hands of the hangmen of that gang.

53. Thirdly, almost three years ago the Kampuchean people themselves took a basic decision on the Kampuchean problem—a problem which has aroused legitimate concern among a majority of Members of the United Nations. Suffice it to recall that in the early 1970s Kampuchea, like the other States in Indo-China, suffered so much from cruel armed aggression by American imperialism, including all the horrors of the barbaric bombing carried out from military bases located in the territory of some countries neighbouring South-East Asia which today do their best to appear well-wishers of the Kampuchean people.

54. The Beijing hegemonists, taking advantage in 1975 of the weak position of the victims of aggression by those interventionists from across the ocean, with the help of national traitors and the bloodthirsty hangmen of the Kampuchean people, turned the country into their proving ground for the practical implementation of particularly wild and extreme Maoist ideas and into a military springboard for carrying out expansionist designs in South-East Asia.

55. There is no need for us once again to go into the question of the deep physical and moral wounds suffered by the Kampuchean people, wounds which have not yet healed and which were inflicted upon them by the monsters and thugs of Pol Pot, Ieng Sary and company during the almost four years of their reign of horror. There is little need to do that, since from this rostrum serious concern and angry indignation have been expressed by almost all the representatives here, with the exception of the representative of China, over the monstrous crimes of genocide carried out by them, and the former régime has been categorically condemned.

56. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR believes that we should draw the General Assembly's attention to the following irrefutable facts. The victory of the truly patriotic and democratic forces in January 1979 under the leadership of the National United Front for the Salvation of Kampuchea was a turning-point in the historic development of Kampuchea. The elimination of the régime of genocide brought new conditions to the country, which is now moving along the path of democracy and social progress. Despite continuing opposition by internal and external forces of reaction over the past three years, in this short period in the development of a State the people of Kampuchea, relying on support and assistance from Viet Nam, the Soviet Union and other States in the socialist community, have made truly impressive gains in rebuilding the country, which the Pol Pot barbarians had reduced to complete destruction.

57. Under the leadership of the legal Government, the People's Revolutionary Council, tremendous successes have been achieved by the Kampuchean people in strengthening their statehood and restoring true democracy. General elections to the country's National Assembly were held, demonstrating the solid basis of the people's power, and the overwhelming majority of the population gave approval and support to the progressive changes taking place in all spheres of their social life and to the policy of the People's Revolutionary Party to rebuild a socialist society.

58. The Constitution of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, adopted in June this year, epitomized the almost three-year development of the country and gave legal weight to the people's revolutionary achievements. The people have been proclaimed the true owners of the land.

It reflects the successes achieved by the workers of the Republic in rebuilding the national economy and culture, and it sets out the tasks to be carried out in establishing the basis for a socialist society. The Constitution states that the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea will guide and direct the forces of Kampuchean society. In the internal political situation the State's main task is to defend the interests of the working people and to raise their material and cultural standards of living.

59. That basic law also sets out the main principles of Kampuchea's foreign policy—the struggle for peace and independence and the strengthening of friendship and co-operation with other peoples. Kampuchea's foreign policy is receiving growing support and approval throughout the world. More than 30 States and national liberation movements have now recognized the Republic. The policy of the People's Republic of Kampuchea is designed to ensure stability and security in South-East Asia. Together with Viet Nam and the Lao People's Democratic Republic, the People's Republic of Kampuchea has consistently made initiatives to normalize the situation in the region, sincerely striving for dialogue and to establish an atmosphere of trust.

60. The true methods for bringing about a constructive solution to the region's problems are to be found in various peace proposals made by the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, the Lao People's Democratic Republic and the People's Republic of Kampuchea, including the most recent initiative made on behalf of the three countries of Indo-China in the statement by the Lao Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister, Mr. Phoune Sipraseuth, during the general debate at this session of the General Assembly [*16th meeting*].

61. At the same time, we must note that the recent decision and report of the Credentials Committee and the confluence of the current debate bear witness that certain States Members of the United Nations, motivated by their own selfish interests, do not yet wish to accept the reality of, or cannot understand, the irreversible nature of the changes that have taken place in Kampuchea leading towards independent development there. Those circumstances are still being used for their expansionist aspirations by the imperialist and hegemonist circles of Washington and Beijing to whip up concern about the so-called Kampuchean problem, which serves them as a convenient excuse for intervening in the affairs of South-East Asia. They are using a well-tested approach here, and will use any means to suit their own ends. A clear example of that was the spectacle earlier this year connected with the Organization and the holding of the so-called International Conference on Kampuchea. There is also the continuing hatred that they whip up in a most despicable way in trying to weld "a united front" out of the so-called leaders of the Khmer reactionary emigrants.

62. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR shares the view expressed by many delegations here as to the true intentions of those who proposed the holding of that "Conference". They have indeed been set forth in the statements of some participants, and they can also be seen quite clearly in the decisions that were adopted there. If we set aside the hypocritical talk about a "political settlement", we can see that the crux of all this—indeed, the essence of what is set forth in the so-called documents—is the idea of misleading world public opinion; distorting the situation in the People's Republic of Kampuchea, offering support to the remnants of the Pol Pot clique and other Khmer reactionaries, encouraging them to continue

to act against the Kampuchean people and slowing down the positive changes that are taking place in developing normal relations between the States of Indo-China and ASEAN.

63. The Byelorussian delegation considers this to be an attempt openly to infringe the independence and sovereignty of the People's Republic of Kampuchea and to exacerbate further the already tense situation in South-East Asia. It is our conviction that the so-called decisions adopted at that Conference are worthy only of condemnation and have no validity.

64. For those reasons the delegation of the Byelorussian SSR firmly opposes the draft resolution submitted under this agenda item in document A/36/L.3/Rev.1, and will vote against it.

65. Mr. SAID (Tunisia) (*interpretation from French*): On the occasion last week of the celebration of the twentieth anniversary of the non-aligned movement speakers at this rostrum recalled eloquently and with conviction the principles underlying non-alignment and the philosophy of non-alignment and inspiring its activity.

66. It is on the basis of those inviolable principles, applicable everywhere and in all circumstances, that Tunisia is speaking today, as it did at the two previous sessions, to call for strict implementation of those principles and those of the Charter in the South-East Asian region, where, for some three years now, they have been flouted and violated in the most conspicuous and flagrant fashion.

67. The Kampuchean problem, which is before us today and which has troubled the international community for nearly three years now, is the result—irrespective of the justifications or explanations some may adduce—of irrefutable and clearly established facts. It is the result of the intervention in that country of foreign troops and the establishment by force of a new régime in Phnom Penh. This situation gravely affects peace and stability in the region; it calls into question the rules of conduct governing relations among States and constitutes a violation of the principles of non-interference and non-intervention in the internal affairs of States, non-use of force and the right of each people freely to determine its own form of government.

68. Convinced that respect for and defence of the principles of the Charter constitute, in the long term, the best guarantee of the security of small countries, Tunisia cannot agree that might makes right; nor can it condone the idea that a country, because of its military strength, should be able to determine the nature and composition of the Government of a neighbouring country. Nor can Tunisia support the argument that explains or attempts to justify intervention in Kampuchea by the nature, detestable though it may be, of the Pol Pot régime. International rules of conduct cannot allow one country the right to invade another and to impose a new régime upon it on the pretext of defending human rights. To accept this would be to accept a repetition of the example of Kampuchea in other countries of the world, on the same pretext or on another; it would be to authorize States to interfere in the internal affairs of other weaker or smaller States; it would ultimately open the door to international anarchy.

69. Tunisia is all the more justified in rejecting that argument in that we have always condemned the overthrown Kampuchean régime whose policy of genocide aroused

indignation and condemnation by world public opinion as a whole. The Tunisian delegation has never been disposed to provide that régime with the slightest support, as appears from our votes in the General Assembly whenever a decision has had to be taken on the credentials of the representatives of Democratic Kampuchea.

70. However, my delegation wishes to express its refusal to engage in a selective application of the basic principles of the Charter, or to ratify arbitrary interpretations of those principles, particularly with respect to military interventions or preventive wars unleashed for so-called security reasons or for any other ideological reason.

71. The South-East Asian region has the right to peace, stability and freedom, just as it has the right to lay the foundations for economic co-operation with a view to ensuring its peaceful growth. If that is to happen, the Kampuchean conflict must be settled urgently and finally. In my delegation's view, such a settlement must be sought first of all through the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Kampuchea and the cessation of the supply of weapons to any of the parties. It must also involve the organization of free elections under United Nations supervision in order to enable the people of Kampuchea freely to choose its institutions and form of government. Finally, it must involve an international understanding that will ensure an independent, genuinely neutral and non-aligned Kampuchea that will not pose a threat to the security of its neighbours.

72. Although not very encouraging in its conclusions, the Secretary-General's report [A/36/583], submitted to the General Assembly pursuant to resolution 35/6, gives us some reason to hope for a comprehensive political settlement of the Kampuchean question.

73. My delegation has noted the encouraging results of the international efforts to mitigate as much as possible the sufferings of the Kampuchean people, whether within Kampuchea or as refugees in neighbouring countries. We have noted with satisfaction the patient and determined efforts of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative to achieve a *rapprochement* and to establish a climate more conducive to a peaceful solution of the problem.

74. My delegation noted with interest the results of the International Conference on Kampuchea, which was held pursuant to resolution 35/6. However, we regretted the absence from that Conference of a number of the parties directly concerned. My delegation, which took part as an observer, feels, however, that any possibility of improving the chances of a political settlement must be pursued. Despite the reluctance which is still evident, we hope that the planned new session of that Conference will be held with the full participation of all the parties concerned. Whether by that or by any other avenue, it is important to bring about a *rapprochement* of the viewpoints of the parties to the conflict and achieve a negotiated settlement of the problem which will guarantee to the people of Kampuchea its fundamental rights to self-determination, security and independence and which will take into account the legitimate interests of all the parties in the region.

75. The General Assembly is dealing with the question of Kampuchea at a time when the international situation has become even more tense and explosive than it was a year ago. Certainly it is now a matter of proving that the Charter and the rights of peoples have meaning and cannot indefinitely be violated, but it is also a matter of en-

sure that the people of Kampuchea will not find their suffering aggravated as a result of the deterioration of the international situation.

