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

AGENDA ITEM 123

The situation in Kampuchea (*continued*)

1. The PRESIDENT: Before calling on the first speaker, I wish to inform the meeting that in order that voting may take place on Wednesday afternoon, I propose that any draft resolution or amendment on this item be submitted before 5 p.m. today. If there is no objection, it will be so decided.

It was so decided.

2. Mr. Vanden HEUVEL (United States of America): The situation in Kampuchea confronts this Assembly with humanitarian and political problems of grave consequence to Kampuchea, to the countries of the region and indeed to the world. Only one week ago, representatives of the concerned nations of the world met here to give their firm support to the international relief effort in Kampuchea. Their objective was to save the Khmer people, who have far too long suffered from brutal and barbaric treatment at the hands of their own rulers, and who have been devastated by a war which has brought terrible famine and disease. The Pledging Conference for Emergency Humanitarian Relief to the People of Kampuchea, called by the Secretary-General, has shown the profound concern and compassion within the international community for the Khmer people.

3. The States Members of the United Nations are now aware that immediate action must be taken to alleviate that tremendous human suffering. That Pledging Conference resulted in an outpouring of humanitarian responses. While much more must be done, the international community and the agencies involved in the relief effort are ready now to provide rapid assistance to the hungry, sick and dying throughout Kampuchea as soon as they are allowed to do so by those who control the country and its people.

4. We take this opportunity to salute those international public servants who, once more, have shown incredible qualities of courage and commitment, and whose efforts may save the people of Kampuchea from annihilation.

5. Secretary of State Vance set forth my Government's views on the urgency of the humanitarian relief effort in his statement to the Pledging Conference on 5 November.¹ He asked that calculations of political and military advantage be put aside by the authorities in Kampuchea, so that the overwhelming human issue could be addressed. He urged that every means available be employed to deliver supplies to the international agencies which should be allowed to distribute them to everyone in need. And he gave the full and determined support of the United States for the international relief effort in Kampuchea. I reiterate that appeal for co-operation and that expression of support today.

6. Our concentration on meeting immediate human needs and our insistence that no impediment be placed in the way of the relief effort must not deter this Assembly from addressing the underlying causes of the tragic situation in Kampuchea and the dangerous threat to peace and security that it represents for other States in the region. We are meeting here to determine what further steps can and should be taken to deal with the situation.

7. The Charter of the United Nations sets forth the principles by which the United Nations is to be guided. The Charter establishes as the primary purpose of our Organization the maintenance of international peace and security and speaks of respect for fundamental human rights and for international obligations and law. It requires all Members to settle their differences by peaceful means and to refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State.

8. Tragically, in the Kampuchean situation every one of these principles — every single one of them — has been violated. For years the brutal régime of Pol Pot violated the human rights of the Khmer people with impunity. Time and time again, my Government made clear its abhorrence of this régime and its actions. The United States was in the forefront of those Governments urging that the violence being done to the innocent people of Kampuchea be stopped. The human rights institutions of the United Nations did nothing because the Soviet Union and other Communist countries opposed even the condemnation that should have been the least of our efforts. How ironic it is to see these same countries now join us in denouncing the excesses of Pol Pot for whom they were the shield.

9. To compound this disregard for internationally accepted principles of human rights, Viet Nam, supplied and supported by the Soviet Union, took it upon itself to solve its disputes with Kampuchea by force, contrary to statements by Viet Nam that it would resolve peacefully any differences it might have with other States in the region. Viet Nam invaded its neighbour with some 200,000 troops and created a puppet régime which re-

¹ See document SG/CONF.1/SR.1, paras. 16-21.

mains entirely dependent on Vietnamese occupation forces and certainly does not represent the people of Kampuchea. Viet Nam thereby violated its international obligations and this Organization's Charter. On two occasions, only a veto in the Security Council protected it from the formal censure of that body. But it has been very clear since last January that Viet Nam's actions are and were rejected by almost all Members of the United Nations.

10. Nothing justifies the act of invasion which continues today. Viet Nam's obligation was to seek a solution to its dispute by peaceful means and, if necessary, to turn to the United Nations for assistance. It is equally clear that Viet Nam's motives in invading Kampuchea had little to do with concern for human rights. To the contrary, the Vietnamese occupation of Kampuchea has made even more bitter the tragedy of the Khmer people. That occupation has been responsible for immense suffering and loss of lives among the Khmer civilian population. Famine and disease have been compounded by the effects of continuing military conflict. The Vietnamese aggression is a violent affront to the conscience of mankind. It has escalated the destruction of life and property which it pretended to combat.

