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**President: Mr. Salim Ahmed SALIM**  
(United Republic of Tanzania)

## AGENDA ITEM 123

## The situation in Kampuchea

1. The **PRESIDENT**: This morning the General Assembly will begin its consideration of agenda item 123. I should like to propose that, as I have previously suggested, the list of speakers in the debate on this item be closed today at 5 p.m. If there is no objection to my proposal, it will be so decided.

*It was so decided.*

2. The **PRESIDENT**: I call on the representative of Malaysia to introduce draft resolution A/34/L.13/Rev.1.

3. Mr. ZAITON (Malaysia): On 17 August of this year, Malaysia, Indonesia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand, which are members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations [ASEAN], made a formal request [A/34/191] to the Secretary-General of our Organization to inscribe the item before us on the agenda. In our explanatory memorandum attached to the request, we expressed grave concern at the serious situation in Indo-China arising out of the armed intervention against the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Kampuchea.

4. Permit me to recall that on 25 December 1978 more than 100,000 Vietnamese troops invaded Kampuchea, forcing the legal Government of Democratic Kampuchea to flee the capital and to wage a resistance struggle. A new régime under Heng Samrin was installed in Phnom Penh by the invading Vietnamese forces. Malaysia and the other member States of ASEAN strongly deplored the armed intervention and interference in the internal affairs of Kampuchea. At the same time, they called for the immediate withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchean territory. They also reaffirmed the right of the people of Kampuchea to determine for themselves their future, free from interference or influence from outside Powers. As countries very close to the scene of the conflict, the members of ASEAN clearly saw its dangerous implications for the peace and stability of the entire region. We saw in

the situation the seeds of a larger conflict, arising out of any possible manipulation and interference by Powers external to the region. The fears of external involvement and of a widening of the conflict have in fact been borne out by the Chinese intervention in the north of Viet Nam in February this year and, had the Chinese forces not subsequently withdrawn, our region would have seen a wider conflict, with its attendant danger of a world war.

5. The Security Council was seized of the seriousness of the development, but, alas, it was unable to act, owing to the exercise of the veto on a constructive proposal by the ASEAN countries supported by all the non-aligned members of the Council.

6. The foreign forces remain entrenched in Kampuchea. In fact, since then, there has been a massive build-up of Vietnamese forces in that country, and it is true to say that a major part of the Vietnamese armed forces is in Kampuchea. The conflict between those forces and the remnants of the Pol Pot forces continues, and the prospect for peace is still bleak. Such a situation is fraught with danger to the peace and stability of the entire region.

7. In this connexion, I wish to refer to the communications from the Permanent Representative of Thailand to the Secretary-General, circulated to the General Assembly in documents A/34/580-S/13575 and A/34/610-S/13585, on the deterioration of peace and order in the border areas between Thailand and Kampuchea as a result of the spill over of the conflict.

8. In these circumstances, Malaysia and our ASEAN partners feel it proper and imperative to bring the matter to this Assembly. We do so not from any intention to engage in a confrontation with anybody. South-East Asia is a region of small countries inhabited by peoples whose only desire is to live in peace with each other so that they can devote themselves fully to the task of nation-building and to economic development in co-operation with each other. Peace and stability in our region, as indeed in any other region, require strict adherence to the principles of the Charter, in particular those concerning respect for each other's sovereignty and non-interference in each other's affairs. We see the developments in Kampuchea as being contrary to these principles. The problem needs to be resolved so as to bring back peace and harmony to the region, so that we can live with each other without any sense of distrust or suspicion and so that we do not become the pawns of outside countries in their power or ideological struggles. Our ultimate objective is the establishment of a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality.

9. The intervention in the internal affairs of Kampuchea is the root cause of the present situation. It is of immediate concern to ASEAN and to the other neighbouring countries, but it should also be of concern to all States Members of the United Nations, for the interven-

tion is without the slightest doubt a clear breach of the fundamental principles of the United Nations Charter, to which we all subscribe and which we are pledged to uphold. It is the duty and the responsibility of all of us to ensure strict observance of those principles so as to give practical effect to our common desire to maintain international peace and security. Not to do so would only encourage trampling on the sovereignty, independence and integrity of States, and of the smaller countries of the world in particular.

10. To recognize the Heng Samrin régime is therefore to legitimize the act of intervention.

11. We believe that no country has the right to intervene in the affairs of another for whatever reason or on whatever excuse. Admittedly, there is evidence that the Pol Pot Government had been committing large-scale violations of human rights in Kampuchea, and this had caused deep international concern. Viet Nam claims that it was justified in its military intervention in Kampuchea precisely for this reason. This is a justification that no self-respecting member of the international community could accept. If it were to be accepted, no country could feel secure. The law of the jungle, in which might is right, would then prevail.

12. The international community does have concern for the protection of human rights, and it has established a Commission on Human Rights to ensure that complaints can be aired. A complaint was in fact instituted against Democratic Kampuchea for its violation of human rights. Is it not ironic that the same countries that defended the Pol Pot régime before the Commission are the ones that are today vociferously condemning that same régime for such violations and justifying the armed intervention? This is indeed an unprecedented *volte-face*.

13. In our view it is imperative for the world community to address itself urgently to the problem. We are mindful of its complexity. However, a solution must be found, taking into account the principles involved, the reality of the situation and the dangers — should the problem not be resolved. We are convinced that a political solution is needed, for it is the one and only way of solving this problem.

14. First and foremost, we must establish the principles of our Charter as they relate to Kampuchea. To this end, we reiterate the urgent call made by the seven non-aligned members of the Security Council<sup>1</sup> during the Council's deliberations on the Kampuchean problem last January, that all parties must cease hostilities immediately and that there should be an immediate withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea. The stage would then be set for the people of Kampuchea to decide their own future and destiny for themselves and, to facilitate this exercise of their will, we appeal to all States and parties to refrain from any interference in the internal affairs of the country.

15. We firmly believe that a positive response to those appeals by the international community and by the parties concerned would bring about the necessary at-

mosphere conducive to the peaceful settlement of the conflict and to the future well-being of the Kampuchean people, as well as the elimination of a source of danger to regional peace and harmony.

16. While the political settlement of the conflict is of the utmost urgency, we should not lose sight of the dire plight of the Kampuchean people. The world cannot but be aware of the human tragedy arising out of the conflict. It has taken a heavy toll of innocent human lives, and brought extreme hardship, deprivation and misery to the people. Starvation and disease are rampant, forcing thousands of people to seek refuge and relief in neighbouring Thailand. To date, the number of such refugees has reached over 200,000, with more pouring in every day.

17. As neighbours, we find it particularly painful to see this tragedy befalling the gentle and peace-loving people of Kampuchea. Unless quick action is taken to bring relief and assistance to the Kampuchean people, a whole race is in danger of being obliterated from this world. We are relieved to see the overwhelming response of the international community to the call by the Secretary-General on 19 October last for emergency relief. However, more must be done by the international community to ensure a continuing flow of relief and assistance. At the same time, we earnestly appeal to all parties concerned to give full co-operation in ensuring that humanitarian aid reaches those who are in need of it, without any political discrimination.

18. I wish to reiterate the point made earlier that the situation in Kampuchea, in both its political and its humanitarian aspects, requires the attention of the international community. The role of the Secretary-General of the United Nations in this matter is therefore indispensable. We would urge this Assembly to give him the necessary mandate to use his good offices in order that he may assist in finding a peaceful solution to the problem as well as in helping to ameliorate the sufferings of the Kampuchean people.

19. The ASEAN countries together with other countries have submitted to this Assembly a draft resolution, in document A/34/L.13/Rev.1, which covers the points that I have just made. This draft resolution is realistic and practical, and addresses itself completely and entirely to the question before us. While reaffirming the basic principles for ensuring peaceful relations between States, it seeks neither to blame nor to condemn anyone. It is constructive and it seeks actively to restore peace and stability to Kampuchea and to ensure that the Kampuchean people themselves determine their own future and destiny.

20. At the same time, we are aware of another draft resolution, submitted to this Assembly in document A/34/L.7/Rev.1, which refers to the same agenda item. I wish to point out that that draft resolution does not address itself to agenda item 123 because it ignores the developments that have taken place in Kampuchea since December last year and the fact that, since then, foreign forces have been occupying that country. It also ignores the fact that armed hostilities are taking place in Kampuchea. It calls for neither the withdrawal of all foreign forces from the country nor the cessation of hostilities between the parties in conflict. On the contrary, it pretends that everything is normal in

<sup>1</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fourth Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1979*, document S/13027.

Kampuchea, when in fact armed conflicts are taking place and the country is being occupied by an external force which has established a political régime and is proping it up. Initially, it even ignored the massive deprivation and sufferings of the Kampuchean people and the widespread famine, and reference to these problems was included only as an afterthought.

21. The preambular paragraphs of the draft resolution seek to justify the armed intervention by foreign forces by implying on the one hand that the people of Kampuchea themselves sought such intervention and on the other that there has been an exercise of the popular will. The truth is that neither the legal Government of Democratic Kampuchea nor the people of Kampuchea requested the outside intervention. Otherwise, how can we explain the fact that fighting continues today between the foreign forces and the Kampuchean people, necessitating a massive build-up of those foreign forces?

22. Given these inaccuracies and false premises, it is impossible for the sponsors of draft resolution A/34/L.13/Rev.1 to accept draft resolution A/34/L.7/Rev.1. We strongly urge this Assembly to reject it.

23. As the Assembly has been made aware, agenda item 123, entitled "The situation in Kampuchea", was inscribed at the request of the five member States of ASEAN [A/34/191], who are deeply concerned by the recent events and developments in Kampuchea since these have a direct bearing on their own peace and security. It is therefore appropriate and logical that the draft resolution sponsored by the ASEAN countries and others, draft resolution A/34/L.13/Rev. 1, should be accorded priority over draft resolution A/34/L.7/Rev.1 or any other draft resolution that may be introduced.

24. This Assembly will recall that the sponsors of draft resolution A/34/L.7/Rev.1 in fact opposed the inscription on the agenda of this item.

25. In the light of this, I formally move that draft resolution A/34/L.13/Rev.1 be accorded priority over draft resolution A/34/L.7/Rev.1, in accordance with rule 91 of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly.

26. Mr. HA VAN LAU (Viet Nam) (*interpretation from French*): Today the General Assembly is beginning its debate on agenda item 123, entitled "The situation in Kampuchea", which was included in the agenda on the proposal of the countries members of ASEAN.