76. Draft resolution A/36/L.3/Rev.1 contains, in the view of my delegation, the basic elements for a comprehensive political settlement which would make it possible to put an end to this long-standing situation and to restore their dignity to the Kampuchean people at last by providing them with the conditions for a free life in a sovereign, independent, neutral and non-aligned country. It is in that spirit that my delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution.

77. Mr. ANWAR SANI (Indonesia): For the third year the General Assembly is considering the situation in Kampuchea, as the efforts of the international community to find a peaceful solution have so far been unsuccessful. It was last July that the International Conference on Kampuchea considered the problem and adopted a Declaration and a resolution. There is no need for me to deal at length with the various aspects of this issue, which has engulfed the region since December 1978. That has already been done most eloquently by the Foreign Minister of the Philippines, Mr. Romulo, at the 36th meeting.

78. The Indonesian position on the question of Kampuchea continues to be based on the joint statement of the Foreign Ministers of the countries members of ASEAN issued on 12 January 1979, which strongly deplored the armed intervention against the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Kampuchea. The statement affirmed the right of the Kampuchean people to determine their future by themselves, free from interference or influence from outside Powers in the exercise of their right to self-determination, and called for the immediate withdrawal of the foreign forces from Kampuchean territory.

79. In the United Nations both the Security Council and the General Assembly have had to deal intensively with the situation in Kampuchea, as the problem touched upon fundamental principles of the Charter as well as the moral principle of solidarity with suffering fellow human beings threatened by famine and death. The threat posed by the developments in Kampuchea to regional and world peace prompted the Security Council to meet during early 1979. Two draft resolutions submitted by the non-aligned nations calling for an immediate cessation of hostilities and the withdrawal of foreign forces failed to be adopted because of vetoes. Later in 1979 the General Assembly adopted resolution 34/22, which basically set forth provisions that the Security Council had failed to adopt. As that resolution was not implemented, the Assembly in 1980 adopted resolution 35/6, which reaffirmed the basic principles involved and called for the convening of an international conference with the participation of all the conflicting parties and others concerned to achieve a comprehensive political settlement. Among the questions identified in that resolution and the elements to be negotiated at the conference were the following: first, total withdrawal of foreign troops within a specific time-frame to be verified by the United Nations, and, secondly, guarantees of the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Kampuchea as well as of its neighbours.

80. The Assembly, by adopting resolutions 34/22 and 35/6, twice provided a framework for a comprehensive peaceful political settlement. Despite the adoption of these two resolutions and in spite of the sustained efforts of the international community to resolve the problem, the situation remained basically unchanged. In this con-

text the convening of the International Conference on Kampuchea last July was of vital importance. My delegation would like to express its appreciation to the Secretary-General for his positive role in convening that Conference.

81. The Conference established a more elaborate framework for a comprehensive political solution of the problem of Kampuchea, taking the legitimate interests of all concerned into account. The framework consists of: first, the withdrawal of foreign forces; secondly, an act of self-determination by the Kampuchean people under United Nations auspices; thirdly, a guarantee of non-interference in the internal affairs of Kampuchea; and, fourthly, an undertaking that an independent Kampuchea will not act or be used against the interests of its neighbours.

82. It is also significant to note that the Conference set up an *Ad Hoc* Committee to establish contacts with all the conflicting parties and to be the channel for facilitating the continuing search for a comprehensive political solution. The Committee will have a crucial role to play in initiating a process that will ultimately bring the parties concerned to a peaceful solution. My delegation urges all parties directly or indirectly involved in the conflict to extend their whole-hearted co-operation to the *Ad Hoc* Committee in the implementation of its mandate.

83. The International Conference on Kampuchea was a starting-point, a first step in the negotiating process. Indonesia supports the idea of a continuing dialogue among the countries of the region, as that would provide an opportunity for exploring a peaceful settlement of the Kampuchean problem and enhance mutual understanding and confidence. Such a dialogue is in the common interest of all the States in the region, so that ways may be found to end the Kampuchean conflict. Indeed, those directly involved in the conflict would have a great deal to lose if their energies and resources were to be squandered and if their reconstruction efforts and economic development were to be deferred because of continued hostilities.

84. Once the Kampuchean problem is resolved, peace in the region will be more secure and we can work together for the establishment of a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in South-East Asia and the fulfilment of the immense task of achieving progress and prosperity for our peoples.

85. It is with those objectives in mind that my delegation supports draft resolution A/36/L.3/Rev.1, sponsored by more than 30 Member States, including Indonesia. The draft resolution stresses the need for a comprehensive political solution to the conflict which will remove suspicion and distrust and pave the way for the resumption of meaningful and co-operative relations among the countries in the region. Only then can we look forward confidently to the emergence of lasting peace and stability in South-East Asia.

86. Before concluding, I should like to express my delegation's great appreciation of the efforts of the international community in alleviating the suffering of the Kampuchean people. In this connection, Indonesia would also like to express its deep appreciation to Thailand for the assistance and support it has so generously been extending to thousands of Kampuchean refugees in the border areas and in the holding centres.

87. Finally, my delegation expresses the hope that Member States will be able to extend their support to the

draft resolution, thereby contributing towards the solution of the Kampuchean problem and helping to pave the way for the return of peace and stability to South-East Asia, for which all the States in the region yearn.

88. Mr. TSVETKOV (Bulgaria) (*interpretation from French*): The delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria notes with deep regret that the General Assembly is once again obliged to consider the so-called question of Kampuchea, the inclusion of which in the agenda is contrary to the purposes and principles of the Charter. In the view of my Government, there is no doubt but that the situation in Kampuchea is a matter exclusively within the competence of that State and its sole legitimate representative, namely, the Council of State of the People's Republic of Kampuchea. The clearly tendentious nature of this debate derives from the fact that it is being carried on without the participation of the legitimate representatives of the people of Kampuchea, despite their perfectly justified desire to participate in this session.

89. So once again we are witnessing certain attempts not only to involve the United Nations in futile discussions but also to give a completely distorted picture of the situation in Kampuchea. This is necessary for those who have instigated this unworthy campaign against the People's Republic of Kampuchea so that they can set up new obstacles to the progressive changes that are occurring in Kampuchea and slow down the recovery in the country while maintaining tension in South-East Asia so as to attain and carry out their strategy of whipping up global tension and confrontation.

90. It is only two and a half years since that land which has suffered so much freed itself from the bloodthirsty reign of terror imposed by the Beijing puppets, who had reduced Kampuchea to a national disaster. During that period, despite the active opposition of the imperialist and hegemonist forces that sought by all possible means to reverse the situation in Kampuchea, decisive victories have been won in working for the recovery of the country. Free and democratic elections to the local organs of power and to the National Assembly have been successfully carried out—and that has been recognized by impartial observers from 20 countries. The first truly democratic Constitution in the history of the country has now been adopted. Another major event was the Fourth Congress of the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea, which outlined future prospects for the development of the country.

91. Those important political events prove that, despite the complete destruction of the country inflicted by the bloodthirsty régime of Pol Pot, the Khmer people have enough strength to be able to manage their own country. In 1980 agricultural production doubled compared to the previous year. At the present time 80 per cent of the industrial enterprises are functioning. The public health and education systems are functioning in an organized way. Hospitals have been built in all the provincial centres, which means that virtually all the people of the country have medical care. At present there are more than 1 million schoolchildren and students, with over 20,000 teachers. Illiteracy is to be completely eliminated by 1983. Vocational and mass organizations have been set up to consolidate the social basis of the people's power.

92. The peaceful foreign policy of the Council of State of the People's Republic of Kampuchea and the search, along with Viet Nam and the Lao People's Democratic Republic, for ways of normalizing relations with the

countries of South-East Asia are being increasingly understood and supported throughout the world. The new constructive proposals put forward in the conferences of the foreign ministers of those three countries of Indo-China are directed towards a positive settlement of the urgent and pressing problems of the region. All that highlights the fact that the Khmer people are successfully dealing with the burden inherited from the Pol Pot puppets and that they are now confidently moving on to the future.

93. Today no one can or has the right to ignore the evident reality of the progressive changes in the People's Republic of Kampuchea, or the fact that those changes are irreversible. The Kampuchean people have made their choice, and nobody can sidetrack them from the path which they have chosen. Any action disregarding the will and wishes of the Kampuchean people not only is gross interference in the internal affairs of the sovereign, free and independent country of Kampuchea but also would be against the interests of all the peoples of South-East Asia and against the cause of peace in the world.

94. However, regardless of the will of the people, the enemies of the People's Republic of Kampuchea persist in their attempts to reverse the course of history. The Beijing hegemonists, along with the other reactionary forces, are, as in the past, nourishing nostalgic hopes to bring back the days of yesteryear, and they are hatching subversive plots to interfere in Kampuchea's internal affairs and to continue destabilizing the situation in the region. In carrying out those plans, arms supplies to the criminal gangs of Pol Pot are not only continuing but also increasing. Recently, there has been an intensification of the intrigues regarding the establishment of a so-called united front, involving the participation of all sorts of reactionary elements, including Pol Pot criminals, to carry out subversive actions against the legal Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea. Imperialist and hegemonist forces are increasingly desperately trying to involve the United Nations in working to achieve their goals.

95. The People's Republic of Bulgaria, as we have stated earlier, rejects the decisions of the so-called Conference on Kampuchea, which was an attempt at gross interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign State. Those decisions are such as to create obstacles to the normalization of relations among the countries of Indo-China and South-East Asia and to aggravate the already tense situation in that part of the world. Those who dreamt up the Conference did not hide their goal, namely, to overthrow the legal Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea and replace it by a régime that would not prevent American imperialism and Chinese hegemonism from carrying out their aggressive and expansionist plans in South-East Asia. Those plans are in accordance with the policy of confrontation and exacerbation of tension as an integral part of their global political strategy to obtain and win world supremacy.

96. They are thus trying to make the United Nations their accomplice in carrying out their diabolical designs and not sparing any effort to impose on the Organization the legalization of the restoration of a genocidal régime which killed 3 million Kampuchean.

97. In the circumstances, any decision relating to Kampuchea taken against the will of the people of Kampuchea and in the absence of representatives of the People's Republic of Kampuchea cannot and will not have any effect. The Kampuchean people needs selfless assistance and not demagogic concern from those who are directly responsi-

ble for the tragedy it has experienced, a tragedy caused, as everybody knows, by the aggression of the United States in Indo-China and by the crimes of the Pol Pot régime, encouraged in its evil deeds by its Beijing mentors.