11. We are especially concerned by the implication of the increasing Vietnamese offensive in western Kampuchea for humanitarian relief efforts both in Kampuchea and among refugee populations along the Thai-Khmer border. The increased fighting prevents relief efforts from reaching large parts of the country, threatens the lives of the international relief staff and others in the field, and forces into Thailand thousands of innocent Kampuchians who have neither a role nor an interest in the battle. This effect already threatens to overwhelm refugee assistance efforts in Thailand and creates further instability in the area.

12. We are also profoundly concerned that recent incidents along the Thailand-Kampuchea border suggest that Vietnam's actions in Kampuchea could have even graver and more widespread consequences for the peace and stability of the region. Vietnamese military forces have, on a number of occasions, made incursions into Thai territory. The danger of incidents in the border area is at a critical stage and is likely to remain so as long as Viet Nam pursues its military objectives. The United Nations must express its concern about this threat to the security of Thailand.

13. No nation, no matter how far away from Indo-China, can remain unconcerned at what is happening in Kampuchea today. For if Viet Nam is allowed to invade, to occupy and to impose a régime in Kampuchea—no matter how this is rationalized—what country can feel certain that a dispute with a more powerful neighbour will be resolved not by force, but by peaceful means? What is at stake in our consideration of the Kampuchea situation is the international community's commitment to peace, stability, order and the rule of law, and its insistence that States carry out the obligations they have undertaken in signing the United Nations Charter. The challenge which confronts the international community is how to prevent the spread of the conflict and to restore a situation of peace and stability in Kampuchea.

14. With these considerations in mind, my Govern-

ment believes that a solution to the Kampuchean problem must be founded on the following elements.

15. The international relief effort which this Organization has fostered must be allowed to move forward rapidly, effectively and with the total commitment of resources that the tragic situation warrants. All must co-operate in that effort, particularly in hastening and expanding the distribution of relief goods within Kampuchea. The Vietnamese offensive undermines the ability of the international community to save the Khmer people.

16. There must first be stability along the Thai-Kampuchean border. The dispatch by the Secretary-General of a fact-finding mission to the border area is an important step in this process. In this initial and important response to Thailand's request, we trust that the Secretary-General's representative will make recommendations on how the United Nations can best assist in stabilizing the border situation, ensuring that the fighting does not spread and insulating the relief efforts from combat. This must be done urgently, even while efforts are under way to expand the relief effort and tackle the basic problems of Kampuchea. Such United Nations presence and activity along the Vietnamese Kampuchean border last year at this time might have forestalled the tragedy that ensued. Let us not take that same risk again.

17. Foreign forces must begin to withdraw. The contending political forces in Kampuchea should not seek to gain advantage from that withdrawal; rather, efforts towards political accommodation must proceed simultaneously. The fighting must be brought to an end.

18. Our goal should be an independent Kampuchea, at peace with its neighbours, whose Government reflects the aspirations of the Khmer people and respects their human rights. This goal is a prerequisite for peace and security in the region and for the well-being of the people of Kampuchea. Any eventual solution must also provide guarantees to neighbouring States, including Viet Nam, that their legitimate security concerns will be taken into account. We believe that the United Nations has an important role to play in promoting progress towards these goals.

19. We believe that draft resolution A/34/L.13/Rev.1 sponsored by the States of the Association South-East Asian Nations [ASEAN] and by a number of other nations meets the criteria. Its adoption would advance our common purpose by imparting an unambiguous message to Viet Nam and its supporters: that military aggression and intervention are unacceptable. Above all, its implementation would allow the United Nations to play an even more active role in the relief effort and, through the Secretary-General's good offices, to begin to move towards the peaceful settlement of the Kampuchean situation. We urge its adoption and its implementation.

20. We have noted other specific proposals involving the convening of an international conference on Kampuchea. We are in principle prepared to give such a suggestion careful consideration. At a certain state, it may be that a carefully prepared and broadly based conference could contribute to a political solution. With the

humanitarian needs of the Khmer people unmet, with aggressive military occupation still in progress and with no agreement by Viet Nam and its supporters on the application of Charter principles, we do not believe that we have reached that stage.