27. First of all, we must deplore the fact that the debate will be held without the presence of the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea, the sole authentic and legal representative of the Kampuchean people, master of the country and in effective control of affairs throughout the territory of Kampuchea.

28. The proposal of the ASEAN countries is based on a false assessment of the present situation in Kampuchea, which according to them could become catastrophic and constitutes a danger threatening the peace and stability of South-East Asia.

29. Their aim is to prize from the General Assembly a resolution that would impose upon the people of

Kampuchea a solution contrary to their interests and designed to serve the plans of the reactionary forces in collusion against the peoples of the countries of Indo-China.

30. In an attempt to clarify the true situation in Kampuchea, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam issued on 10 November last a memorandum [A/34/671, *annex*] that our mission has circulated for purposes of information to all States Members of the United Nations.

31. Our statement today is for the purpose of making a succinct report on the true situation in Kampuchea and contiguous regions, in the hope that it will be of use in the debate and assist the Assembly in making an objective assessment of a problem that is of concern to the entire international community.

32. Everyone knows that in April 1975, after the victorious resistance against the imperialist-supported Lon Nol régime, the people of Kampuchea could have lived in peace, independence and freedom, devoting themselves to the reconstruction of their homeland. The Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique, however, betraying the interests of their nation, established in Kampuchea a régime of genocide, a régime of a barbarity hitherto unknown in the history of mankind, that was to lead the people of Kampuchea into the tragedy of their own self-destruction, transforming Kampuchea into a kind of neo-colony and a spring-board for Chinese expansion in South-East Asia, thereby creating a powerful threat to peace and stability in that area of the world.

33. For nearly four years—and in peace time—the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique, employing barbarous ways and means from the Middle Ages, massacred 3 million people, that is, nearly half the population of Kampuchea. No country in the grip of the Hitler Fascists during the Second World War suffered a massacre of such proportions. Pol Pot and Ieng Sary killed all the patriots, exterminated almost all the officers, soldiers and officials of the former Lon Nol régime, along with their families, massacred priests, bonzes and the faithful, wiped out the Catholic, Buddhist and Moslem religions and systematically exterminated the Cham and Malaysian national minorities. None of the 2,800 Buddhist pagodas that adorned Kampuchea remains. Out of a total of more than 82,000 bonzes, very few have survived. The Koran and other religious books were destroyed. All the Moslem mosques, of which there were 114, have been destroyed or turned into manure stores, pigsties, or even prisons. Moslems were forced to eat pork; those who refused were killed on the spot. The most beautiful cathedral of the Christian community, located in the heart of Phnom Penh, was destroyed.

34. The structure of the national economy was undermined by the abolition of culture, education and health services. Intellectuals, scientists, teachers, artists of every sort, have been almost all killed. Cultural and educational establishments were destroyed. Out of 2,300 secondary school-teachers, only 200 are still alive. Out of 21,311 elementary school-teachers, no more than 2,793 are left. At present, there are no more than two or three university professors left. There were 19 professors of medicine; not one survives. Out of 462 doctors, and 1,241 artists, there remain, respectively, only 54 and 121.

35. The extermination of approximately 40 per cent of the population has created untold sufferings for millions of families and caused irreparable losses to Kampuchea, an under-developed country that was just beginning to emerge from a long war of resistance and the basic productive strength of which is constituted by the work and creativity of its hard-working population.

36. Suffering a fate worse than that of mediaeval serfs, more than 4 million of the Kampuchians left alive were thrust into vast concentration camps, known as "communes", where they were subjected to forced labour and reduced to living like animals. They were starved, dressed in rags and deprived of medical care, so that their health deteriorated. There no longer were markets, schools, currency. On the psychological level, they were constantly threatened, spied upon and separated from their families. They risked arrest and death with their families at any moment. The "Angkar", a faceless, omnipresent and invisible organization, endowed with excessive powers that extended even to marital relations, was the main instrument of genocide. It was a sort of "super-Gestapo", according to all reports from Kampuchians or from international sources.

37. The Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique transformed a considerable number of young people into bloodthirsty executioners who lost all trace of humanity. Considered as pure and loyal towards the régime, children were trained so that they could serve in wars against the neighbouring States and in the campaigns of repression against their own compatriots.

38. No human being could fail to be moved by the systematic genocide of millions of men and women of all ages and all conditions, planned and committed in cold blood by the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique, by the sequel of suffering engendered by that genocide and by the terrible consequences that it has brought and will bring for the martyred Khmer people.

39. The Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique has placed itself outside the pale of mankind.

40. The Council of Judges of the People's Revolutionary Tribunal, sitting at Phnom Penh, condemned Pol Pot and Ieng Sary to death *in absentia*. For the prestige of the United Nations, for the sake of peace and justice, it is necessary immediately to oust the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique from the United Nations. All the conspiracies to use the criminals Pol Pot and Ieng Sary, who are fleeing the punishment of the Kampuchean people to intervene in the internal affairs of that people, are inevitably doomed to lamentable failure.

41. One point which I should like to stress is that that entire spectacle of butchery and hell took place under the supervision of the Chinese Embassy in Kampuchea, with more than 300 persons and thousands of Chinese military counsellors and experts in all branches of the administration, at all levels, all directed and encouraged by Peking. [Beijing]. In a speech of 28 July 1977, Pol Pot declared:

"We have applied, creatively and successfully, the thoughts of Mao Zedong to the realities of Kampuchea. For Kampuchea, the thought of Mao Zedong is the most precious assistance that China has given us."

In June 1975 Mao Zedong congratulated the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique in the following words:

"Comrades, you have won a splendid victory. At one blow, there are no more classes. Rural communes with poor or middle-class peasants throughout the country: there is your future."

42. In foreign affairs, by 1965 Peking had already taken the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique under its wing. As of 1975, the latter publicly put an end to the friendship and militant solidarity among the peoples of the three Indo-Chinese countries which had been tempered in their long struggle against colonialism and imperialism. At the instigation of Peking, that clique sowed hatred among the sister nations, provoked armed conflicts with Thailand and Laos and carried out a war of tremendous aggression against Viet Nam, committing crimes of extreme barbarity against the populations of the frontier zones of south-west Viet Nam. Through its aggressive and warmongering foreign policy, the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique strove towards a double goal: to serve the interests of the Peking hegemonists who wished to divide and weaken the countries of Indo-China, and to seek pretexts for their bloody purges in their own ranks against all those opposed to the policy of genocide by dubbing them "pro-Vietnamese elements" or "agents of the Vietnamese fifth column". The greater the domestic opposition, the more frenzied the anti-Vietnamese propaganda became and the more the war of aggression against Viet Nam was intensified. Closed off from the outside world under the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary régime, Kampuchea became a spring-board for Chinese expansionism in Indo-China and in South-East Asia. It is an open secret that Peking gave that régime massive military assistance, including tens of thousands of tons of offensive land, air and sea weapons for the training and equipping of 23 Kampuchean divisions and built numerous military bases and air fields allowing the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique to carry out their wars of aggression against the neighbouring countries [see A/34/643-S/13600].

43. The Chinese hold on Kampuchea as well as the political responsibility of China in the genocide committed by Pol Pot-Ieng Sary over a period of almost four years were fully confirmed by the judgement of the Revolutionary People's Tribunal of Phnom Penh, by the pleas of foreign lawyers before that Tribunal and by the report of the fact-finding mission of the International Association of Democratic Lawyers [A/34/491, and A/34/559, annex I].

44. If one bears in mind that immemorial law of human society according to which, wherever there is domination and oppression there will be a struggle against domination and oppression, then it appears natural, nay inevitable, that at the present time, under so barbarous a régime as that of Pol Pot and, what is more, under foreign domination, the people of Kampuchea, with their heroic tradition of struggle against colonialism and imperialism, should in 1975 have risen immediately to fulfil their sacred right to self-determination, to save their homeland and themselves. If, until the day of the victory of the Kampuchean people in 1979, international public opinion had been inadequately informed of that struggle, that was because the Pol Pot régime existed almost cut off from all relations with the outside world. But to refuse to believe in

that victory despite and against all evidence since 1979, would be to commit injustice against the people of Kampuchea.

45. Since 1975, the struggle against the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary régime has developed and extended throughout the country with constant uprisings of the population and of armed units—in particular, the uprisings of January 1976 of the patriotic forces led by Mr. Hu Nim, Minister of Information and Propaganda of the Pol Pot Government.

46. The year 1977 was marked by the extension and intensification of the movement of struggle of the Kampuchean people to practically all provinces. In 1978 there was unleashed a general movement of dissident forces—popular uprisings and the movement of insurgent armed forces—throughout the country. That movement led to the foundation of the National United Front for the Salvation of Kampuchea towards the end of 1978, which is uniting all the struggling forces of the country against the genocidal régime and which demands true independence and freedom. Fulfilling the supreme interests and the most ardent aspiration of the Kampuchean people, and receiving the total support of the people, the National United Front became the sole legal and authentic representative of the people of Kampuchea, just as the Sandinista National Liberation Front, the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe, the South West Africa People's Organization and the Palestine Liberation Organization have been and are the sole authentic and legal representatives of their respective peoples.

47. This fact in Kampuchea prior to the liberation of 7 January 1979 was confirmed by, among others, the fact-finding mission of the International Association of Democratic Lawyers, which I have just mentioned.

48. Thus, the National United Front, as the movement for the national liberation of the people of Kampuchea from the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary régime subject to the domination of a foreign Power, which is China, has the indisputable right not only to wage an armed struggle, but furthermore to appeal for assistance from other countries and other peoples, which not only have the duty but the obligation to assist the people of Kampuchea by all means, including armed force, to achieve their right to self-determination. All this is pursuant to numerous resolutions of the General Assembly, the most important of which is resolution 2625 (XXV) of 24 October 1970, to which is annexed the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and which was unanimously adopted by the General Assembly.

49. In fact, one of the stipulations of that Declaration states:

“Every State has the duty to refrain from any forcible action which deprives peoples referred to above in the elaboration of the present principle of their right to self-determination and freedom and independence. In their actions against, and resistance to, such forcible action in pursuit of the exercise of their right to self-determination, such peoples are entitled to seek and to receive support in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter.”

50. The cunning propaganda of Peking and, following

it, that of imperialism have kept complete silence about the revolutionary and heroic struggle waged for so many years by the people of Kampuchea under the régime of Pol Pot-Ieng Sary, and yet have cried out loudly that the army of Viet Nam invaded Kampuchea towards the end of 1978, created the National United Front for the Salvation of Kampuchea and occupied Kampuchea thereafter.