98. Those are the reasons why the People's Republic of Bulgaria cannot agree to draft resolution A/36/L.3/Rev.1. Just like the decisions of the so-called Conference on Kampuchea, the draft resolution is biased and tendentious and is not in keeping with the interests of the Kampuchean people. The approach it takes does not contribute to an overall peaceful settlement of the problem existing in South-East Asia or to the establishment of an atmosphere of trust and security in the region. Moreover, it hampers the establishment of lasting peace and stability and the development of co-operation between States in that part of the world.

99. The Kampuchean people needs peace, stability, normal relations with its neighbours—in other words, favourable international conditions—to continue its peaceful and creative undertakings. It is precisely along these lines that the Organization should work, namely, to contribute to the peaceful settlement of disputes between States in the region and the establishment in South-East Asia of a zone of peace, stability and co-operation.

100. Mr. TROYANOVSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): The delegation of the Soviet Union considers the discussion in the General Assembly of the so-called item on the situation in Kampuchea totally improper and, therefore, from the outset we opposed the inclusion of this item in the agenda of this session. This discussion being carried on against the will of the Kampuchean people and Government, without the participation of their legal representatives, means direct interference in the affairs of an independent and sovereign State, the People's Republic of Kampuchea, and, accordingly, is a gross violation of the Charter of the United Nations.

101. The telegram, dated 9 September 1981, sent by the Vice-President of the Council of Ministers and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, Hun Sen, to the Secretary-General and the President of the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly states with the utmost clarity that "the Council of State of the People's Republic of Kampuchea . . . is the sole authentic and legal representative of the Kampuchean people" and that "no problem affecting Kampuchea can be resolved in any international organization, the United Nations General Assembly included, without the participation of duly appointed representatives of the Council of State of the People's Republic of Kampuchea". [See A/36/492.]

102. The Soviet delegation is speaking today for one purpose only: to show once again how harmful and futile it is for those who organized this discussion to have it, and to show also the futility of their intentions and designs.

103. To understand where all this scheming is leading us, it is enough to see who is behind it all. Although these countries are not included in the list of sponsors of the draft resolution submitted on the initiative of the countries of ASEAN, it is nevertheless no secret to anyone that they are the ones who actually inspired it—I refer to the United States of America and China. These countries are now trying to present themselves as defen-

ders of the interests of the Kampuchean people and of its self-determination and independence. But, let us ask ourselves, how did they act towards Kampuchea 10 or 5 years ago? How were they then "concerned" about the Kampucheans?

104. In 1969 the United States of America began to bomb neutral Kampuchea. The following year they imposed on it the Lon Nol puppet régime. As a result of five years of barbarous bombing by the American air force and also mass repression carried out by the pro-American régime, no less than 800,000 Kampucheans died.

105. Beijing prevented the Kampuchean people from enjoying the fruits of their victory over the American aggressors and their henchmen. Thanks to its support, in 1975, after the physical elimination of the leaders of the people's armed struggle for liberation, the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary-Khieu Samphan clique took power in Kampuchea. The sorry tale of their rule was the elimination of approximately 3 million people—that is, about half the population of the country. Hence, 4 million dead, hundreds of thousands of widows and orphans and the complete destruction of the State—that is what the policy of those who today pose as defenders of the Kampuchean people brought to Kampuchea.

106. This is the third consecutive year that the General Assembly has had before it this item on the situation in Kampuchea, because, clearly, somebody does not like what is happening in that country. Now, what is happening in Kampuchea today? What are the main features of the changes occurring there?

107. In the political field, instead of the Pol Pot clique, there is now in power a Government which truly represents the people. Kampuchean statehood is now gaining strength. An event of tremendous political importance was the elections to the local organs of power and the National Assembly of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, in which almost all of the adult population participated actively. The outcome of the elections, the first in the history of the country to be carried out on a free and democratic basis—a point noted by many foreign observers—reflected the true intentions of the people to proceed along the path of building a new life.

108. At the first session of the National Assembly of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, the Constitution of the country was adopted. It provides that, in internal policy, the main task of the State is the defence of the interests of workers and the raising of the material and cultural standards of the people. It sets forth basic principles for the State structure of the People's Republic of Kampuchea and the rights and duties of citizens and the tasks of social organizations. It also sets forth the peace-loving nature of the foreign policy of the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

109. The economy of the country is now being built up again, thanks to the heroic efforts of the Kampuchean people. Most of the rice paddies are now producing again. In 1979 rice was sown on only 800,000 hectares, but this year up to 1.8 million hectares were under rice cultivation. Industrial crops are also being produced again. The fishery industry is developing further. Light industry is also producing again in many enterprises. The transport network in the country is functioning again. The monetary system has been restored.

110. Concerning social questions, we have to note that a system of health care and public education is being established. More than a million children are going to school. The higher educational institutes are now beginning to operate again. There is the medical faculty, the pharmacological faculty and the teacher-training institute. There has been a significant improvement in the living conditions of all sectors of the population without exception. The national culture is carefully being encouraged. Temples of worship are being restored and are in operation.

111. Viet Nam, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries have provided and are providing to the Kampuchean people broad-ranging and comprehensive assistance in resolving the tasks of overcoming the difficult situation inherited from the Pol Pot clique, and they are also assisting in the development of the economy and normalization of the life of the population.

112. Assistance provided through international organizations is also of importance to the Kampuchean people, in particular deliveries of food and medicine to Kampuchea. There is no doubt that the Kampuchean people would welcome the continuation of such assistance.

113. Favourable changes in Kampuchea and the life of its people have been broadly recognized internationally, even in circles that are far from sympathetic to the new system. In a document of 19 March, UNICEF, that highly regarded and competent organization, noted that, although there were still difficulties, "Kampuchea's remarkable recovery continues".

114. A correspondent of the American newspaper *The Christian Science Monitor* who visited Kampuchea this year noted in an article entitled "Cambodia's surprising recovery", in the 27 February issue of the newspaper, that "for those Cambodians I talked to who suffered the dislocations caused by American bombing and five years of civil war in the early 1970s, life seemed better than at any time since Norodom Sihanouk was overthrown in March 1970".

115. Those who proposed the present discussion in the General Assembly cannot of course refute actual facts with empty rhetoric. So they do not want to talk about what is happening in the economic and social life of Kampuchea. In fact, they pass over this whole matter in complete silence. One has to ask oneself what they are so unhappy about. Clearly it is a fact that the Kampuchean people have with assistance from their friends overthrown that bloodthirsty yoke of their oppressors and hangmen and are now confidently moving along the path towards national recovery and progressive development, and that the country has stopped being a springboard for aggression against neighbouring Indo-Chinese States.

116. Neither the United States of America nor China was able to attain its objectives in Kampuchea through force of arms. Nor did the mass killings of the Kampuchean people help those countries. And so now they are trying to use the machinery of the United Nations so that with United Nations assistance, and under its cover, they can once again interfere in the business of Kampuchea. In other words, their goals are still the same as they were; all that has changed is the means of attaining those ends.

117. One of those means is the so-called International Conference on Kampuchea. In the Soviet Union we evaluated the holding of that "Conference" as an attempt at

gross interference in the internal affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, a clear attempt to erect a new obstacle to the normalization of relations between the countries of Indo-China and the ASEAN countries, and an attempt to exacerbate the already tense situation in South-East Asia. The scheming involved in the holding of that "Conference" ensured that it would be doomed to failure in advance, because the States of Indo-China—Viet Nam, the Lao People's Democratic Republic and Kampuchea, the countries directly concerned—rejected the resolution adopted at the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly on the basis of which that so-called forum was convened.

118. The efforts of the people of South-East Asia to establish peace and stability in the region are countered by the approach taken by the organizers of the "Conference" in trying to make it a standing body by establishing the so-called *Ad Hoc* Committee on Kampuchea. It is perfectly clear that no decision on Kampuchea taken against the will of its people and in the absence of representatives of the People's Republic of Kampuchea can or will have any force.

119. In the light of all those considerations our delegation firmly opposes draft resolution A/36/L.3/Rev.1, and we shall vote against it. Support for that text, whatever diplomatic phraseology may be used to disguise it, can only be considered support for the return of Pol Pot and his bloodthirsty clique to Kampuchea. A different approach really should have been taken to those criminals, something along the lines proposed in an article that appeared in *The New York Times* of 7 June by one of the representatives of the organization Oxfam America who had helped in the provision of humanitarian assistance to the Kampuchean people. He wrote: "A political solution to the conflict in Cambodia must begin with disarming the Khmer Rouge and bringing their leaders to trial by an international tribunal modeled after that at Nuremberg".

120. Speaking in the general debate at this session of the General Assembly, the Foreign Minister of the USSR, Mr. Gromyko, emphasized that:

"... no one should assume that the manoeuvres under way around the non-existent Kampuchean question can result in anything but harm. It is inadmissible that, under the cover of some pseudo-conferences, executioners overthrown by the people of Kampuchea or former princelings should be imposed once again on that people. They have already made their choice.

"Also doomed to failure are the attempts to cast a shadow upon the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, which extended a helping hand to the Kampuchean people in their struggle for freedom and independence." [7th meeting, paras. 148 and 149.]

121. It is clear that the normalization of the situation in South-East Asia should begin with the elimination of the root causes of tension and conflict—that is, the imperialist and hegemonist intervention in the affairs of the peoples of the region should be halted. The only realistic way to bring that about would not be to fight against it or to destabilize the situation but rather for all the States of South-East Asia to co-operate. The problems they have among themselves can and must be resolved on a regional basis in a spirit of good-neighbourliness and peaceful co-existence without outside interference. That is the constructive approach recommended in the initiatives of the countries of Indo-China, the most recent of which was offered a few days ago on behalf of the Socialist Republic

of Viet Nam, the Lao People's Democratic Republic and the People's Republic of Kampuchea by the Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of the Lao People's Democratic Republic, Mr. Sipraseuth, during the general debate at this session of the General Assembly [16th meeting].

122. The Soviet delegation fully and totally supports that peaceful and constructive proposal. We intend to state our position on that in detail during the forthcoming consideration at this session of agenda item 34, entitled "Question of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia".

123. In conclusion our delegation would like to make an urgent appeal to Members of the United Nations to be more realistic in their approach to the situation in South-East Asia and to reject the attempts to make use of the United Nations as an instrument for intervention in the affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea. That would be better both for peace and the prosperity of the peoples of that region and for international security as a whole.