21. Finally, let me say a word about the broader threat to peace that the situation in Kampuchea represents. For over a year my Government and others have warned of the consequences of Viet Nam's actions in Kampuchea. In the Security Council and in public statements we have pointed out the considerable danger of wider conflict in the region and internationally as well. The relevance of our concerns was demonstrated by the Chinese retaliation against Viet Nam early in the year, which we opposed. Viet Nam's continuing attempt to dominate Kampuchea by military means and its indifference to the weight of international opinion can only heighten these concerns, increase tensions and promote further instability. We call upon each Member of this Organization to use whatever means of influence it commands to reverse this situation so that peace and stability can be brought to South-East Asia. No more urgent or important task faces the United Nations today.

22. Mr. JAROSZEK (Poland): The Polish delegation has asked to be allowed to speak at this stage to express its solidarity with the Kampuchean people and to reiterate Poland's full support for that country's authentic and legal Government, represented by the People's Revolutionary Council and headed by its Chairman, Heng Samrin. Poland is linked by sincere friendship with the people of Kampuchea and is particularly devoted to the cause of peace and stabilization in Indo-China, as indeed in all of South-East Asia. We have given practical expression of that commitment in the course of our long-standing participation in the International Control Commissions in the States of Indo-China, including Kampuchea; we continue our involvement by developing all-round relations of co-operation with all the countries in the region.

23. Our position has always proceeded from the principle of respect for the sovereign rights of nations to decide their destinies and choose the form of social system and government that suits them best. That is why, we so resolutely supported the heroic struggle of the three nations of Indo-China against colonialism and imperialist aggression, against foreign expansionism and hegemonism, a struggle for their sovereign right to independence and self-determination. The peoples of Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea, linked as they have been by their common history and struggle for national liberation, have a devoted and well-tested friend in the people of Poland.

24. True to the principles of its foreign policy, my country declares itself in favour of further strengthening peace and stability in South-East Asia on the basis of full respect for the sovereign rights of nations, recognition of the existing political realities and non-interference in the affairs of the Indo-Chinese States. That last principle also applies to the General Assembly of the United Nations. Hence, the inclusion in the agenda of the current session of an item entitled "The situation in Kampuchea" should be treated solely as a demonstration of readiness on the part of the international community to give support to the people of Kampuchea at a difficult period of its recovery from the bloody and genocidal rule of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique.

25. We most vigorously oppose any attempts to meddle in the internal affairs of Kampuchea, as contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations and as violating the supreme principles of a people's and State's sovereignty. As we have already stated at the Pledging Conference for Emergency Humanitarian Relief to the People of Kampuchea,² under no circumstances can international assistance ever be an instrument of, or a pretext for interference in the affairs of a sovereign State; nor can it be exploited for the sake of political objectives directed against, or infringing the sovereign rights of a State. When the General Assembly is discussing the subject "The situation in Kampuchea", it should first of all decide to invite the participation, and listen to the views of the representatives of the legal authorities of that State, with their seat in the country's capital, Phnom Penh, that is, the representatives of the People's Revolutionary Council.

26. At the beginning of this year, basic changes took place in Kampuchea, changes that are in the interest both of that country and of peace and stabilization in South-East Asia. Entangled as it had become in an armed conflict of its own making with neighbouring Viet Nam, the genocidal régime was overthrown by its own people. The People's Republic of Kampuchea came into being and its People's Revolutionary Council proclaimed a policy aimed at national reconstruction, restoration of democracy, good neighbourly relations, co-operation with all countries irrespective of differences in their socio-political systems: a policy of peace and non-alignment. The internal changes effected in Kampuchea not only conform to the right of the Kampuchean people to self-determination, but also are in accord with the binding principles of the comity of nations, as embodied in the Charter of the United Nations.