51. But in truth, it is nothing of the kind. The fact is that the Chinese expansionists decided to use Kampuchea, over which they exercised complete control thanks to their straw men Pol Pot and Ieng Sary, as a bridge-head for an attack in the south-west of Viet Nam, attacking it in the flank, thus choosing the point which they felt to be the most vulnerable, that is, the newly-liberated region in the south of our country. However, the Chinese aggressors, blinded by their own ambitions of conquest, committed the grave strategic error of underestimating the forces of Viet Nam and of concentrating the major portion of Pol Pot's battle corps—19 out of a total of 23 divisions—in the frontier region, to launch an attack in the direction of Ho Chi Minh City.

52. Taking advantage of the favourable strategic moment when the Pol Pot clique was concentrating its major forces on the Kampuchean-Vietnamese frontier, thus leaving their back, that is the whole country, exposed, the people of Kampuchea and the armed forces of the National United Front unleashed a general uprising to overturn the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique, to liberate the entire country, including the capital, Phnom Penh, and thus put an end to the terrifying nightmare which had lasted for more than four years. In the meantime, on the Vietnamese-Kampuchean frontier our armed forces, exercising the right of legitimate self-defence, reacted firmly, wiping out the battle corps of Pol Pot which had been launched against Tây Ninh, thus escaping Peking's pincers movement and creating favourable conditions to allow us victoriously to repel the open aggression carried out by the Chinese expansionists a few weeks later against our six frontier provinces in the north.

53. The fact that the Vietnamese armed forces responded to the appeal of the National United Front for the Salvation of Kampuchea and helped the people and the armed forces of Kampuchea to overthrow and repel the offensive of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique was a just action, in keeping with morality and in keeping with international law and the aspirations for peace and national independence of the peoples of the world.

54. Since 7 January 1979, that is, since the foundation of the new State of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, which was born of a lawful movement of struggle of the people of Kampuchea to achieve their self-determination, the presence of the armed forces of Viet Nam in Kampuchea, under a Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Co-operation between the People's Republic of Kampuchea and the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, is completely in accordance with the tenets of international law. Those who call for “the withdrawal of Vietnamese forces from Kampuchea” on behalf of “the defence of the principle of military non-intervention in the affairs of other countries” and in favour of the principle of “the right to self-determination of the people of Kampuchea”, consciously or unconsciously are playing the game of the Peking expansionists and of their im-

perialist allies who are manoeuvring to restore the genocidal régime and to impose it once again on the people of Kampuchea against the latter's will.

55. On the basis of the Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Co-operation signed by the two countries, the two States agree that the presence of Vietnamese armed forces in Kampuchea at this time is necessary in order to defend, together with the people of Kampuchea, the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Kampuchea and to put an end to the conspiracy hatched by the enemies of the people of Kampuchea.

56. According to the recent statement of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, dated 10 November:

"That presence concerns solely the relations between two fraternal countries and does not threaten anyone in the area. As soon as the Chinese expansionists and their imperialist allies cease their acts and manoeuvres of interference aimed at harming the peaceful life of the Kampuchean people, in connexion with which those expansionists and imperialists have an obligation to respect the independence and sovereignty of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, the Vietnamese People's Army will immediately withdraw from our country." [See A/34/672, annex.]

57. After the two preceding wars of liberation against the colonialists and imperialist invaders, the Vietnamese armed forces that were in Kampuchea to fulfil their internationalist duty were voluntarily withdrawn.

58. To require Viet Nam immediately to repatriate its armed forces at this moment is to require it to commit an inhuman act, to betray its commitment towards a sister nation and to create for the expansionists of Peking and the imperialist and reactionary forces the conditions most conducive to bringing back the Pol Pot clique to power and restoring the genocidal régime opposed to the Kampuchean people.

59. I believe it my duty to make a few comments with regard to the shameless calumnies originating from the Goebbels-like propaganda machine of Peking, which is guiding from afar the peoples who are acting on behalf of the defunct genocidal Pol Pot régime so that they may heap all manner of vile insults on the people's army of Viet Nam in Kampuchea. Our army is a revolutionary army that has been trained by 35 years of unyielding struggle for independence and freedom. Our army is born of the people, ready to make sacrifices for the cause of the Vietnamese people, ready to do its internationalist duty together with the brother people of Kampuchea. We know that we are not exaggerating when we say that those of its men who are at present in Kampuchea to help our brother people to escape death and regain life have a place reserved for them in the heart of each Kampuchean survivor.

60. On the soil of what is now free Kampuchea there is at present but a single administration, that is, the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea, the sole authentic and legal representative of the Kampuchean people. Faithful to the interests and aspirations of the Kampuchean people, the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea clearly shows the character of a people's power, enjoying the full affection, trust and support of the people.

61. Under the leadership of the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea, the Kampuchean people, which is emerging from hell and has just avoided the abyss of death, has been able in a short time to achieve great successes. The people and the armed forces of Kampuchea have destroyed the last retreats of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique, virtually wiping out its wreckage; political power has been set up from central to grass roots levels and is now controlling the entire territory. Family life and that of the villages and hamlets has been restored after many long years of interruption; schools and hospitals have been reopened; cultural life and religious life are being progressively restored. On the economic front, agricultural production, industry, communications and transport are being progressively restored. With the amazing efforts of the people and the various authorities and with the considerable and effective assistance of Viet Nam, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, the Kampuchean people is engaged in repelling step by step the threat of famine and progressively eliminating the very heavy consequences of the genocidal Pol Pot-Ieng Sary régime.

62. The People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea is practising a foreign policy of independence, peace, friendship and non-alignment, in accordance with the objectives of the non-aligned movement and the United Nations Charter. The just cause of the Kampuchean people enjoys the sympathy and broad support of the progressive peoples of the world. The People's Republic of Kampuchea is undoubtedly a positive factor for the peace and stability of South-East Asia.

63. It goes without saying that the new authorities are still confronted by extremely difficult and complex tasks and that the terrible consequences of the genocidal régime cannot be instantly eliminated. However, any impartial observer must recognize that, after only a brief lapse of time, the image of Kampuchea has completely changed. The great achievements scored in all fields during the past 10 months are proof of the amazing vitality of a newly restored nation which, its fate firmly in its hands, is determined to struggle to build its own life and to defend its right to live in independence and freedom. These achievements also prove that the present situation in Kampuchea is irreversible.

64. Nevertheless, at the United Nations, a certain number of countries obstinately refuse to admit this irrefutable reality. They are still refusing to recognize the People's Revolutionary Council as the true master of Kampuchea and cling to the corpse of "Democratic Kampuchea". They try to give credibility to the idea that an armed conflict is taking place in Kampuchea between two administrations each controlling a different region, in order to demand a "political solution" to the problem of Kampuchea.

65. In fact, there is absolutely no place on Kampuchean soil for the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique. It consists only of bands of brigands which the Kampuchean revolutionary power is outwitting and sweeping away in order to ensure the security of the population. These are mopping-up operations of the kind that the authorities in various countries of South-East Asia are obliged to carry out, at times on a much larger scale, against opposition forces. How can anyone cite these mopping-up operations against Maoist groups in order to conclude that there are in Thailand, Malaysia and Burma two zones and two administrations and that it is necessary to find a "political solution" for those countries?

66. Efforts aimed at finding a "political solution" to the so-called "problem of Kampuchea" are just so many acts of overt interference in the internal affairs of Kampuchea and are contrary to the principles of the United Nations Charter. No one, not even the United Nations, has the right to impose a "solution" on the people of Kampuchea. Only the people of Kampuchea and the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea, the sole authentic and legal representative of the people of Kampuchea, have the right to settle their own affairs and to choose their own path.

67. It cannot be denied that the people of Kampuchea is at present experiencing a very difficult period because of lack of food, medicine, housing and means of transport—the grievous legacy of the criminal Pol Pot régime. The People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea has made every effort to remedy the situation. The countries that are its friends have provided substantial emergency assistance. Recently, the Governments of numerous countries and international organizations imbued with humanitarian feelings have given the situation attention and found ways of assisting the Kampuchean people. It is appropriate here to note the considerable effort made by the Secretary-General of the United Nations. However, certain imperialist and reactionary circles have taken advantage of the opportunity to raise a hue and cry and inflame public opinion about a so-called general famine in Kampuchea. In fact, they wish to make use of the label of humanitarian assistance in order to legalize the sending of supplies to the Pol Pot bandits in order to revive the régime and reimpose it on the people of Kampuchea. That is also part of the criminal plan to create two zones and two administrations in Kampuchea and to interfere in the internal affairs of that country.

68. Everything that I have said emphasizes the fact that the leading circles in Peking are trying to restore the genocidal régime in Kampuchea. That is one part of the over-all sinister conspiracy that they have been engaged in for a long time now against the people of Viet Nam and the peoples of Indo-China in order to achieve their hegemonistic aims in South-East Asia.

69. The white paper issued by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, entitled "The truth about Viet Nam—China relations over the last 30 years" and distributed as an official document of the General Assembly and of the Security Council under the symbol A/34/553-S/13569 of 9 October 1979, sets forth clearly the expansionist and hegemonistic policy of the Peking authorities in South-East Asia. In the context of the present debate on Kampuchea, we believe that we should mention the following facts.

70. During a meeting of the Political Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee in August 1965, Chairman Mao Zedong said this:

"We must by all means seize South-East Asia including South Viet Nam, Thailand, Burma, Malaysia and Singapore . . . . This region is rich in raw materials—it is worth the costs involved [in seizing it]."

[See A/34/553-S/13569, annex, p. 8.]

71. A work entitled *Sketch of Modern Chinese History*, published at Peking in 1954, included a map

showing Chinese territory to comprise several surrounding countries, including the countries of South-East Asia and the Eastern Sea area. Because of Viet Nam's strategic position in that part of the world, the Chinese leaders have sought to seize our country in order to control the entire Indo-Chinese peninsula, thereby opening the road to South-East Asia. During a meeting in Guangdong in September 1963 between four communist Parties, including those of Viet Nam and China, Prime Minister Zhou Enlai said the following quite frankly:

"Our country is a big one, but we have no way out. Therefore we hope that the Viet Nam Workers' Party will help blaze the trail to South-East Asia." [*Ibid.*, p. 9.]

That is precisely why Peking does not want a unified and powerful Viet Nam, a Viet Nam independent of China, to exist. It is constantly seeking to divide Viet Nam and weaken it.

72. In particular, since 1975 the victory won by Viet Nam through its resistance for national salvation, freeing the South entirely and reunifying the country, has completely upset Peking's strategic plan. Thus, the Peking expansionists are absolutely furious and are openly pursuing a systematically hostile policy towards the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam.