124. Mr. GOLOB (Yugoslavia): Here we are again considering the situation in South-East Asia and in Kampuchea. The situation is getting worse, tension is rising and the threat to peace persists. Problems remain unresolved and the causes of the crisis have not been eliminated. As many speakers before me have pointed out, we have already had two debates on Kampuchea in the General Assembly as well as the one at the International Conference on Kampuchea held last July. That shows that the international community does not want to give in to solutions imposed by force and that it rejects the policy of *fait accompli*.

125. The general debate in the General Assembly has just come to an end. It was the undivided view of the participants in the debate that the international situation is seriously deteriorating and that peace and security in the world are being constantly endangered.

126. There is no doubt whatsoever in our mind as to the cause of such a development. It is the ever more frequent threat of use and use of force, of intervention and of interference in the internal affairs of other States. It is the great-Power rivalry for the expansion of spheres of interest that leads to the denial of the right of peoples to decide on their own destiny and to the imposition of the will of foreign Powers.

127. The policy of the division of the world along the lines of blocs, neo-blocs and alliances constantly leads to ever more aggressive efforts to establish so-called zones of security or zones of vital interests. It provokes and multiplies the hotbeds of crisis and welds them into a chain which is almost strangling the globe. One of the crucial links in this chain is the situation in South-East Asia. It is the result of foreign intervention and mass foreign military presence in Kampuchea.

128. The peoples of the South-East Asian countries won their freedom and independence by a persistent and heroic struggle. However, the people of Kampuchea are still resisting foreign intervention and the country has fallen victim to a devastating war. The suffering of the people continues. Without a political solution there can be no end to that suffering. It is contrary to the principles of the Charter to impose from outside a way of life or a Government on any State under whatever pretext. To state this is not to defend a particular régime or Government, in Kampuchea

or in any other country. There is no more important principle than that which reaffirms the right of every people to be sovereign in deciding its own destiny. From a legal or a moral point of view this is of paramount importance. These principles are reaffirmed in resolutions adopted previously by the General Assembly and they are the basis of the Declaration adopted at the International Conference on Kampuchea.

129. The Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi last February, concluded that the situation in Kampuchea is at the core of the crisis in South-East Asia. The Foreign Ministers of non-aligned countries emphasized that the principles of non-interference, non-intervention, the withdrawal of foreign troops and the inviolability of the right of peoples to decide on their own destiny form the only basis on which a lasting and just political solution of this and other crises in the world could be sought.

130. Yugoslavia has consistently endeavoured to ensure the application of these principles within the United Nations and among the non-aligned countries and will continue to exert efforts to this end. In line with this, Yugoslavia participated in the International Conference on Kampuchea.

131. The Declaration adopted at that Conference contains, to our mind, the essential elements for the settlement of the problem of Kampuchea and constitutes a basis and framework for a comprehensive political solution. The Declaration points to all the basic principles of a solution—first of all the need for the withdrawal of foreign troops and the exercise by the peoples of the right to self-determination and to decide on their own internal system. At the same time it offers the modalities for practical action.

132. It is of particular importance that the main thrust of the Declaration is not to impose a definite solution prepared in advance. It is an effort to initiate negotiations between the parties directly involved and interested. The *Ad Hoc* Committee of the International Conference on Kampuchea will be successful if it brings about constructive dialogue between the parties directly involved, a dialogue that has regrettably been absent so far.

133. The Conference stressed the necessity for respect of the legitimate interests of all countries in the region. The ultimate aim of a comprehensive solution is that all countries should live in peace and security, mutual respect and non-interference. In that spirit Yugoslavia supports the authentic aspirations to transform South-East Asia into a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality. For the fulfilment of those aspirations it is indispensable to re-establish the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Kampuchea and to maintain its non-aligned status.

134. The crisis in Kampuchea goes far beyond the borders of that country and of South-East Asia, because of its implications and impact on a broader international scale. The independence of every individual country is not only the responsibility of all but also a guarantee of security for all. The defence of independence, in this as in every other situation, means the defence of independence and freedom in all parts of the world and of all our countries individually.

135. These are not abstract notions. They are the basis of the world of peace and the world of equals. In the family of nations no one should remain indifferent and

stand aside when independence is denied or blatantly violated.

136. Therefore, my delegation supports the draft resolution on the situation in Kampuchea and will vote in favour of it.

137. Mr. ELSHEIKH (Sudan) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Once again an issue of the utmost importance and gravity is before the General Assembly. The absence of a lasting and just solution endangers the security of a whole region, exacerbates tension in international relations and disrupts international peace and security.

138. The issue of Kampuchea is not one for the Kampuchean people alone, despite the suffering and injustice to which they have been subjected for years. It is not simply an issue for the people of South-East Asia, despite its negative implications for that region, which have worsened its numerous problems. The Kampuchean problem has to do, first of all, with the high fundamental principles which govern international relations and the framework of interaction and co-operation between all States and peoples, in conformity with the Charter and international norms and law.

139. The Kampuchean question is all the more grave because it demonstrates the seriousness of interference in the internal affairs of other States, something that has repeatedly afflicted the poor, non-aligned and developing countries and has had negative implications for the security and safety of the small, weak and non-aligned countries. It leads to the loss of security and stability in entire regions and forces the States of those regions to use their limited capabilities to mobilize their military forces instead of channelling those capabilities into redevelopment and reconstruction.

140. The Kampuchean question clearly reflects that phenomenon, and thus demonstrates how gravely endangered today are the principles of respect for the sovereignty, independence and right to self-determination of peoples, in accordance with their free will, with no outside interference or coercion. In the view of my delegation, the Kampuchean question puts all those principles, and particularly the commitment of States to them, to a stringent test. That test must be passed if we wish those principles to prevail and if we want aggressive practices and acts of intervention in the internal affairs of States to cease.

141. That is the reason for the Sudan's keen interest in the matter and for our closely following developments in Kampuchea since the acts of aggression and occupation to which that country was subjected a few years ago. Hence our continuous participation in all the attempts by the international community to reach a peaceful and just solution, within the framework of the United Nations, through our support of resolutions 34/22 and 35/6, and our participation in the International Conference on Kampuchea and in Conferences of the non-aligned movement which took up this question.

142. It behoves us to reaffirm that our interest and participation in the ceaseless efforts to find a solution to the problem are not inspired by defence of a régime or a certain ruler. Rather, they are an expression of a firm belief in the necessity for respect for the fundamental principles that govern relations between States and their behaviour. Adherence to those principles is indivisible and unselective and is never relaxed, whether the principles are preju-

dicted in Kampuchea, the Middle East, Afghanistan or elsewhere in similar circumstances.

Mr. Hachème (Benin), Vice-President, took the Chair.

143. It is a source of satisfaction and of growing hope for increasing commitment that action in accordance with international instruments and norms of international law manifested itself in the international community's condemnation and categorical rejection of the invasion of Kampuchea from its very beginning. In November 1979 the majority of Member States adopted General Assembly resolution 34/22, which called for a cessation of the aggressive acts and the immediate withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea in order to enable its people to decide their own future and destiny free from outside interference, subversion or coercion. The General Assembly also appealed to all States to respect scrupulously the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of Kampuchea.

144. On 22 October last year the General Assembly adopted by a majority vote resolution 35/6, which called for the implementation of resolution 34/22 and for the convening of an international conference on Kampuchea. That Conference adopted an historic Declaration on this question, the contents of which represent a step towards a comprehensive political settlement in Kampuchea and embody three fundamental matters. The first is agreement on a cease-fire and the complete withdrawal of foreign forces from Kampuchea within a specific time-frame. The second is respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Kampuchea. The third is the holding of free elections under United Nations supervision.

145. The Sudan will support draft resolution A/36/L.3/Rev.1, as it supported resolutions 34/22 and 35/6. Our support is inspired by our firm belief in the principles of the Charter, which call for respect for the national independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of all States, non-interference in any form in the internal affairs of all States, the non-use of force or the threat of force and the settlement of disputes by peaceful means. Our support for the draft resolution is prompted by our conviction that the main elements in any just solution to the problem are the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Kampuchea, the restoration and maintenance of its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, the restoration and maintenance of the right of the Kampuchean people to self-determination, and a pledge by all States not to interfere in Kampuchea's internal affairs.

146. Mr. WYZNER (Poland): The history of the Organization offers ample evidence that seldom has a political problem on the agenda of the General Assembly been solved unless its solution took due account of the consensus of minds of the parties directly concerned. The question now on the Assembly's agenda is certainly a political one. It is part and parcel of peace in Indo-China; there is also a consensus of minds among the parties directly concerned as to how it should be tackled. Yet the way it has been handled in the Organization thus far only delays its satisfactory solution.

147. The parties most directly concerned with the issue at hand are the people and the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, as well as Viet Nam and the Lao People's Democratic Republic—the three Indo-Chinese countries.

148. The position of the people of Kampuchea vis-à-vis its land's present and future was unambiguously reaffirmed in the elections to the National Assembly last May. A nation doomed by its former rulers to die on the knife of poverty and to fall victim to their policies of biological extinction has within a relatively short time span revived its well-known creative energies to build a peaceful socialist Kampuchea.

149. Equally remarkable has proved to be the record of accomplishment of the Government of that country. On the domestic plane, it consistently pursues a programme of stabilization, national reconstruction, development of the economy, education, culture and all indispensable services. Internationally, it offers a policy of peaceful co-existence to all countries, regardless of their systems, a policy based on respect for independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, non-interference in the internal affairs of others, mutual benefit and peace. Also, a new Constitution has been adopted by the country's National Assembly.

150. The collective position of the three Indo-Chinese States, as the third component among those most directly concerned, was spelled out in clear-cut terms at the Conference of Foreign Ministers of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, Kampuchea and the Lao People's Democratic Republic, held at Phnom Penh last June [see A/36/328]. The documents of that important Conference are well known to the membership of the United Nations.

151. Meanwhile, what seems to prevail in some attitudes towards Kampuchea is a harmful disregard for facts of life and the existing political realities. In the name of such attitudes the legitimate representatives of the Kampuchean people are still denied their seats in this world body. In the name of the same attitudes an International Conference was convened under United Nations auspices, against the will and in the absence of participation in it of the parties directly concerned. In the same name, open interference in the affairs of Indo-Chinese States continues across their respective borders, accompanied, as it is, by hegemonistic pressures and military threats. Also in the name of those harmful attitudes, an item entitled "The situation in Kampuchea" has been included for the third consecutive time in the Assembly's agenda.