27. The genocidal and anti-national régime has been abolished. Between 1975 and 1978 it murdered in cold blood some 3 million of its own people. The Secretary-General of the United Nations made it abundantly clear, in his press briefing of 19 October 1979, that Kampuchea must have "lost up to one half of its entire population." But that information requires some explanation as to what segments of the population were killed and what categories of Kampuchea's citizens had been doomed to extermination. On the basis of such incontestable evidence of the crimes perpetrated by the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique as mass graves, on the basis of the testimony of many witnesses, including that given during the trial before the People's Revolutionary Tribunal in Phnom Penh [A/34/568], and the evidence included in the report prepared by a delegation of the International Association of Democratic Lawyers [A/34/559] it is absolutely certain that the Pol Pot clique, in the first place, sought with premeditation to destroy the most vital forces of the people: the intelligentsia, the educated people, teachers, physicians, engineers, public servants, students, clergymen of all faiths and others. Under Pol Pot, the entire population had been deported from the towns, some being annihilated and some turned into slaves. Cultural institutions, hospitals and schools had been destroyed. Indeed, it is sadly ironical that one of the better-known schools in the country's capital should have been converted into the most cruel of gaols, a place of torture and an execution site. The entire social fabric and economic structure

² *Ibid.*, paras. 30-32.

had been demolished, the country having been pushed back in its development by whole decades.

28. Faced with the cruel balance-sheet of murders and acts of genocide inflicted upon its own people, can one still maintain that the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary régime has anything in common with Kampuchea and its people? Delegations present in this hall, and representing countries which during the Second World War were fortunate enough to be spared the experiences of Hitlerite genocide, might find it difficult to grasp fully the tragedy of the Kampuchean people under the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary rule, including its numerous mechanisms of extermination, from biological to cultural extinction.

29. With its own bitter experiences of the Second World War and a gigantic network of monuments to martyrdom on its soil, the most conspicuous of which is Oświęcim-Auschwitz—a fact worth recalling on the fortieth anniversary of the outbreak of the Second World War—the people of Poland can properly assess the sufferings which the torturers of Pol Pot and Ieng Sary inflicted on the Kampuchean people. They had nothing in common with their own people; they were a criminal gang formed by outside forces, in keeping with the hegemonistic ideology, quite possibly in the image of another gang in a certain big Power, so well known in international parlance as the “Gang of Four”.

30. After all, it is hardly a secret that the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique could have survived only thanks to the political and military assistance provided by that big Power, advisers and instructors from which were, *inter alia*, in charge of the extermination of the people of Kampuchea. Owing to those advisers, the Pol Pot régime confined its co-operation to that big Power, having separated itself from the rest of the world with a barrier of self-isolation. Access to Phnom Penh was possible only through an airline from Peking. [Beijing]. Ironically enough, representatives of the discredited clique were not brought to the United Nations until this year, following the revolutionary transformations in Kampuchea and the establishment of the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

31. Parallel to the genocide in its internal policies, in external affairs the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary régime embarked on the road of provocation and conflict vis-à-vis the neighbouring countries, first and foremost with regard to Viet Nam, although it did not spare Thailand either. By launching an armed aggression against Viet Nam, the Pol Pot régime was pursuing foreign objectives and determined to destroy the traditions of combat solidarity, friendship and mutual assistance linking the Vietnamese and Kampuchean peoples and intent on provoking international tensions on a broader scale. That is why the overthrow of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary régime has not only saved the people of Kampuchea from total annihilation, but has also helped to avert a serious international conflict in South-East Asia.

32. The legacy of the bloody Pol Pot-Ieng Sary dictatorship is appalling. Kampuchea is in real need of genuine humanitarian assistance from the outside. Next to its devastated economy, the lack of qualified personnel poses the most difficult problem. Only a few educated people survived, largely because they managed to pose as illiterates. It was an unspeakable and unprecedented act of perfidy on the part of the Ieng Sary to have appealed in 1975 to Khmers living abroad to return to their

home country and help with its reconstruction. More than 1,000 naive people let themselves be misled by that appeal, among them former political activists, diplomats and students. Having given credence to what the appeal said, they arrived via Peking in Kampuchea only to find themselves in a deadly trap. Less than 10 per cent of the 1,000 survived. The list of about 3 million victims includes the most precious human fabric of the nation. That loss can be neither measured nor counted. For many years to come their absence will create a painfully experienced vacuum. On account of its population structure, the Kampuchea of today is above all a land of orphans and widows. It is precisely the children, those orphaned, homeless and crippled creatures, who are suffering the most from the prolonged effects of dreadful mental shocks and injuries. It is they, in particular, who were taught to hate their parents and who were forced to watch their next of kin being tortured and murdered. Child care is one of the most important problems now facing Kampuchea's revolutionary authorities in the task of reconstruction and national renewal. That is also why, unlike any other country, Kampuchea today needs both heartfelt compassion and sympathetic assistance from the international community, given in strict respect for its sovereign rights and free of any actions likely to block or render difficult the advancing process of stabilization and national renewal. It was in such a spirit that we participated in the Pledging Conference last week. Time will confirm the utility of the Conference only if its follow-up is fully consonant with the aforementioned principles.