73. In order to fight Viet Nam and the three Indo-Chinese countries, the Chinese leaders have for a long time been seeking by all means to seize Kampuchea which they regard as the weakest link among the three countries of the peninsula. They have trained, bought, organized and taken over a number of categories of puppets in Kampuchea, undermined the solidarity between Kampuchea, Viet Nam and Laos, and prodded Kampuchea to oppose Viet Nam and Laos. For a long time they have been helping the Polpotists to infiltrate the revolutionary party of Kampuchea, in order step by step to take over the role of principal leader and thus to undermine the party and turn it into a Maoist party, and also to sabotage the Kampuchean revolution. What is more, the Peking authorities have used their agents Pol Pot-Ieng Sary as trouble-makers and as means of subversion in certain countries of South-East Asia, as is proved in a document seized in the bunker of those criminals in March last and circulated as document A/34/648-S/13606, dated 2 November 1979.

74. After the victory of the Kampuchean people in April 1975, the Peking expansionists—relying on the monopoly of assistance to the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique and the building up for that clique of an army containing as many as . . . divisions and exceeding the economic possibilities as well as the national defence needs of Kampuchea—turned Kampuchea into a spring-board for expansion in the region, and the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique into a task force in a war of aggression against Viet Nam from the south-west border of that country, in co-ordination with the Chinese aggression from the north, thus creating the two prongs of a pincers movement directed against Viet Nam.

75. With regard to the war unleashed against Viet Nam by the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique on Peking's orders, Viet Nam has shown great military restraint and has persistently advocated settling this problem through negotiations.

76. When the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique intensified the war and unilaterally broke diplomatic relations with

Viet Nam, the Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam continued to maintain diplomatic relations with Kampuchea. On 5 February 1978, it put forward the three-point proposal which was so warmly received by international opinion: first, an immediate end to all hostile military activities in the border region and the withdrawal of the armed forces of each side within their respective territory five kilometres from the border; secondly, an immediate meeting between the two sides to discuss and conclude a treaty of mutual friendship and non-aggression and to sign a treaty on the border question; thirdly, an agreement on an appropriate form of international guarantee and supervision.

77. From February to July 1978, our Government engaged in several activities with a view to asking the Secretary-General of the United Nations, in Sri Lanka, in his capacity of chairman of the non-aligned movement, and the host country of the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Belgrade in July 1978, to help Viet Nam and Kampuchea settle the conflict through negotiations.

78. But all that was in vain, for the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique rejected all offers of negotiations, while at the same time preparing, at Peking's instigation, the wide-scale aggression against our south-west frontiers.

79. Viet Nam pursued the negotiations with perseverance, on the one hand because it attaches great importance to friendship with the Kampuchean people and ardently desires peace, so necessary to it for the reconstruction of the country, and on the other hand because it continues to respect the principle of settling disputes among countries through negotiations, on the basis of equality and mutual respect for legitimate national rights.

80. But that does not mean that it is abandoning its legitimate right to self-defence or that it is willing to tie its hands, leaving the aggressor all latitude to kill Vietnamese citizens and devastate the country.

81. From what has just been said, the manoeuvre of the Chinese authorities, in collusion with American imperialism and the other reactionary forces, is clear: claiming to be defending the principle of military non-intervention in the domestic affairs of other countries and the right to self-determination for the Kampuchean people, and at the same time demanding the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea, as well as a "political solution" to the so-called "problem of Kampuchea", in fact means seeking to restore the genocidal régime and impose it on the Kampuchean people. In the last analysis, that amounts to opposing the right to self-determination of the people of Kampuchea, and to opposing the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea and the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam.

82. Those that themselves oppose the legal presence of the Vietnamese armed forces in Kampuchea are precisely those who uphold and strengthen the presence beyond the borders of their own countries of the most numerous expeditionary forces. The United States of America has more than 1 million soldiers and thousands of military bases in South-East Asia and elsewhere in the world. China is occupying a part of the territories belonging to a certain number of its neighbouring States, among these the Hoang Sa archipelago of Viet Nam and a

number of points on the northern frontier of Viet Nam. Japan allows the United States the freedom to station troops in Okinawa, one of the largest American military bases in Asia. Several of the countries of ASEAN have allowed and continue to allow the United States the leeway to establish military bases and station troops on their respective territories and, furthermore, invite it to strengthen its military presence in South-East Asia.

83. I think that no one has forgotten that in the past the countries of ASEAN co-operated in one way or another with the aggressor against Kampuchea and the other countries of the Indo-Chinese peninsula, that they helped the Lon Nol clique to keep its seat in the United Nations and that they have just supported the executioners, Pol Pot and Ieng Sary, in their bid to retain the seat of Kampuchea which belongs by right to the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea. Is this the way the countries of ASEAN show their true concern for the right to self-determination of the people of Kampuchea?

84. The countries of ASEAN know full well that Viet Nam will never send troops into Thailand or the other countries of South-East Asia and that Viet Nam is ready to forget the past, to turn to the future and, together with the other countries of South-East Asia, to proceed to the building and the development of relations of friendship and lasting co-operation in the interests of each country for peace and stability in the region, in accordance with the principles contained in the joint declarations signed by Prime Minister Pham Van Dong and the heads of State of the ASEAN countries. Viet Nam has proposed the establishment of a region of peace and neutrality and the signing of a mutual non-aggression pact between Viet Nam and each of the ASEAN countries. But, while rejecting outright these peace proposals of Viet Nam, the countries of ASEAN, assuming the role of accomplices of the Government of Peking, accuse Viet Nam of threatening Thailand, creating out of thin air the so-called danger of an invasion from Viet Nam. This attitude of the countries of ASEAN is explicable only if one states that they are playing a two-faced game against Viet Nam in order to conceal their assistance to the genocidal clique of Pol Pot and Ieng Sary and their interference in the domestic affairs of Kampuchea.

85. To sum up, the true problem to be solved in Kampuchea today is neither the cessation of hostilities, nor the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea nor the search for a so-called "political solution" to the so-called "problem of Kampuchea". The crux of the problem is the aggressive and expansionist policy of the ruling circles of China, linked to imperialism and other reactionary forces that gravely threaten the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea as well as the peace and stability of the countries of South-East Asia and the peace of the entire world. Therefore, the urgent problem facing us today is how to lay bare and energetically denounce the criminal aims of the reactionaries in Peking against the countries of Indo-China, in fact, against all the countries of South-East Asia, aims that seriously sabotage the peace and stability of the region and throughout the world. The problem is also how to take effective measures, before it is too late, to thwart the achievement of these aims.

86. From our analysis of the situation, it is obvious that the conclusion of the debate of the General

Assembly on the situation in Kampuchea presents the States Members of the international community with a problem of conscience with regard to the martyred people of Kampuchea that has just emerged from a terrifying nightmare and, with trust in its future, has undertaken the process of national reconstruction.

87. Before concluding, we feel it only appropriate to recall that, in a message dated 21 September 1979, addressed to the Secretary-General of the United Nations and to the President of the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly [4/34/509, *annex*], the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea quite clearly stated that the so-called problem of "The situation in Kampuchea" did not exist. The Fascist genocidal régime of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique, puppets of Peking, had been overthrown by the Kampuchean people. As from 7 January 1979, the Kampuchean people had taken its destiny entirely into its own hands. The People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea, the sole legal and authentic representative of the Kampuchean people, currently controlled the whole territory of Kampuchea. The situation was irreversible. The telegram went on to say that any debates on Kampuchea organized without the consent of the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea and without the participation of its members constituted violations of the sovereignty of the Kampuchean people and open interference in its internal affairs.

88. The delegation of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam wishes to declare that it firmly supports that position on the part of the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea.

89. Mr. THIOUNN Prasith (Democratic Kampuchea) (*interpretation from French*): Since that Christmas Day in 1978 when more than 120,000 Vietnamese soldiers invaded Kampuchea and put to the sword the people of that country, the situation in Kampuchea and in the whole of South-East Asia has constantly worsened. World public opinion and all peoples and countries which prize peace, justice and independence have been gravely concerned over this situation. They are profoundly disturbed by the unprecedented tragedy that is now afflicting our people, whose very existence has been threatened by the war of aggression and genocide being waged by the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and by the famine created by it to exterminate our people.

90. The international community quite rightly is disturbed at the growing danger of an extension of that war to Thailand, to all South-East Asia and to the world at large. Indeed, the aggression committed by the Hanoi authorities against Kampuchea has trampled underfoot the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of a Member State of the United Nations and the principles of the United Nations Charter and of non-alignment, as well as the laws governing international relations. It constitutes a direct threat to the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of all the States of South-East Asia, the Pacific, Asia and the world, and imperils the security and stability of the region of South-East Asia and world peace. That is why, throughout the world, we have heard voices raised and ever more forceful appeals being made demanding that the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam end its aggression against Kampuchea and withdraw all its forces of aggression from Kampuchea so that the people of Kampuchea may no longer have to endure misfortunes and

sufferings greater than any it has known in its 2,000-year history.

91. This debate in our Assembly on the situation in Kampuchea, or rather on the situation of war or peace in South-East Asia and in the world, would have become pointless had the Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and its unswerving allies shown some sign of reason or moderation, and had they not twice, last January and March, deliberately rejected the appeals made respectively by all the non-aligned members of the Security Council and by the five countries of ASEAN, which, in their wisdom and noble concern to preserve the principles of the Charter and international peace and security, called upon the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to put an end to its aggression, to withdraw all its armed forces from Kampuchea and to leave it to the people of Kampuchea themselves to decide on their own destiny without foreign interference. However, we cannot but recognize today that the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and its partisans have placed their world or regional hegemonistic ambitions above fundamental national rights and the survival of the people of Kampuchea, and above the United Nations Charter and the cause of international peace and security.

92. That is why the delegation of Democratic Kampuchea so warmly and gratefully welcomes the initiative that has just been taken by the ASEAN countries and the decision of our Assembly to consider this exceptionally grave situation. This proper decision of the Assembly constitutes, furthermore, an appropriate response to those who committed aggression against my country and who, by all kinds of manoeuvres, have so arrogantly opposed the examination of this question by the United Nations, in the secret hope of being able to complete the process of the annexation of Kampuchea through genocide and famine, in an atmosphere free of accountability and witnesses.