152. The Polish delegation firmly believes that such actions will by no means serve to enhance the right cause. We said when the Assembly accepted the credentials of the persons representing the overthrown genocidal régime of Pol Pot and we repeat now: by doing injustice to the People's Republic of Kampuchea, the Organization has failed in its political and moral obligations towards the heroic Kampuchean people.

153. What the international community can really do for Kampuchea is to take a constructive and creative attitude to joint proposals of the three Indo-Chinese States, which rightly view a normalization of the situation in their region as part of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia. The solidarity of the three Indo-Chinese States should come as no surprise to anyone. It has its strong roots in the long-standing tradition of mutual support in their common struggle for independence and freedom. Consequently, there has always been a strong relationship in matters of security concerning Kampuchea, the Lao People's Democratic Republic and Viet Nam. This relationship was a prominent factor in the past; it remains of vital importance now, when they are striving to consoli-

date their independence and rebuild their war-torn economies.

154. In that important context, the General Assembly should welcome the assurances of the three States concerned that once the threat from China no longer exists Viet Nam and Kampuchea will reach agreement on the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea. Why not, then, concentrate on speedily removing the existing perils to their security? Such a process of positive action might indeed lead to giving effect to yet another constructive proposal by the three Indo-Chinese States—namely, bilateral treaties of non-aggression and peaceful co-existence between them and China.

155. For the time being, though, the path to further normalization in and around the area leads to a regional conference between the Indo-Chinese and ASEAN countries on matters of mutual concern. Such a meeting could certainly lead to a broader international conference which might acknowledge and guarantee the agreements reached at the regional level. The United Nations could—and, in fact, must—lend its own auspicious weight to the opening of such a process by granting full recognition to the legitimate representatives of the People's Republic of Kampuchea. Draft resolution A/36/L.3/Rev.1, unfortunately, runs counter to these expectations. We shall therefore have to vote against it.

156. Few nations would want their problems to be perennially internationalized. For all too long a time the international focus has been on Indo-China. The best contribution the Organization can make to the cause of peace in the region is to harmonize its actions with the genuine interests of its peoples.

157. Mr. ÅLGÅRD (Norway): It is now almost three years since armed forces from Viet Nam entered Kampuchea, overthrew the Government and installed a new régime in that country. Regardless of our opposition to the policies of the Pol Pot régime, it is a matter of continuing concern to the Norwegian Government that the occupation forces are still in Kampuchea and that there seems to be no indication of an imminent withdrawal.

158. The Norwegian Government attaches great importance to the basic principles of international law which have been violated in Kampuchea. First, the principle that international frontiers are inviolable is a principle that is of fundamental importance, particularly to smaller countries. Secondly, we cannot accept the resolution of international conflicts by the use of military force.

159. Those are principles of concern to the international community as a whole; they are at the roots of the notion of international order laid down in the Charter. Stability and peace, order and equity can prevail in international society only if all States show restraint in their international behaviour and refrain from the use of military force. Foreign intervention cannot be accepted as the arbiter of social and political change. When such intervention takes place in a sensitive and volatile region of the world, world peace is endangered.

160. The International Conference on Kampuchea stressed the conviction that the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea, the restoration and preservation of its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and the commitment by all States to non-interference and non-intervention in the internal affairs of Kampuchea are the principal components of any just and lasting solution

of the Kampuchean problem. Draft resolution A/36/L.3/Rev.1 reiterates that conviction. We urge the Government of Viet Nam to withdraw its military forces, and we call upon all parties concerned to enter into a negotiation process in a constructive manner, so that the troubled region of South-East Asia can develop into a zone of peace, freedom and stability.

161. The Norwegian Government appreciates the initiatives taken by the Secretary-General with the aim of finding a basis for a comprehensive political solution to the Kampuchean conflict, and we request all the States Members of the United Nations to give their support to this important and difficult work. A political solution must ensure the right of all Kampucheans to determine their own future without foreign interference, in accordance with the Charter. In our view, free elections under United Nations supervision and control would guarantee to the people of Kampuchea that basic right.

162. The Norwegian Government has on a number of occasions expressed opposition to the serious violations of human rights committed by the Pol Pot régime. It is now all the more important that the people of Kampuchea be given a new future, free from political, physical and other forms of subjugation, including foreign interference.

163. The danger of a famine in Kampuchea now seems to be less accentuated, thanks to the international relief operations in Kampuchea under the co-ordination of UNICEF and other international organizations. The Norwegian Government has recently given an additional amount of 5 million Norwegian kroner to the United Nations relief programme for Kampuchea, and we are also in principle prepared to continue to co-operate with other donor countries and the relief organizations if there is a need for continuing these efforts in 1982.

164. It must be clearly stated, however, that only a political solution will bring an end to the human suffering resulting from the present conflict in Kampuchea. In the view of the Norwegian Government, draft resolution A/36/L.3/Rev.1 contains elements which are essential to restoring peace and stability in Kampuchea and in South-East Asia as a whole. Consequently we shall support that draft resolution.

165. Mr. ANDERSON (Australia): This is the third year in which Kampuchea has featured on the agenda of the General Assembly.

166. When the item was first considered, in 1979, my delegation, like most others, hoped that it would not be necessary for the matter to be considered in subsequent years. It was our hope that the terms of the resolution then adopted would be honoured by all and that the issue could thus be removed from the agenda. Instead, we are confronted with a situation where the terms of resolutions 34/22 and 35/6 have been ignored in all important respects by those to whom the resolutions were addressed. Thus the item on the situation in Kampuchea necessarily remains on our agenda, and it is entirely appropriate that it should be one of the first substantive questions to be considered in plenary meeting at this session.

167. As in 1979, the situation in Kampuchea continues to pose a threat to international peace and security—a threat induced by the actions of one Member State, supported by a great Power, in defiance of the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations. In continuing to occupy Kampuchea with some 200,000 troops, Viet Nam is

acting contrary to international law, contrary to basic principles enshrined in the Charter and in total disregard for world opinion as expressed in the resolutions of the Assembly.

168. It is not necessary at this time to recount all the events of late 1978 and early 1979 when the invasion first took place. Suffice it to recall that Kampuchea was ruled at that time by a régime whose violations of human rights had incurred widespread condemnation. Unlike some others who today affect disgust for the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary régime but who only two years ago were championing it in the Commission on Human Rights, my Government was among those which consistently condemned the iniquities and excesses of that régime. Australia no longer recognizes the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary régime as the legitimate Government of Democratic Kampuchea. At the same time, my Government regards the methods employed by Viet Nam to remove that authority and install a puppet administration as totally unacceptable. It follows that Australia also regards the Heng Samrin régime, whose authority depends entirely on the presence of the Vietnamese occupation forces, as illegal and unrepresentative of the Khmer people. As for the so-called election staged in Kampuchea some months ago, one need only note that it was a charade, held under foreign military occupation.

169. I should like to read into the record an extract from the final communiqué issued on 7 October at the conclusion of the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting, held at Melbourne from 30 September to 7 October:

“Heads of Government were gravely concerned by the continuing tension in South-East Asia arising especially from the armed conflict in Kampuchea, which affected the peace and security of the whole region and if left unchecked would result in the active intervention by major Powers in the affairs of the region. They reaffirmed their support for the principles of non-interference in the internal affairs of sovereign States and the inadmissibility of the use of force in international relations. They agreed on the urgent need for a comprehensive political settlement which would ensure the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of all States in the region, including Kampuchea. They reaffirmed the right of the people of the region to determine their future free of outside interference, subversion or coercion, and called for the speedy withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea. Heads of Government endorsed the conclusions of the New Delhi Conference of Foreign Ministers of Non-Aligned Countries in this regard. They noted various proposals, decisions and efforts of the various parties concerned directed towards finding an early political settlement of the problem.” [See A/36/587.]

170. The Commonwealth is an association of aligned and non-aligned States uniquely placed to make a substantial contribution to defusing international tension in a divided world. My delegation considers that the extract from the communiqué which I have just read represents a balanced assessment of the Kampuchean problem, and I commend it to representatives as worthy of their attention.

171. One of the most disturbing effects of the invasion of Kampuchea has been the creation of a vast flow of refugees. At present there are still some 300,000 Khmer refugees and displaced persons in holding camps in Thailand and living along the Thai-Kampuchean border. At

the same time, there are disquieting reports of new food shortages inside Kampuchea itself. My Government commends the international relief agencies for their untiring efforts to assist the afflicted people of Kampuchea, and it warmly congratulates the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and his staff on the recent award of the Nobel Peace Prize.

172. As the Secretary-General has noted in his report on this item [A/36/583], the United Nations system has continued to co-operate and co-ordinate closely with the International Committee of the Red Cross and with many non-governmental organizations, as well as with those countries giving bilateral assistance. As a significant contributor to the programme, we hope that this co-operation and co-ordination will continue. For its part, the Australian Government has made available to date more than \$US 20 million and, in addition, the Australian people have donated some \$US 11 million.

173. The Australian Government believes that the majority of the Khmer refugees and displaced persons will wish to return to Kampuchea of their own free will. But a successful repatriation programme will depend in the first instance on the restoration of peace and normal living conditions in Kampuchea and on the conclusion of a political settlement acceptable to the Khmer people themselves.

174. It is not sufficient for the Assembly to engage in condemnatory rhetoric; rather, it should be making a genuine search for a solution to the problem. In resolution 35/6 and again in draft resolution A/36/L.3/Rev.1 a serious attempt has been made to formulate a plan by which an internationally acceptable solution could be reached. This plan has Australia's full support, and we are pleased to be one of the sponsors of the draft resolution.

175. Australia welcomed the Secretary-General's initiative in convening the International Conference on Kampuchea last July. We were gratified by the high level of attendance at the Conference and by the positive results achieved. We therefore think it entirely appropriate that the mechanisms agreed at the Conference should be endorsed now by the General Assembly so that the earnest attempt at a peaceful settlement embodied in the Declaration and resolution of the Conference may be continued. We welcome in particular the establishment of the *Ad Hoc* Committee and stand ready to assist that Committee in any manner possible.