93. After five years of a devastating warfare, from 1970 to 1975, the people of Kampuchea and its Government had only one wish, and that was to live in peace and good-neighbourliness with all countries, near or far, on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence. We badly need peace so that we can devote all our moral, intellectual and material resources to the reconstruction of our country and the improvement of the living conditions of our people, which has suffered so much during the war. Inspired by this profound aspiration, in June 1975, on emerging from the war, in spite of so many important and urgent problems that we had to resolve, the leaders at the highest level of Democratic Kampuchea went to Hanoi to negotiate with the Vietnamese a "treaty of friendship and non-aggression" based on mutual respect for the principles of independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-interference in internal affairs and mutual advantages. This action testified clearly to the political will of Democratic Kampuchea and its people to seek, by all possible means, friendship with the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and the Vietnamese people. Carried out at the very time of the aggression against and occupation by the Vietnamese army in May 1975 of the Koh Way Islands belonging to Kampuchea and situated in the Gulf of Thailand, that visit thereby became all the more significant and of historic importance. The Vietnamese, by their total repudiation of the proposal of Kampuchea, obviously meant to indicate that there was no way of deflecting their determination to pursue their traditional policy with regard to Kampuchea, namely,

expansionism and hegemonism in Kampuchea and Laos under the cover of the Vietnamese "Indo-Chinese Federation", in order subsequently to extend their influence over the whole of South-East Asia. The current war of aggression and genocide in Kampuchea derives therefore from this expansionist and hegemonist policy of the Vietnamese in Indo-China and South-East Asia.

94. Although world public opinion is coming to see ever more clearly the true face of Vietnamese expansionist ambition, some none the less continue to believe that the present war in Kampuchea is a war between two so-called brother countries, or a proxy war between great Powers; while certain other people can hardly believe that the Hanoi authorities, who have been waging war for so many decades to recover the independence of Viet Nam, could in turn have become the aggressors and invaders of Kampuchea, which more than any other country has helped Viet Nam in its war of national liberation.

95. It is worth while recalling that after having swallowed up in the seventeenth century the Islamic Kingdom of Champa, which is at present central Viet Nam, and exterminated the entire Cham people, the Vietnamese expansionists went right on annexing until quite recently, i.e. in 1939, the 65,000 square kilometres of Kampuchean territory that now constitutes South Viet Nam.

96. Since 1930, the date of its founding, the Communist Party of Viet Nam—at that time called the Indo-Chinese Communist Party—set itself the goal of constituting an "Indo-Chinese Federation" made up of Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea under Vietnamese domination. That "Indo-Chinese Federation" was to be a mere cover for the annexation of Kampuchea and Laos and a spring-board for expansion by Viet Nam throughout South-East Asia. As early as 1951, Viet Nam began to use its slogan "special solidarity and special friendship between Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea". This slogan served to camouflage the criminal designs of the "Indo-Chinese Federation" of Viet Nam. The testimony that I shall now quote of two Vietnamese officers that we captured leaves no doubt on this score.

97. First of all, there was Major Tran Van Thuong, Deputy Chief of Staff of the Vietnamese Ninth Division, 34 years of age, born in Ninh Binh in North Viet Nam, member of the Vietnamese Communist Party since 1963, and arrested on 18 January 1978 in the course of the aggression he was committing against Kampuchea. He stated that Colonel Thoi, his instructor in the school of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Viet Nam, taught him in July 1972 that:

"Laos, Kampuchea and Viet Nam, are fraternal countries in a single 'Indo-Chinese Federation' . . . Viet Nam is . . . a major Power in South-East Asia, particularly in Indo-China. . . . As the senior member of the Federation, we must defend and take responsibility for the future of the Indo-Chinese revolution. At the same time, we must take our younger brothers under our wing. We must not let them do what they want. They must obey us . . .".<sup>2</sup>

98. Secondly, second lieutenant Sam Kim, 39 years of age, a Vietnamese intelligence agent living in Mien Luong, province of Kien Giang, South Viet Nam, and arrested on 14 February 1978 on Kampuchean territory after being caught red-handed during subversion and sabotage activities, revealed that the Harbourmaster of the Kien Giang port made the following clear to him:

"We will take Kampuchea at the end of 1978 and by 1979 we will control it. . . . We will exterminate every last one of them [the Kampucheans]. Kampuchean territory will become Vietnamese territory. . . . We will make Kampuchea vanish just as Champa did."<sup>3</sup>

99. These two pieces of testimony taken from many others were corroborated by Mr. Hoang Tung, a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Viet Nam and Editor-in-Chief of the party daily, *Nhan Dan*. On 26 October last in Hanoi, in the course of a press conference, he said:

"Vietnamese armed forces bear responsibility for the defence of national territory, but also for the defence of the territory of Cambodia and Laos . . . We shall strike at any forces that violate the Indo-Chinese peninsula".

100. According to the Agence France-Presse, which reported these words, Hoang Tung even spoke of "Indo-Chinese frontiers". He finally admitted that Vietnamese aggressive forces in Kampuchea were massacring the people of Kampuchea as one "slaughters a chicken". Apart from the obvious arrogance of these remarks, they constitute confessions that require no further comment.

101. Since 1930, in order to annex Kampuchea without arousing international attention, as they succeeded in doing in the case of Laos by means of the so-called "treaty of friendship and co-operation",<sup>4</sup> a number of agents of the Hanoi authorities have infiltrated Kampuchea, especially since 1947, in order to carry out undermining activities, sabotage and subversion, to attempt to assassinate Kampuchean leaders judged to be too independent with regard to Viet Nam and to prepare the necessary conditions for the annexation of Kampuchea after its liberation. Those agents carried out those underground activities constantly and unremittingly before, after and during the national liberation war waged for five years, from 1970 to 1975, by the people of Kampuchea. From April 1975 onwards, after the liberation of South Viet Nam, the Hanoi authorities obstinately refused to withdraw all the troops that they had stationed on Kampuchean territory since 1965 and claimed that these territories were Vietnamese. Furthermore, they launched constant attacks along the frontiers against the Kampuchean armed forces and undertook acts of provocation and violation of the territorial integrity of Kampuchea. In May 1975, as has already been mentioned, army, naval and air forces from Hanoi invaded and occupied Kampuchea's Koh Way Islands, and the Hanoi authorities even began to settle Vietnamese nationals there, on Kampuchean territory.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Supplement for October, November and December 1979, document S/13589, annex.

<sup>4</sup> Treaty of Friendship and Co-operation between Laos and Viet Nam, signed at Vientiane (Laos) on 18 July 1977.

102. Vietnamese fifth-columnists in Kampuchea who were subsequently arrested have revealed that pressure and provocation along the frontiers were aimed at the following objectives: first, to prevent the Government of Democratic Kampuchea from organizing and consolidating its new State and administrative power, which was indispensable for the reconstruction and the defence of the country; and secondly, to support the activities of fifth-columnists from Viet Nam in Kampuchea, in an attempt to create favourable conditions for the destabilization of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea and to install in Phnom Penh a puppet authority in the pay of Hanoi.

103. Thus, from the time of the liberation until December 1978, the people of Kampuchea and its Government had to face both constant attacks by the Vietnamese army along the frontiers and the criminal activities of the Vietnamese fifth-columnists. These succeeded in killing thousands of our leaders and our compatriots in an attempt to sabotage our work of national reconstruction and whip up discontent within the population. Nevertheless, the Hanoi authorities failed totally in their aim quietly to annex Kampuchea. It was then that they got to the point of launching naked aggression against Kampuchea in December 1977 and, after the failure of that, a new act of aggression on 25 December 1978.

104. In the international sphere, along with the slanderous propaganda campaign which was carried on in order to discredit Democratic Kampuchea by attributing to the Government of Democratic Kampuchea the responsibility for their own crimes against the Kampuchean people; the Hanoi authorities exerted very heavy pressure on the Government of Democratic Kampuchea in order to involve it in their crusade against ASEAN. This pressure was brought to bear particularly at the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Colombo in 1976. They did everything possible to undermine friendly relations and good-neighbourliness between Kampuchea and Thailand. In spite of this pressure and these threats, Democratic Kampuchea persistently refused to join the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam in this crusade and to align itself with Hanoi's bloc policy.

105. All these facts show that the underlying cause of Vietnamese aggression against Democratic Kampuchea is the policy of expansion, domination and bloc policy of the Hanoi authorities, which oppose the steadfast policy of independence and non-alignment pursued by Democratic Kampuchea. It was a conflict between, on the one hand the will of the people and the nation of Kampuchea to live in independence, honour and national dignity like all other peoples and on the other hand, the determination of the Hanoi authorities to enslave the people and nation of Kampuchea at all levels.

106. In spite of the sword of Damocles that the threat of Viet Nam, a country of 50 million inhabitants with an army of 1 million men, represented for the independence and liberty of our country, the people of Kampuchea, under the leadership of its Government, worked hard for a speedy solution of the post-war problems, particularly those connected with food, clothing, housing and health.

107. Thanks to the construction throughout the coun-

try of a number of water reservoirs of all sizes, dams and thousands of kilometres of irrigation canals, and thanks to the generalized use of fertilizers and seed selection, agricultural production, particularly rice production, increased greatly, so that the problem of hunger was totally eradicated. Everyone had enough to eat, and Democratic Kampuchea once again in 1977 became a rice exporter to Asian, African and European countries. Agriculture began to be modernized. Cottage industry, industry proper and science and technology on a massive scale began to develop. All those who visited Democratic Kampuchea before the Vietnamese aggression testify to this.

108. A group of Yugoslav journalists who visited Kampuchea in March and April 1978 wrote in the United States bi-weekly *Seven Days*:

"One of the most impressive aspects of Kampuchea is the construction of huge projects such as dams and complex irrigation systems . . . . We didn't get the impression that the Kampuchean countryside is suffering any food shortages; rice is undoubtedly ample in this land rich in water and canals, and fish is similarly abundant . . . . When we visited a village primary school, a geography class was in session for boys and a Khmer language class for girls."

109. In December 1978, a few weeks before the Vietnamese invasion, two American journalists spent two weeks in Democratic Kampuchea. On 29 December 1978, Elizabeth Becker wrote in the *Washington Post*:

"The lasting impression I came away with of rural life in Cambodia was a tableau of scores of peasants, clad in black, tending abundant rice fields. . . . From all I had heard before my trip about how poorly the new system in Cambodia was working, I was a bit surprised by the general level of production throughout the country."

110. Richard Dudman, chief correspondent of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, in testimony before the Senate in Washington on 18 January 1979, had among other things, the following to say:

"We were also taken to a relatively modern pharmaceutical plant in Phnom Penh that made both conventional medicines and native remedies . . . ."<sup>5</sup>

This same journalist also visited the technical school and textile plant in Phnom Penh. He noted:

"I did not find the grim picture painted by the thousands of refugees. . . .