176. My Government has been watching closely the attempts made in recent months by the various Khmer groupings opposed to the Vietnamese military occupation to form a united front. While we recognize the difficulties involved, we would welcome the emergence of such a coalition, in which positions of authority would be held by such respected nationalist leaders as Prince Sihanouk and former Prime Minister Son Sann, pending an eventual settlement. Under such a settlement, however, it is the Kampuchean people themselves who must decide on their future government in genuinely free elections, held after foreign forces have been withdrawn and in conditions free from any form of external or internal coercion or intimidation.

177. The General Assembly has in the past two years pronounced itself on the situation in Kampuchea, calling for the complete withdrawal of foreign forces and the free exercise by the Kampuchean people of their right to self-determination. The Economic and Social Council has

twice adopted similar resolutions, as has the Commission on Human Rights on three occasions. The International Conference on Kampuchea confirmed the same position, as well as offering a reasonable framework for a negotiated settlement. Yet the occupying Power refuses to come to the conference table and persists in its intent to impose a military solution. We call upon Viet Nam to reconsider its position, to heed the many clear expressions of world opinion and to enter into negotiations for a peaceful settlement based on the principles set forth in the draft resolution now before us.

178. Mr. FRANCIS (New Zealand): This is the third session at which the General Assembly has had before it an item concerning the situation in Kampuchea. The resolutions adopted by the thirty-fourth and thirty-fifth sessions set out the basic principles for a peaceful settlement in Kampuchea. Regrettably, we seem to be little closer now to such a settlement than we were two years ago.

179. Kampuchea, now, as then, is an occupied country. It is ruled by a régime which was imposed by foreign armed forces in violation of the basic principle of the Charter that all Members of the Organization shall refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State. So long as foreign forces continue to be stationed in Kampuchea the people of that country will have no opportunity to choose their own government in conditions free of outside pressure or interference. And so long as those forces remain in place the likelihood of increased great-Power involvement in the region will remain, the prospects of regional stability will be jeopardized and the peaceful development of the area will be held back.

180. That is why New Zealand has supported the countries of ASEAN in their efforts to reduce tensions in the area, to foster regional co-operation and to bring about a comprehensive political settlement that would bring peace and relief to the people of Kampuchea. That is also why we welcomed the Secretary-General's action in calling an International Conference on Kampuchea.

181. That International Conference had as its goal the achievement of an independent and sovereign Kampuchea under a representative Government that would be guaranteed against threat from its neighbours and would not itself be a threat to those neighbours. The Conference pursued its difficult task with realism and flexibility. The Declaration, which New Zealand fully endorsed, called for negotiations on the elements of a comprehensive political settlement. It did not seek to dictate the terms of a final settlement, but rather sought to provide a framework for negotiations. And it acknowledged the legitimate security interests of all States in the region, especially in its reaffirmation of the goal of a neutral and non-aligned Kampuchea that would not be a threat to its neighbours.

182. Such a settlement is long overdue. The fighting in Kampuchea serves no one's interests—not those of the Kampuchean people, whose country has been devastated and whose rights and welfare have been ruthlessly disregarded by successive régimes; not those of the countries to which so many Kampucheans have fled in order to escape the conflict being waged in their country; and certainly not those of Viet Nam, whose resources have for so long been directed away from peaceful progress and economic development. And the international community has the same interest in seeing peace and stability restored to South-East Asia as have all the countries of the region.

183. New Zealand will therefore continue to support efforts to devise a workable formula for peace and stability in Kampuchea. That can be achieved if all the parties are prepared to negotiate in good faith on the basis of a commitment to uphold the principles of the Charter and to pursue a dialogue aimed at reconciling the interests of all the parties concerned. New Zealand, as my Minister of Foreign Affairs said at the International Conference on Kampuchea, is under no illusion that the process of securing a political settlement will be anything but long and difficult. A settlement will not be achieved overnight. What we expect, however, is that a start will be made and that all sides will express a genuine commitment to pursue a course of patient and realistic negotiation.

184. The draft resolution before us, of which New Zealand is a sponsor, offers an opportunity to do this by building on the results of the International Conference. It reaffirms that the people of Kampuchea are entitled to the rights and protection accorded to all States under the Charter. It calls again for the withdrawal of foreign troops and reasserts the right of the Kampuchean people to decide their own future freely and without outside interference. And in approving the establishment of machinery to pursue the search for a peaceful settlement, it urges all States concerned to take part in negotiations to achieve such a settlement. The draft resolution thus provides a framework for the continuation of efforts to bring peace to South-East Asia. It deserves the support of us all.

185. Mr. BALETA (Albania) (*interpretation from French*): For the third consecutive year the General Assembly is addressing itself to an item on its agenda entitled "The situation in Kampuchea", which constitutes one of the most burning and serious international problems of the day. In the course of the debate that has proceeded over the past two years on the question of Kampuchea, the delegation of Albania has clearly expressed the positions of its Government. Our analysis of the situation in Kampuchea and in South-East Asia and our views with respect to the factors that have brought about that situation and which are preventing a settlement of the problem remain the same. Consequently, it is not my intention to repeat our analysis in detail; I should like only to address myself to some aspects of the problem and to reaffirm our position of principle.

186. We believe that the tense situation in Kampuchea and its adverse consequences for the entire region of South-East Asia and for peace and security in general confirm a conclusion already reached in many other cases in international affairs: namely, that whenever and wherever a serious crisis or a hotbed of tension appears, one finds in the background the hand of the imperialist super-Powers, their direct interventions or their plots and intrigues. As we have already stated, we believe that the roots of the situation which today persists in Kampuchea go beyond the events of the end of 1978.

187. The national crisis which has fallen upon the people of Kampuchea is the result of a long chain of tragic events caused by various enemies, the imperialist super-Powers on the outside and the reactionary forces within the country. The tragedy that the people of Kampuchea have endured over the past decade began with the aggression of American imperialism against peaceful Kampuchea. The military occupation and the war operations that brought the American imperialists to the land of Kampuchea inflicted upon the people of that country enormous destruction, misfortune and damage. The people of Kampuchea then fell victim to the intrigues and interference of

the Soviet social-imperialists and the Chinese social-imperialists. When the people of Kampuchea were fighting for national liberation, the Soviet Union supported the bloodthirsty régime of Lon Nol, the puppet of the American imperialists. After the liberation of Kampuchea, China made haste to use the régime of Pol Pot, another hangman of the Kampuchean people, to massacre that people and to make the country serve the ambitions of Beijing's imperialist policy.

188. Today, Kampuchea and all of Indo-China remains a zone of tension tangled up in the hegemonist ambitions and the expansionist designs of the imperialist super-Powers. The people of Kampuchea continue to be the victims of the growing rivalry between China, the United States and the Soviet Union, which seek to extend their influence in South-East Asia and to prevent the people of Kampuchea from settling their problems as they see fit. The imperialist super-Powers are resorting to all kinds of propaganda methods in their attempt to justify their crimes against the people of Kampuchea and to shrug off the heavy responsibility they bear for the situation they have created in that country.

189. The United States, China and the Soviet Union continue to shed crocodile tears over the suffering of the Kampuchean people, each of them setting itself up as the defender of the rights of that people and accusing the other of being the sole guilty party. But all the facts are before us to demonstrate that the American imperialists and the Chinese and Soviet social-imperialists have been and remain the principal parties responsible for the grave situation which has been created in Kampuchea and the greatest enemies of the national independence and freedom of the people of that country.

190. The United States, which savagely occupied, destroyed and ravaged Kampuchea not so long ago and has continued to work to re-establish its influence over that country, can deceive no one when it poses as the defender of the people of Kampuchea and preaches the principles and standards of international law.

191. China, which encouraged, helped and used the Pol Pot clique to commit genocide against the people of its country, is today acting hand in hand with the United States of America to save the remnants of that régime and to transform Kampuchea once again into a bridgehead for its own expansionism in South-East Asia.

192. The Soviet Union, which claims to be the best friend of the peoples of Indo-China, pretends that it is helping the people of Kampuchea, whereas in fact it is acting in the same manner and for the same ends as China and the United States, pursuing the same expansionist and hegemonist goals.

193. The present debate on the situation in Kampuchea is taking place at a time when the international situation in general has become more tense and more complicated. The lack of any progress towards a solution of the Kampuchean problem is both an expression of the aggravated international situation and a factor that contributes to the exacerbation of tension, especially in South-East Asia. There can be no doubt that those most interested in seeing that situation resolved are the people of Kampuchea themselves. But it goes without saying that all peace-loving and freedom-loving peoples and the progressive countries hope that the problem of Kampuchea can be brought to a just settlement in conformity with the inalienable sov-

foreign national rights and the legitimate interests of the people of that country.

194. The Albanian people, a sincere friend of the Kampuchean people and the other peoples of Indo-China, keenly hopes that stability and peace can be truly re-established in that part of the world so that all the peoples of the region who have suffered for so long throughout the long years of their struggle for national liberation can devote themselves wholly to strengthening freedom and national independence in their respective countries and to their economic, social and cultural development.

195. We believe that in the interest of the people of Kampuchea and their neighbours the aggressive hegemonist and expansionist policy practised by the imperialist super-Powers vis-à-vis Kampuchea must be denounced with vigour. In our view, it is above all important that the peoples and countries of the region resolutely oppose the designs and dangerous machinations of the American imperialists and create the necessary conditions for a settlement of existing problems.

196. The People's Socialist Republic of Albania has always firmly condemned all imperialist interference to the detriment of Indo-China and Kampuchea. It is indispensable that any interference by the imperialist super-Powers be brought to an end in order to bring the Kampuchean problem closer to a solution. The people of Kampuchea, like all other peoples, has the inalienable and unimpeachable right to live freely and independently and to decide its own fate in accordance with its own national aspirations. The People's Socialist Republic of Albania has always argued and will continue to argue for the right of the people of Kampuchea and the other peoples of Indo-China to live independently and freely. Albania favours respect for the territorial integrity and complete sovereignty of Kampuchea. We oppose all foreign interference, whatever its source, in the internal affairs of that country. No State has the right or is authorized to violate the sovereignty of Kampuchea. No one has the right to dictate to Kampuchea what type of régime or Government the people of Kampuchea should have or what course that country should follow towards development. It is for the Kampuchean people alone to choose its own path and to adopt the régime or Government it desires in accordance with its aspirations and national vocation and not according to models or blueprints imposed on it from outside. No one has the right to dictate to it how to organize its economic and political life.