"Workers usually appeared to be operating under their own direction. There was no sign of government cadres giving orders or armed guards enforcing the working hours, although individuals seemed to know what was expected. . . .

....  
 "But on the simple question of economic viability, this rich agricultural country once more appeared to be flourishing and potentially prosperous—at least, until the Vietnamese invaders moved in.

"... I could tell the state of nutrition by the common sight of playful small children, . . . with none

<sup>5</sup> *Congressional Record*, Proceedings and Debates of the 96th Congress, first session, vol. 125 (Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office, 1979), p. S227.

of the listlessness or protruding bellies that bespeak starvation or malnutrition.”<sup>6</sup>

Richard Dudman added:

“Until the new [Vietnamese] offensive, the prospects appeared bright. We saw many new dams and canals, parts of a crash irrigation program that is bringing new areas under cultivation and permitting two or three rice harvests a year in some areas.”<sup>7</sup>

111. At the end of 1978, after having solved basic domestic problems and improved the population's living conditions, the Government of Democratic Kampuchea reopened the Angkor monuments to foreign tourists, and at the end of January 1979 it was preparing to extend the warmest of welcomes to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Kurt Waldheim. That visit was to mark the return to Kampuchea of the United Nations and affiliated international organizations. Many Western and Japanese correspondents were also expected during the first three months of 1979.

112. Unfortunately, however, the consolidation of Kampuchean independence and the country's rapid progress in national reconstruction came up against the annexationist ambitions of the authorities in Hanoi.

113. In 10 months of a war of destruction, massacres and pillaging, the Vietnamese hordes, making widespread use of the scorched earth tactic, transformed Kampuchea, a perennially verdant country, into a devastated and arid land. Entire towns and administrative centres, spared by the earlier five-year war of 1970-1975, thousands of co-operatives, hundreds of schools, scientific and technical training institutes, factories and hospitals, dams and reservoirs, thousands of kilometres of irrigation canals, all were systematically plundered, destroyed or levelled by the Vietnamese aggressors. The Vietnamese occupation forces in Kampuchea, which at the outset numbered 120,000 men, have now risen to more than 220,000 men, or 22 divisions and 12 autonomous regiments, and new reinforcements are continuing to arrive.

114. This fact clearly reveals that this war is indeed a war of aggression and annexation, a war of a new type of colonial conquest, and not at all a civil war, as is being maintained by Vietnamese propaganda.

115. However, the occupying Vietnamese armed forces are now bogged down in a war of national resistance being waged by the people of Kampuchea which is growing in intensity and winning ground, which strikes at the enemy day and night, inflicting heavy losses in men and *matériel*.

116. And since such forces cannot win out over the Kampuchean people's will to independence and their determination not to be enslaved, the Hanoi authorities have turned to the extermination of the people of Kampuchea by mass slaughter and famine.

117. During the Second World War, the people of France experienced Oradour-sur-Glane. At the present time, the Vietnamese hordes, worse than those of Hitler, have set up hundreds of Oradours-sur-Glane in Kampuchea. They are murdering the populations of entire villages without discrimination—men, women, children and old people—by burning them, doused with petrol or locked up in houses, by machine-gunning them, or by crushing them beneath their tanks. As of last September, more than 500,000 Kampucheans had been murdered, and since that time, hundreds and thousands have daily continued to die in the same way.

118. During the Second World War, Hitler invented the crematorium for the extermination of the Jews. Today, in Kampuchea, the Hanoi authorities have deliberately created famine in order to transform Kampuchea into a vast crematorium and to sap all resistance. To this end, they have undertaken the systematic plundering and destruction of the economy, of every means and tool of production, including ploughs, harrows and draught animals. In the regions under their provisional control, they are penning the inhabitants and forbidding them from working the fields for fear of their making contact with our guerrilla forces. At the present time, more than 500,000 Kampucheans have already died of hunger, and hundreds of thousands more may do so in the near future.

119. A terrifying picture of the crimes committed by the Vietnamese invaders is given in document SG/CONF.1/1 and Corr. 1, of 1 November 1979, the report submitted by Mr. Henry Labouisse, Executive Director of UNICEF, and Mr. Alexandre Hay, President of the International Committee of the Red Cross:

“It is reported that 80-90 per cent of children are severely malnourished. Malaria, dysentery, intestinal parasites and respiratory diseases are epidemic and have taken a heavy toll of those weakened by hunger. The number of children under the age of five is abnormally low. It is estimated that only about 50 doctors remain to care for some 4 million persons. Hospitals have been stripped of equipment and drugs . . .”.

120. Thus, since the Vietnamese invasion, more than 1 million Kampucheans have already been murdered. And along with this genocidal policy without precedent in history, the Hanoi authorities have driven hundreds of thousands of Kampucheans from their homes and their ancestral lands, forcing them to take refuge in Thailand. In their place, they have already settled some 300,000 North Vietnamese, particularly in the eastern regions, in the south-west maritime provinces, and in the great lakes zone of Kampuchea. This is another aspect of the refugee exportation policy being carried out by the Hanoi authorities that world public opinion continues to overlook. And yet, this policy is in no way different from the policy of creating settlements being pursued by Israel in the illegally occupied Arab territories, one that is condemned by the entire international community.

121. Kampuchea has become the scene of pillaging by

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. S225-S226.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

the Vietnamese hordes: rice, cattle, art objects in gold or solid silver, precious stones, rare pieces from our museums and pagodas, and from the Royal Palace, machines from factories, trucks and cars, and so on, have been taken to Viet Nam. A number of bas-reliefs from the Angkor monuments, the masterworks of the Khmer civilization and the cultural and artistic heritage of all mankind, have been taken to Hanoi, hidden in coffins.

122. Nevertheless, overcoming all this suffering and immeasurable hardship without precedent in our history, the Kampuchean people has absolutely refused to allow itself to be enslaved by the Vietnamese expansionists. No matter what reinforcements are sent by the Hanoi authorities, they will never succeed in annexing Kampuchea. They will only get further bogged down in the Kampuchean people's war of national resistance.

123. That war is not a war for the triumph of any ideological cause. For our people, it is not only a war of national liberation to defend our fundamental national rights but even more a war for our very survival and for that of our civilization, for our right to live not as slaves to the Vietnamese expansionists but as human beings with dignity, national honour and a national identity. That is why the political programme of the Patriotic and Democratic Front of Great National Union of Kampuchea was so enthusiastically welcomed by the people of Kampuchea, because it gathers together all patriotic forces, without discrimination as to their political tendencies or their past, the only condition being that of struggling against Vietnamese aggression until all Vietnamese troops have been withdrawn from Kampuchea so that it can exercise the right to decide on its own destiny without any foreign interference.

124. Vietnamese regional expansionism and hegemonism is a cruel and undeniable fact today. But more dangerous, because more subtle, are the manoeuvres resorted to by Hanoi in order to achieve its ends and to slake its thirst for hegemony. What should be noted is that the Vietnamese Government has arrived at the point, thanks to its unequalled expertise in the art of dissimulation, of designing into code of conduct for its international relations, lies, treachery, slander and sophistry, all cynically cloaked in progressive slogans.

125. Peoples and countries throughout the world that love peace and justice are beginning to understand correctly the true meaning of the "thousand and one" manoeuvres of the Vietnamese leaders. In any case, the countries of our region that are the direct victims of the war, of the threats and regional expansionism of the Hanoi authorities, are no longer allowing themselves to be taken in by the Vietnamese "diplomacy of smile".

126. Let us recall a few examples. First, Viet Nam had no hesitation in January 1979 in attempting to dupe the Security Council by producing a false document: an alleged telegram sent from Phnom Penh. That shoddy manoeuvre was unmasked in the Security Council.

127. Secondly, again in the Security Council, the representative of Hanoi protested the innocence of his country by denying the invasion of Kampuchea by more than 120,000 Vietnamese soldiers. But, when caught red-handed in aggression and lies, the Government of Hanoi then desperately grasped at the lifeline of the so-called "treaty of peace, friendship and co-operation" signed

in Phnom Penh<sup>8</sup> with the puppet régime installed by the Vietnamese aggressors, that is, two months after the unleashing of that aggression. Today, with that Treaty having long since ceased to serve its purpose, the Vietnamese Government has been obliged to invoke the so-called "internationalist duty", in the name of which it committed aggression against Kampuchea, violated the fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations and existing international law.

128. Thirdly, since the theory of "internationalist duty", which for the Hanoi authorities is synonymous with the law of the jungle, has been repudiated by the international community, the Hanoi authorities are now maintaining that Vietnamese aggression in Kampuchea is in keeping with the principles of the Charter.

129. In that regard, the Vietnamese Government has demonstrated the extent to which it has disregarded the lucid and brilliant analysis of the situation in South-East Asia and in the world by the Secretary-General of the United Nations in his report on the work of the Organization, dated 11 September 1979:

"The United Nations has been especially preoccupied this year with developments in Indo-China—developments which not only raise fundamental questions of Charter principles but also have been accompanied by vast and tragic humanitarian problems. "...the situation which has followed the long and cruel war in Indo-China not only threatens the peace and stability of South-East Asia, it could very well also become a threat to world peace." [See A/34/1, sect. II.]

130. Fourthly, the Hanoi authorities claim that the puppet régime which they have installed in Phnom Penh enjoys the total support of the Kampuchean people and that it controls the whole territory of Kampuchea. In that case one might well wonder why they do not withdraw all their occupation troops and why in fact they are sending in others. In fact, the puppet régime in Phnom Penh is under the direct control of Le Duc Tho and Pham Hung, members of the Politburo of the Vietnamese Communist Party which is permanently located in Saigon. The puppets are acting only on behalf of the Vietnamese aggressors and as such they are traitors to their motherland and responsible, with their Vietnamese masters, for the genocide of our people. As for the puppet army, it exists only in name. It consists of a few hundred soldiers led by Vietnamese officers in Vietnamese battalions.

131. Fifthly, the Vietnamese expansionists have been plundering the harvests in Kampuchea and have reduced the Kampuchean people to famine, while claiming that they are sending rice to Kampuchea to help in overcoming the famine. That represents the height of the shamelessness of which the Hanoi authorities are capable!