197. Our delegation wishes to reaffirm its view that any act designed to impose upon the Kampuchean people solutions incompatible with its rights and national interests on the basis of decisions taken without its freely expressed will is unacceptable, because it constitutes a violation of the inalienable right of peoples to self-determination, because it is contrary to all the principles and standards of international law and because it would only aggravate the situation and increase the danger of further explosions and confrontations in the region surrounding Kampuchea. There can be no justification for any attempt to impose upon the Kampuchean people solutions that do not take into account the necessity to respect fully its sovereignty and territorial integrity or that prevent that people from recovering all its rights and freely exercising its national sovereignty without any outside interference.

198. Mr. KRISHNAMURTHY (India): Few subjects have in recent years given rise to as much discursive debate and acrimonious polemics in these chambers and cor-

ridors as has the situation in Kampuchea. It is increasingly evident that while most of the countries of the area have displayed the willingness to engage in meaningful exchanges and productive dialogue, it is largely at the instance of Powers and forces external to the region that the atmosphere of public recrimination and verbal attrition continues, to the detriment of the situation in the region.

199. India has traditionally followed with deep interest the developments in South-East Asia, including Kampuchea. We have had friendly relations with the countries of that region based upon the close cultural, social, intellectual and linguistic links that have developed over the centuries. We have sympathized with and supported the peoples in that region in their struggle for freedom and independence. Together with them, India has sought to establish for the emerging countries of Asia and other continents an independent voice in world affairs and the conditions for the fulfilment of their own national aspirations free from outside interference or control. The people and Government of India also followed with deep admiration the progress of the valiant struggle of the peoples of Indo-China against the forces of imperialism and foreign intervention. After the defeat of those forces it was natural to hope that the States of Indo-China and South-East Asia would move towards a period of reconstruction and economic development in an atmosphere of peace, stability, friendship and co-operation.

200. The recent events affecting international peace and security in the region, which is in our own neighbourhood, cannot but give us, therefore, cause for deep concern. We do not intend here to catalogue the cruel and barbaric crimes committed by the previous régime in Kampuchea against its innocent and defenceless people. Both in the general debate and during the first phase of the Kampuchean debate, namely, consideration of the credentials of so-called Democratic Kampuchea, my delegation had occasion to refer to what we consider a bizarre inversion of the principles of the Charter represented by the continued recognition by the United Nations of a moribund régime long since discarded by the Kampuchean people and that régime's occupation of the seat of Kampuchea in the General Assembly. We believe that it is the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea which should be represented in the Assembly; indeed, it is that Government's representative who should appropriately participate in this debate and exchange of views.

201. In addressing the question of Kampuchea my delegation has two major preoccupations. In the first place, our concern is directed at the alleviation of the effects upon the people of Kampuchea of the terrible situation brought about in so calculated and deliberate a manner by the hated Pol Pot régime. The people of Kampuchea are only now beginning to emerge from the dreadful holocaust visited upon them by that régime during the short period in which they ran amuck in that country.

202. In fact, they had not even recovered fully from the disaster and deprivation that they had had to endure during the struggle of the people of Indo-China for national liberation, independence and sovereignty. Under the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea and with the help of the international community the people of Kampuchea are currently engaged in a massive effort at economic and social reconstruction. The prospect of widespread famine and disease has receded and the process of the stabilization of the livelihood of the masses has been placed on a firm footing. These efforts of the Government of Kampuchea have received the support of

the international community and the co-operation of the various United Nations agencies operating within Kampuchea.

203. The Government of India has continued its modest bilateral efforts to ameliorate the situation in Kampuchea, despite our own problems and pressing needs. As agreed during the visit to New Delhi in August this year of a delegation of the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, an Indian mission will visit Kampuchea in the near future with a view to expanding co-operation for the reconstruction of the country.

204. In his report the Secretary-General expressed profound satisfaction that, despite serious difficulties imposed by the underlying military and political situation, international relief efforts have been successful in overcoming to a significant degree the worst conditions of hunger, malnutrition and disease, but stated that grave uncertainties still lie ahead. We should like to pay a tribute to the agencies in the United Nations system and to the many non-governmental organizations whose officials have worked tirelessly and selflessly in the discharge of their duties in order to bring an entire people back from the brink of desperation to a modicum of hope and security, for the generous contributions and the tireless efforts they have made.

205. Aside from the humanitarian concerns, there is the question of the tension currently prevailing in South-East Asia and its relationship to the situation in Kampuchea. We have clearly stated in the past and we should like to restate now that the Government of India is against the presence of foreign troops or foreign bases in any country. We are not oblivious of the concern of the countries of South-East Asia, including the pre-occupation of the neighbouring members of ASEAN regarding the implications of the developments in the region for their own security. We are convinced also that a peaceful political solution must be based on the principles of the inadmissibility of the use of force and non-interference in the internal affairs of sovereign States. At the same time, however, it is necessary that all States realize that any position which sought to reverse the process of normalization within Kampuchea and to restore the *status quo ante* in Kampuchea would not be altogether productive. It is difficult, if not impossible, to conceive of a situation in which the people of Kampuchea would allow their erstwhile persecutors to return in order to unleash a reign of terror upon them once again.

206. I might recall here that a former leader of Kampuchea, speaking last month in Singapore, is reported to have expressed the fear that his own people would "condemn" him for joining with the infamous Pol Pot group and that to co-operate with them would be "to co-operate with the killers of the people of Kampuchea". However, it is strange that despite this the international community should continue to witness a scenario involving various expatriate groups and forces acting out their parts without any reference to the actual situation within the country or to the wishes and aspirations of the Kampuchean people.

207. Since the early 1950s India has consistently extended its support and assistance in seeking a peaceful solution to the problems of the region. It will be recalled that, under the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Indo-China, India was privileged to play the role of Chairman of the International Control Commission established in the three States of Indo-China. The Government of India continues to be prepared to support any constructive action leading

to a defusion of tension and a viable political solution. We believe, however, that the approach embodied in the resolutions of the General Assembly adopted last year and the year before are not directed towards such an end. It was for this reason that India abstained in the votes on those resolutions. That was also why India did not participate in the International Conference on Kampuchea.

208. It is now generally accepted that peace and stability in the region can be secured only through a comprehensive political solution. This is evident from the fact that it was possible to achieve a consensus at the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi in February 1981. This consensus, which was embodied in the New Delhi Declaration, expresses the clear conviction of the Foreign Ministers concerning "... the urgent need to de-escalate these tensions through a comprehensive political solution which would provide for the withdrawal of all foreign forces, thus ensuring full respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of all States in the region, including Kampuchea". [See A/36/1116 and Corr.1.] This position was also endorsed at the meeting of Commonwealth Heads of Government held recently in Melbourne. A dialogue among the countries of the region in a climate of confidence is indispensable. The involvement and interference of outside Powers in the region has exacerbated tension and must be eliminated.

209. It is our conviction that, despite divergences in approach and position, the countries of the region themselves clearly recognize that a political dialogue among them within a framework such as that defined by the New Delhi non-aligned conference is essential for obtaining an overall peaceful resolution of the problems of the region. We are aware of the ongoing contacts among them and trust that these will continue and develop to mutual advantage. It is incumbent on the international community to encourage, rather than obstruct, such contacts. We had very much hoped that the General Assembly would find it possible to encourage this dialogue. Even if this were beyond the capacity of the Assembly for the present—as, regrettably, seems to be the case—it would still be our hope that whatever the Assembly did would at least not stand in the way of further attempts in this direction.

210. Mr. FONSEKA (Sri Lanka): Speaking late in this debate, my delegation is alive to the fact that this item, as shown by the debates that have taken place so far and the exchanges during the current debate, is a question of great controversy. As the Secretary-General himself says in his report, in spite of the efforts made at various levels, it has regrettably not been possible so far to bridge the gap which exists between the strongly held views of the parties and States concerned, and real progress is yet to be made towards achieving a peaceful solution of the problem. This, I should like to repeat, has been confirmed in the current debate.

211. Against this background, my delegation will refrain from an extended repetition or a recounting of history, because that would reopen old wounds and make our task even more difficult. Nevertheless, to place our statement in perspective I shall have to place on record briefly why we voted in favour of resolution 35/6 of 22 October 1980. This was because the legal Government had been overthrown by foreign troops and an administration installed and sustained by the continued presence of foreign troops exercised power. That was the position at the end of 1979 and it remains true today.

212. We supported resolution 35/6, which called for the convening of an international conference in 1981, because such a conference, involving all the conflicting parties in Kampuchea and others concerned, had the aim of finding a comprehensive political settlement. The conference was to negotiate with a view to reaching an agreement on, *inter alia*, eight issues. These were: the total withdrawal of foreign troops within a specified time-frame; measures to ensure law and order and the observance of fundamental human rights; non-interference by outside Powers in the internal affairs of Kampuchea; United Nations-supervised free elections; guarantees against the introduction of foreign troops; and guarantees of respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Kampuchea and of an independent and sovereign Kampuchea that would not be a threat to its neighbours.

213. We believed, and we continue to believe, that the emphasis on and the involvement of the United Nations in the foregoing would assist in bringing the solution of the problem of Kampuchea that we all seek.

214. Some may say that the Conference held in July of this year was not an unqualified success. Yet the Conference had a level of participation beyond that envisaged by those who were critical of this approach—and that dissent has been stated no less strongly during the current debate. The Government of Sri Lanka participated in that Conference because we had voted in favour of resolution 35/6 and after careful consideration. We did so because Kampuchea is a country in our Asian region, and we believed that we had an obligation to contribute whatever we could towards a solution. We also placed our faith in the involvement of the United Nations in all the crucial stages—namely, the cease-fire, the withdrawal of foreign troops, the enforcement of law and order, the elections to follow, and the guarantees to be afforded by the five permanent members of the Security Council as well as by neighbouring States.

215. I have spoken of the importance which we attach to the involvement of the United Nations. That involvement has already taken place through the role played and the outstanding services rendered by UNHCR, a performance that has been recognized, acclaimed and supported by several countries. Both to UNHCR and to the countries that have contributed so generously my delegation extends its unreserved appreciation.

216. We supported the resolution and joined the *Ad Hoc* Committee because throughout the Conference and in its Declaration and resolution the participation of and a dialogue between the conflicting parties and others concerned were called for. That participation has not been forthcoming so far, but we again appeal to those who have declined to participate to join us in this effort because it would be presumptuous on our part to think that this endeavour would be fruitful without them.