132. Sixthly, the Vietnamese expansionists through their fifth column murdered several thousand Kampucheans between 1975 and 1978, and in 10 months of aggression they have massacred more than 1 million

<sup>8</sup> Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Co-operation between the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and the People's Republic of Kampuchea, signed at Phnom Penh on 18 February 1979.

others by warfare and by famine. With a treachery unprecedented in history, they have had the audacity to attribute responsibility to the Government of Democratic Kampuchea. What is worse, they are pushing arrogance to its very limits in professing "non-intervention in the internal affairs of States" and "non-recourse to any coercive measures that would deprive people of their right to self-determination, freedom and independence". The aim of this hypocrisy is obvious: it is to camouflage the abhorrent crimes of genocide which are now being committed by the Vietnamese expansionists against the people and nation of Kampuchea.

133. Seventhly, the Hanoi authorities have been committing aggression against and enslaving the people and nation of Kampuchea, threatening the peace and stability of South-East Asia. Yet they claim that the people of Kampuchea has won back its independence and liberty and even go so far as to give lessons to other States, calling upon them "to refrain from the threat or use of force in international relations", in particular the countries of South-East Asia which are exhorted to establish a zone of peace, freedom, neutrality and stability in the region.

134. Eighthly, the Hanoi authorities have been trampling underfoot the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Kampuchea, they have been violating the United Nations Charter and yet they have the shamelessness, the unabashed impudence to reaffirm that: "The problem of Kampuchea must be resolved by the people of Kampuchea, without foreign interference, on the basis of the principles of respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the country."

135. The draft resolution A/34/L.7//Rev.1 is riddled with these shameful travesties invented by the Hanoi authorities. In effect it invites the General Assembly to endorse Vietnamese aggression against Kampuchea and the violation of the United Nations Charter by the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, and to allow the Hanoi authorities a free hand in exterminating the people and nation of Kampuchea and annexing the territory of Kampuchea.

136. It is obvious that the Hanoi authorities have in fact profound contempt for the international community, for all peoples that love peace and justice throughout the world, and what they really want is for their gangster logic to prevail in international relations. They have even had the audacity to compare their war of barbarous aggression against Kampuchea with the just national liberation struggle of the Palestinian people, the people of Zimbabwe, Namibia and Azania, and the just concerted struggle of the front-line African countries. They have had the arrogance to compare the puppet régime they have set up in Phnom Penh with the popular Governments of Iran, Nicaragua and Uganda. These are deadly insults to all those peoples, States and Governments and, indeed, to the very memory of those who gave their lives for the liberation and true independence of their countries.

137. The present tragedy of the people of Kampuchea, which is the result of the aggression of the Vietnamese expansionists, is of profound concern to the world community. The whole world feels compassion for the people of Kampuchea in its misfortunes and indescribable sufferings, and every day we hear more and more voices

raised in all the countries that love peace and justice in the five continents of the world in condemnation of the genocide of the people of Kampuchea committed by the Hanoi authorities, and to call upon them to put an end to their war of aggression and extermination in Kampuchea.

138. On 5 November, in this very hall and on the initiative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, and also of the French Government, a Pledging Conference for Emergency Humanitarian Relief to the People of Kampuchea,<sup>9</sup> people whose very existence has been threatened by the crimes of genocide committed by the Vietnamese expansionists. On behalf of my Government and the people of Kampuchea, I should like to express here once again my profound gratitude to Mr. Waldheim and to all countries, Governments, peoples, and humanitarian organizations, whether national or international, which have been so kind as to provide generous and effective aid to save the people and nation of Kampuchea in its peril, and to prevent the disappearance of a member of the international community.

139. My Government is very grateful and wishes to extend its sincere thanks to Prime Minister Kriangsak Chamanan and the Government and people of Thailand, for their compassion towards our people and for all the humanitarian measures they have adopted with regard to our compatriots who have been forced to seek temporary refuge in Thai territory to avoid being murdered by Vietnamese troops.

140. The Government of Democratic Kampuchea, the sole legal and legitimate representative of the people of Kampuchea, profoundly concerned for the survival of its nation, the people and the Kampuchean race, will do everything in its power to co-operate with all humanitarian organizations and friendly countries to see to it that all this assistance is of direct benefit to the people of Kampuchea. It is in this spirit that my Government wishes to draw the attention once again of all humanitarian organizations and all friendly countries to the imperative need to channel and distribute this assistance directly to the people of Kampuchea, under international control. This is an essential condition if this assistance is not to be diverted by the Vietnamese aggressors for the benefit of their occupation troops who are exterminating our people by famine. Indeed, how can the Hanoi authorities claim that they are concerned with the lot of the Kampuchean people at a time when they are not concerned at all at the lot of the Vietnamese people, as is shown by the tragedy of more than 1 million "boat people".

141. If this humanitarian assistance can reach our people, there is no doubt that it will make it possible to relieve the misfortunes and sufferings of our people but it is also true that, whatever its magnitude and however effective it is, this humanitarian assistance will not be able to put an end to these sufferings as long as the war of aggression and genocide in Kampuchea lasts.

142. The insensate intensification of the war of aggression and genocide in Kampuchea imperils the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of all the countries of South-East Asia and the Pacific. Indeed, the flames of this war have already reached the

<sup>9</sup> See document SG/CONF.1/SR.1 and 2.

eastern frontiers of Thailand and are liable at any moment to engulf South-East Asia, the Pacific and the world. As long as the Hanoi authorities continue their war of aggression in Kampuchea, as long as Vietnamese troops remain in Kampuchea, there will be no peace, security or stability in South-East Asia and the Pacific.

143. The immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea is the *sine qua non* of the restoration of peace, security and stability in South-East Asia and the safeguarding of the independence and territorial integrity of all the countries of the region.

144. In these exceptionally grave circumstances, the Government of Democratic Kampuchea solemnly and urgently appeals to this Assembly, to all international organizations and to all those who love peace, liberty and justice throughout the world, to compel the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to end its war of aggression and genocide in Kampuchea, to withdraw forthwith all its forces of aggression from Kampuchea and to respect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Kampuchea, as well as the right of the people of Kampuchea themselves to decide on their own destiny, without any foreign interference, through free general elections by direct secret ballot under the control of the Secretary-General of the United Nations. The people of Kampuchea will then be able to live in peace and security in an independent, united, peaceful, neutral and non-aligned Kampuchea. It is only on this condition that our Organization will be able, in accordance with its noble and lofty task, to save the people and nation of Kampuchea from total extinction and at the same time restore peace, security and stability in South-East Asia, to preserve international peace and security and, finally, to spare other peoples in the world the tragic plight of the people of Kampuchea today.

145. In so doing, our Assembly will be defending the fundamental principles of the Charter for, as has been stressed by the Secretary-General in his report on the work of the Organization:

“In this as in other situations that have recently arisen, it is imperative that all efforts be directed towards finding a settlement in conformity with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, in particular respect for the territorial integrity and political independence of all States, non-interference in internal affairs and the non-use of force.” [See A/34/I, sect. II.]

147. It is within the context of these sentiments that the delegation of Democratic Kampuchea welcomes draft resolution A/34/L.13/Rev.1, the provisions of which reflect the noble concern of the sponsors for the fate of our people and our nation and, indeed, for international peace and security.

148. From the bottom of our hearts, we express again our sincere gratitude to the countries sponsoring that draft resolution and all the countries that love peace and justice and which, we are sure, will not fail warmly to support it.

149. Mr. MATANE (Papua New Guinea): Agenda item 123, entitled “The situation in Kampuchea”, which is now before us, is a very serious one because it

deals with innocent Kampuchean people who are facing truly grave problems, which came about as a result of unnecessary political rivalries none of which is of their own making.

150. Papua New Guinea is one of the sponsors of draft resolution A/34/L.13/Rev.1. We have sponsored it because we honestly believe that its content is realistic and practical and should guide the international community in finding a solution to what my delegation considers to be one of the greatest and saddest human tragedies of modern times. No one in this Assembly or anywhere in the world will or should disagree that at this very moment in Kampuchea literally thousands of people are without food, without shelter, without clothing, without medical treatment and without means of transport. Many more have died in the refugee camps, from gun shells and bombs, from the scourge of disease and starvation or on the high seas.

151. Unless those who have escaped to seek refuge elsewhere are resettled, they will continue to face hardships and deprivation on a scale described already as probably unparalleled in the history of mankind. Some have been resettled, but not without this proving a considerable burden, particularly to countries within the immediate region, where the influx of refugees is continuing on a large scale.

152. It is in this light that the Papua New Guinea Government appreciates the role being played by the countries of ASEAN in meeting the problem. The establishment of refugee processing centres in the ASEAN region is a positive move towards alleviating the burden that has been inflicted upon the countries of the region. But the ASEAN countries alone cannot and should not be made to bear the greater share of responsibility for the plight of the Kampuchean people.

153. It is encouraging, therefore, that other countries have responded on humanitarian grounds by accepting refugees for resettlement, while others have pledged support for the programme launched on the initiative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim. We pay a tribute to those countries. My Government would also like to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General for having convened in Geneva, on 20 and 21 July the Meeting on Refugees and Displaced Persons in South-East Asia and as recently as last week, in New York, the Pledging Conference for Emergency Humanitarian Relief to the People of Kampuchea to discuss the Kampuchean situation and to appeal to countries to pledge support. The success of the appeal will depend entirely on the response of Member States. It is also encouraging to note the commitments made so far by some 34 nations. We urge those that have not yet pledged support to follow suit.

154. In addition, we extend our appreciation to the various national and international humanitarian organizations for the tremendous efforts they have already made in providing relief and assistance to the civilian population of Kampuchea.

155. Obviously, without a lasting political settlement of the situation in Kampuchea the people will continue to face massive suffering and misery. My Government therefore supports the right of the people of Kampuchea to self-determination, without coercion or interference by foreign forces. Only through the exercise of this right can there be hope for a political solution, one which

would ensure the sovereignty and independence of Kampuchea.

156. My delegation deplores any intervention or attempts by foreign forces to impose a political solution on the people of Kampuchea. We support the call for the withdrawal of foreign forces from Kampuchea to allow for the creation of an atmosphere conducive to the Kampuchean people's determining for themselves what type of Government is suited to their needs and aspirations, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

157. In conclusion, I wish to quote the Chairman of my delegation, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Olewale, who in his address to the current session of the General Assembly on 25 September, said:

"As a country which lies at the cross-roads between South-East Asia and the South Pacific, we are concerned about the security implications that have arisen . . . in Kampuchea and the confrontation between Viet Nam and Kampuchea. We would like to see peace and stability prevail in the region, and urge those who, in one way or another, are involved in the confrontation to settle their differences by discussion in conference rooms and not by using guns on battlefields." [See 8th meeting, para. 362.]

158. During the course of this debate on the situation in Kampuchea, a country where human and political tragedies really do exist, let us put away our differences. Let us show concern and understanding. Let us show the world our love and compassion for those who are suffering in Kampuchea. Let us look for a realistic and practical solution to the problems in Kampuchea. My delegation believes that, with understanding, we can find that solution.

159. Mr. KOH (Singapore): Exactly one week ago, the representatives of 50 States, including the Holy See, attended a Pledging Conference for Emergency Humanitarian Relief to the People of Kampuchea, convened on the initiative of our Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim.

160. Although the representatives came from different parts of the world, although their political views were diverse, they were unanimous in agreeing that the people of Kampuchea were suffering from famine and from disease of epidemic proportions.

161. Kampucheans are dying by the thousands every day. They are dying from hunger, from disease and from the scourge of war. According to one reliable source, 90 per cent of the children under five years of age have already perished. The remaining 10 per cent are suffering from anaemia caused by severe malnutrition. It is no exaggeration to say that, unless the international community succeeds in bringing massive food and medical supplies to the needy in Kampuchea, unless the international community succeeds in putting a stop to the war and in finding a peaceful political solution, the Kampuchean nation is threatened with extinction.

162. The international community has responded generously to our Secretary-General's appeal for contributions. At the Pledging Conference, held on 5

November, contributions amounting to \$210 million, in cash and in kind, were pledged. This figure is, however, \$100 million short of the Secretary-General's target of \$310 million. I therefore join the other sponsors of draft resolution A/34/L.13/Rev.1 in appealing strongly to all States and to national and international humanitarian organisations to render humanitarian relief to the civilian population of Kampuchea.

163. In order to bring food and medical supplies to the civilian population of Kampuchea, we need the co-operation of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea, the Heng Samrin régime and the Government of Viet Nam. I therefore appeal to all three authorities to co-operate in every possible way with the international humanitarian organisations to facilitate the relief efforts. I appeal to the Government of Democratic Kampuchea not to oppose the giving of aid to Kampucheans living under the control of the Heng Samrin régime. Similarly, I appeal to the Heng Samrin régime not to oppose the rendering of relief to Kampucheans living under the control of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea. Finally, I appeal to the Government of Viet Nam not to use food as a political weapon in order to gain recognition for the régime in Phnom Penh.

164. Kampucheans are dying not only from famine but also from war. The war began on 25 December 1978, when the Government of Viet Nam sent over 100,000 troops across the frontier into Kampuchea. The Vietnamese army advanced rapidly and soon captured the capital, Phnom Penh. Thereafter, it established a puppet régime called the People's Revolutionary Council of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, headed by Mr. Heng Samrin. In January this year, the seven non-aligned members of the Security Council — Bangladesh, Bolivia, Gabon, Jamaica, Kuwait, Nigeria and Zambia — submitted a draft resolution<sup>10</sup>, which, *inter alia*, called upon all foreign forces to withdraw from Kampuchea. The draft resolution received 13 affirmative votes but was vetoed by the Soviet Union. In March this year, 13 members of the Security Council, including the non-aligned members, voted for the ASEAN draft resolution which, *inter alia*, called upon "all parties to the conflicts to withdraw their forces to their own countries."<sup>11</sup> The ASEAN draft resolution also was vetoed by the Soviet Union.

165. On 18 February 1979, the Heng Samrin régime and the Government of Vietnam concluded a treaty of friendship and co-operation. Viet Nam has tried to use this treaty to justify its invasion and continued occupation of Kampuchea. The undeniable fact is, however, that the treaty was concluded nearly two months after the Vietnamese armed intervention. Although the Government of Democratic Kampuchea is no longer in control of the capital city, Phnom Penh, it has continued to resist Vietnam's occupation through guerrilla warfare.

166. In recent months other Kampucheans, including those who are opposed to Pol Pot, have organized themselves into armed units and are also fighting

<sup>10</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fourth Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1979*, document S/13027.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, document S/13162.

against the Vietnamese. According to reliable sources, there are more than 200,000 Vietnamese troops in Kampuchea today.

167. In mid-September this year, the Vietnamese army in Kampuchea launched a dry-season offensive. Its objective is to wipe out the remaining armed resistance to the Vietnamese army. We shall not know until April next year whether the Vietnamese dry-season offensive will achieve its objective. But if the history of peoples struggling against foreign military occupation affords us any guide, the conclusion must be that the Vietnamese army will not succeed in subjugating the Kampuchean people.

168. I should like to explain why my country has criticized the Vietnamese invasion and continued occupation of Kampuchea. Our opposition to Viet Nam's action is based upon principle. Singapore has no historical or contemporary conflict with Viet Nam. Not a single Singapore soldier was involved in the Viet Nam war. Contrary to Viet Nam's allegation, Singapore's opposition to Viet Nam's invasion and occupation of Kampuchea is not based upon Singapore's support for China. On the contrary, when China launched an armed attack against Viet Nam, Singapore, along with its ASEAN partners, deplored the Chinese attack and spoke against China in the United Nations Security Council. This is a matter of public record. Singapore does not side with China or Viet Nam in their conflict with each other. Singapore does not side with China or the Soviet Union in their conflict with each other. We judge the conduct of these nations strictly in accordance with the principles of the United Nations Charter, the generally accepted principles of international law and our national interests.

169. Singapore's opposition to Viet Nam's invasion and occupation of Kampuchea is based upon the following reasons.

170. First, it is in flagrant violation of three cardinal principles of the United Nations Charter. These are: the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States; the principle of respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of other States; and the principle of non-use of force in international relations. The security of small nations like my own is threatened whenever these principles are violated. If small nations allow these principles to be violated without protest, then the principles will gradually lose their moral and legal force and will afford little or no protection to small nations.

171. The second reason is that if we acquiesce in Viet Nam's invasion and occupation of Kampuchea, we shall be giving license for Viet Nam to do the same thing to other neighbours, such as Thailand. It is therefore necessary for Viet Nam's neighbours to say clearly to Viet Nam that such conduct is unacceptable.

172. The third reason is that Viet Nam's action is in clear contravention of certain assurances which the Prime Minister of Viet Nam, Mr. Pham Van Dong, gave to the leaders of ASEAN when he visited the ASEAN capitals in September and October 1978. The Prime Minister of Viet Nam stated that Viet Nam would respect the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries and that it would not subvert

the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of other countries in South-East Asia. Viet Nam's action in invading and occupying Kampuchea by armed force is clearly inconsistent with the undertaking given by the Prime Minister of Viet Nam to the leaders of ASEAN.

173. The fourth reason is that Viet Nam's action has reversed the process of building confidence among the nations of South-East Asia and frustrated the efforts of ASEAN and of Vietnam itself to make South-East Asia a zone of peace and neutrality. Such a zone cannot exist if the countries within the region do not respect one another's sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence. Such a zone cannot exist if any country within the region has the ambition to dominate other countries, whether by armed force or by other means.

174. It is for these reasons that my Government, together with our ASEAN partners, deplores Viet Nam's invasion and continued occupation of Kampuchea. We appeal to Viet Nam and to the other parties to the armed conflict to cease hostilities. We appeal to Viet Nam to agree to withdraw its armed forces from Kampuchea. We appeal to Viet Nam to agree that the people of Kampuchea be allowed to choose a Government of their own.

175. One modality for attaining these objectives would be for the United Nations to establish a transitional administration in Kampuchea. Such an administration would be charged with the responsibility for maintaining law and order; it would supervise the withdrawal of Vietnamese forces and create the conditions in which the Kampuchean people would choose freely a Government which represented them. I realize, of course, that any new Kampuchean Government that is approved by the people of Kampuchea must not be anti-Viet Nam. It should pursue a policy friendly to all its neighbours. It should not be a stalking-horse for great-Power conflict.

176. The continuance of the war in Kampuchea poses a direct threat to the security of Thailand. According to reliable sources, there are approximately 100,000 Vietnamese troops near the Thai-Kampuchean border. In recent weeks, artillery and mortar shells have fallen on the Thai side of the border, causing human casualties and damage to property. If the fighting between the Vietnamese and the Kampucheans were to intensify, there would be a serious danger that the war might spill over into Thailand. The continuance of the war also poses the danger of further involvement by some of the great Powers. There is an ever-present danger that China may launch a second attack against Viet Nam. We cannot discount the risk that, should that occur, the Soviet Union might also become involved. The continuance of the war in Kampuchea, therefore, poses a threat not only to the region of South-East Asia but to the whole world.

177. My delegation is a sponsor of draft resolution A/34/L.13/Rev.1. My colleague, the representative of Malaysia, Ambassador Zaiton, has already introduced that draft resolution. It is unnecessary for me to say anything more on it.

178. I wish, however, to comment briefly on draft resolution A/34/L.7/Rev.1., sponsored by 10 delega-

tions, including Viet Nam. That draft resolution, in our view, suffers from five fatal weaknesses.

179. First, it makes no reference to the armed intervention by outside forces in the internal affairs of Kampuchea and their continued and increasing presence. It fails to call for the withdrawal of all foreign forces therefrom.

180. Secondly, it ignores the fact that armed hostilities are taking place in Kampuchea and does not call for a cessation of those hostilities.

181. Thirdly, the draft resolution seeks to justify the Vietnamese armed intervention on the ground that the people of Kampuchea had sought their intervention. The truth is that neither the Government of Kampuchea nor the people of Kampuchea requested Viet Nam's intervention. The so-called National United Front for the Salvation of Kampuchea, which requested Viet Nam's intervention, was created by the Vietnamese on Vietnamese territory.

182. Fourthly, the draft resolution implies that the Heng Samrin régime was chosen by the Kampuchean people in exercise of their right to self-determination, independence and freedom. The truth is that the Heng Samrin régime was established and is maintained by

Viet Nam's armed forces and the people of Kampuchea have not been able to exercise their right to self-determination.

183. And fifthly, the draft resolution pretends that everything is well in Kampuchea when we all know that a war is going on, the country is being occupied by foreign forces, the Government in Phnom Penh is the creature of foreign intervention and people in that country are dying daily from famine and from war.

184. The Vietnamese intervention in Kampuchea has put a stop to the process of building confidence among the nine independent nation-States of South-East Asia. If Viet Nam agrees to withdraw its armed forces from Kampuchea and to co-operate with the international community in finding a political solution consistent with Kampuchea's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, Viet Nam will be able to retrieve its lost credibility and allay the fears of its neighbours concerning its ambitions and intentions. If that were to happen, the nations of South-East Asia could begin anew to build confidence and to work together towards our common goal of making South-East Asia a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality.

*The meeting rose at 1.20 p.m.*