217. It is against that background that we must also say that the present *status quo*—conflicting claims to the allegiance of the Kampuchean people by an administration supported by foreign troops on the one hand and a Government which has lost some of that allegiance on the other—cannot continue. As a member of the *Ad Hoc* Committee it is still our hope that this appeal will be heeded.

218. It is in that context that we support draft resolution A/36/L.3/Rev.1.

219. Mr. KAMANDA wa KAMANDA (Zaire) (*interpretation from French*): At the outset may I express our appreciation to the Secretary-General for the clarity of his report on the situation in Kampuchea, for the efforts he has undertaken to ensure the implementation of General Assembly resolutions 34/22 and 35/6, and in particular for organizing the International Conference on Kampuchea.

220. For the third year in succession we are confronted with the situation created in Kampuchea by the flagrant and clearly established violation of the fundamental principles of the Charter and of international law. We will not reiterate the arguments we have developed in the past to show the irrelevance of the thesis of some countries that have tried to justify that violation of the principles of the Charter and of international law.

221. At its thirty-fifth session, the General Assembly adopted resolution 35/6, designed to assist in the settlement of the Kampuchean problem. That resolution, which recalled the terms of resolution 34/22, seemed to us to be the expression of the view shared by the vast majority of States Members of the United Nations that it was necessary to arrive at an overall political settlement of the entire Kampuchean problem in order to establish lasting peace in South-East Asia. That resolution established the preliminary conditions necessary for an overall political settlement, namely: the total withdrawal of foreign troops from Kampuchea, to be verified by the United Nations; measures by the United Nations to ensure law and order and the observance of the fundamental principles of human rights in Kampuchea; measures by the United Nations to ensure non-interference by outside Powers in the internal affairs of Kampuchea; United Nations-supervised free elections in Kampuchea; guarantees against the introduction of any foreign forces in Kampuchea; guarantees to respect the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Kampuchea; and finally, guarantees that an independent and sovereign Kampuchea will not be a threat to its neighbours.

222. But, despite the efforts made, as was recognized in the Secretary-General's report, it has not so far been possible to bring together the positions of the interested parties and States and no real progress has been made towards a peaceful solution of the question. In a word, it seems that not all the parties interested and concerned deemed it necessary to make their contributions to the implementation of the relevant United Nations resolutions, although we had every right to expect that the consultations which took place among the countries of the region as well as with other countries would result in their finding a way out of the impasse in which they have been since the beginning of the crisis.

223. When we examine the report of the Secretary-General closely it appears that the major difficulty facing us is to bring together the firmly established positions of the interested parties and States with a view to the peaceful solution of the problem. We are faced with the major difficulty of having, as the Secretary-General's report states, "to bridge the gap which exists between the strongly held views of the parties and States concerned . . . [to achieve] a peaceful solution of the problem" [*see A/36/583, para. 11*].

224. Two questions therefore arise. How is it possible not to succeed in bringing together the positions of the interested parties and States—which are Members of the United Nations—on the basis of the principles of the

Charter as recalled in resolutions 34/22 and 35/6, since it is true that although the reaffirmation of the commitment of all interested parties and States to those principles is a matter of common knowledge, it would be a great step forward in the quest for or negotiations on practical modalities with a view to restoring peace to that region and allowing the States of South-East Asia, through the overall political settlement that will have been found, to make their region, which has suffered war and mutilation for 30 years, a zone of peace, of freedom and doubtless of neutrality?

225. How is it possible not to succeed in bringing together the positions based on the legitimate interests of all the countries of that region? Are we facing an *a priori* rejection of any peaceful solution of the question by those who prevent the bringing together of the positions of the interested parties and States? And if a peaceful solution is rejected, what other solution in conformity with the principles of the Charter and of international law is suggested? Is it a question here of the principles or of the interpretation of those principles?

226. These are all disturbing questions that lead us to realize that the gap between the principles in which we all believe and the political necessities and interests of the State dictated by egoistic and short-term considerations is increasingly becoming a cause of the breakdown of the harmonious development of international relations and of anguish and tension in the world. Whereas principles, as a primary cause, source and guide for individual and social behaviour—propositions which serve as a basis for reasoning and for making deductions, the fundamental rule of social or moral behaviour, in short, the essence from which everything else is derived—have been established to prevent deviations that may be harmful to the harmonious development of man and society, it seems today that neither side respects or defends principles except when they take comfort from the deviations that arise from the manifold attractions of the irrational, of excess, of selfish interests and so on. In a word it seems that the principles are a nuisance.

227. Here we see in all its nakedness and its extraordinary complexity the crisis of our civilization, which is also the crisis of humanity. When we have all immolated our principles on the altar of selfish interests, of the desire for power and domination, on the altar of ideology and delirium, will not the paucity of thought and the wealth of political illusions drag us into tragedies and disasters? How have we succeeded in forgetting today that the First World War arose from the clash of nation States?

228. What are these new determinations, stronger in their attraction than the survival of humanity, stronger in their attraction than the peace, freedom and equality of the peoples, which are to take the place of the principles on which the United Nations is founded and of international co-operation and law as the group of rules governing relations among civilized peoples and States in ordering and controlling thought, that is to say, the establishment of theories and the production of speeches? Is it not vital and even obvious that the policy which embodies the most legitimate aspirations of peoples and of man should not deceive itself, not deceive those whose aspirations it is supposed to embody?

229. Therefore a terrible disjointed pattern exists between the accepted principles of behaviour in international relations and egoistic State, political or ideological interests, between the principled values and the dictum of a

sovereign, and all the speeches produced from that pattern make interest more important than or alien to the principles and make even man himself alien to the principles which he had established for a better organization of his community relations.

230. The Secretary-General, in his report, rightly draws our attention to the fact that a definitive solution to the problem must pass through a just and lasting overall settlement of the political and military interests in question, that any solution must be based upon the fundamental principles which are set forth in the Charter and on the subject of which the General Assembly has on several occasions expressed its views, in particular: respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of all States; the non-use of force and respect for the right of peoples to self-determination; and the fundamental principles of human rights.

231. It is that very concern, so just and legitimate, shared by all those who are devoted to the cause of peace, by all those who believe in the virtues of peaceful coexistence among States with different socio-political systems, by all those who think that absolute respect for cultural identity, political options and choices and independence of judgement, which we call the political independence of any State, is not an obstacle to collaboration, co-operation and coexistence among States—it is that concern that we find in the Declaration of the International Conference on Kampuchea.

232. For that reason the delegation of Zaire will vote in favour of draft resolution A/36/L.3/Rev.1, which sets out the principles for an overall political solution in Kampuchea to establish a lasting peace in South-East Asia; which reaffirms that it is indispensable for all States to adhere strictly to the principles of the Charter, which calls for respect for the national independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of all States, non-intervention and non-interference in the internal affairs of States, non-recourse to the threat or use of force and the peaceful settlement of disputes and which, finally, approves the report of the International Conference on Kampuchea.

233. What is to become of States like ours, which do not have the means to achieve justice nor weapons to resist the assaults of the powerful and whose independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and very existence as States are essentially protected by the principles of the Charter and by international law, in a world where some do not wish to respect those principles because they get in the way of the achievement of their designs or their interests, which they see as of prime importance?

234. We therefore have no other choice in protecting our desire for autonomy and our own identity than to become the hostage of one Power to protect ourselves from the other, thus feeding the infernal spiral of the arms race by giving it a new pretext, the defence of others, and thereby accepting the division of the world into spheres of influence. Thus the extremes come together to impose upon the world their cultural and political primacy, the primacy of the subjective.

235. This is the objective element that frightens many Members of the United Nations and that, in this as in other matters, drives them to call for the withdrawal of foreign troops and the reaffirmation of the commitment to the principles of the United Nations and of international law as preliminary steps in the quest for an overall political settlement and a lasting peace.

236. If this is not done, the international community will give the unfortunate impression of accepting this flagrant violation of the principles of the United Nations and of international law and in particular the provisions of the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

237. But can one expect the nations and peoples of the world which feel their existence as States, civilizations, cultures and separate personalities threatened by the absence of, negation of, or contempt for the principles of human rights, peaceful coexistence and the Charter to endorse the illegal armed actions and adventures of a State or a system directly or indirectly seeking expansion or political, ideological, cultural or economic supremacy?

238. In the view of the delegation of Zaire, the root of the problem is the political crisis and the crisis of values with which the international community is confronted today, and with which it will be confronted more and more in future if nothing is done to slow down this process, to arrest the free expression of the ambitions inherent in human nature and without doubt in societies created by man. We risk negating by omission the very concept of the international rule of law, and we are moving slowly but surely in that direction.

239. However, if we are aware of the pressing need to do something in the interests of mankind and confident co-operation between States, we must start by adhering to the principles set out in resolutions 34/22 and 35/6 and in the draft resolution before us. That is what the delegation of Zaire will do.

240. Mr. OULD HAMODY (Mauritania) (*interpretation from French*): This is the third consecutive session in which the problem of Kampuchea has come before the General Assembly.

241. The Islamic Republic of Mauritania has never changed its position of principle on the question. It has, with noteworthy consistency, supported the inalienable rights of the Khmer nation to solve its domestic conflicts

within the framework of its sovereign State. We consequently gave our resolute and active support to resolutions 34/22 and 35/6, of which we were a sponsor.

242. Last July we reaffirmed our position on this sensitive and painful question at the International Conference held in this very Hall. More recently, at the 33rd meeting, our Foreign Minister recalled during the general debate the position of our country and our opposition to the claim by States, large or small, to arrogate to themselves the unilateral right to change by force the political system of a neighbouring country that they consider to be hostile.

243. I shall today merely outline our assessment of the current situation in Kampuchea. First, the Islamic Republic of Mauritania continues to support the territorial integrity of Kampuchea and the sovereign right of the Khmer people to choose their political, economic and social system without foreign interference. Secondly, Mauritania continues to give its full support to the relevant provisions on the settlement of the Kampuchean problem in resolutions 34/22 and 35/6 and the Declaration of the International Conference on Kampuchea. Thirdly, Mauritania reaffirms its sympathy with the three Indo-Chinese peoples, friends which it hopes will be reconciled in a spirit of mutual respect and peaceful coexistence.

244. Mauritania is a sponsor of draft resolution A/36/L.3/Rev.1, which, in our opinion, is in line with and brings up to date all the decisions of the United Nations since the beginning of the crisis in Kampuchea in 1979.

The meeting rose at 6.45 p.m.

NOTES

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

²*Ibid*; annex II.