33. The Polish People's Republic maintains normal diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of Kampuchea. The Polish Embassy in Phnom Penh, the capital of Kampuchea, has been functioning now for the last several months. The movement of persons between Kampuchea and Poland is normal. Polish journalists, film producers and television crews have lately often visited Kampuchea. Hence the Polish delegation is in a position today to declare in this United Nations forum that the overthrow of the genocidal Pol Pot-Ieng Sary régime has revived the faith of that harassed nation in its strength, its opportunities and a better future.

34. The People's Revolutionary Council, led by Chairman Heng Samrin, exercises sovereign and effective authority and is pursuing a fruitful policy of normalization of the situation and reconstruction of the country. The balance-sheet of the last 10 months of the existence of the People's Republic of Kampuchea is indeed visible and positive. The revolutionary administration has been engaged in distributing food and other much needed goods, in organizing orphanages and schools and in setting in motion work enterprises. There is progress in the resettlement of towns. Smiles have reappeared on the faces of the children. Roads all over the country are filled with people who are either returning to their homes or searching for their closest relatives.

35. The achievements and tasks of the People's Republic of Kampuchea to date have been discussed in greater detail in Chairman Heng Samrin's report, circulated as document A/34/560 of 10 October 1979, and in the report contained in document A/34/602 of 19 October 1979.

36. In the light of the facts that I have just presented, my delegation cannot but deeply deplore the Assembly's

decision to recognize the credentials of the delegation of the non-existent Pol Pot-Ieng Sary régime, which has been overthrown by its own people and whose leading officials have been sentenced to death by the Revolutionary Tribunal, mainly for the crime of genocide. It is likewise totally incomprehensible why certain delegations, which only two years ago in this very building castigated the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary régime for mass violations of human rights—and some of them still do so today—voted at the same time for recognition of that régime's delegation at the present session and continued to insist on recognition for that régime which is responsible for the genocide in Kampuchea. Where is the logic of those delegations in verbally portraying themselves as defenders of human rights while in deeds supporting the most vicious criminals of the day who are guilty of mass genocide? Those same delegations often refer to the famine in Kampuchea and to the exodus of refugees. At the same time, however, they tend to forget that all this misery has been brought about by the very same genocidal Pol Pot-Ieng Sary régime and its hegemonistic masters who are still rendering support to remnants of the régime's gang.

37. There can be only one answer to those queries. The support given to Pol Pot's representatives, the inclusion of the item "The situation in Kampuchea" in the agenda of this session and the statements made by a number of delegations merely reaffirm that there is a desire to wreak vengeance for the progressive social transformations in the countries of Indo-China, which won a grand victory over the forces of colonialism and imperialism and have established an effective barrier against expansion and hegemonism.

38. The interests of peace, economic development and properly conceived human rights call for the establishment of good neighbourly co-operation between all the countries of South-East Asia, for the interests of the nations in that region lie not in confrontation but in mutually advantageous co-operation and good relations based on recognition of the political realities and respect for the sovereign rights of one's partners, including the right to conclude agreements of mutual assistance and co-operation between States, like the one concluded between the People's Republic of Kampuchea and the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam,³ on the basis of which Vietnamese forces are temporarily assisting Kampuchea in the defence of its independence and security. Conditions for the development of such relations have emerged precisely with the proclamation of the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

39. The non-recognition by certain States of the new realities in Kampuchea cannot and will not change the situation. It tends only to create an artificial problem, thereby playing into the hands of forces interested in exacerbating international relations and maintaining tensions.

40. Poland, which maintains good relations with all the countries of South-East Asia, is vitally interested in a durable peace and stabilization in that region.

41. For all the foregoing reasons, Poland supports draft resolution A/34/L.7/Rev.1, as it is also in keeping

with its consistent position and its stand, which is not governed by expediency, on the question we are now discussing.

42. On the other hand, guided precisely by the same considerations of principle, we resolutely oppose draft resolution A/34/L.13/Rev.1, which is based on false and tendentious premises, and is biased and harmful to the cause of stabilization and peace in South-East Asia.

43. As far as concerns draft resolution A/34/L.38, which was introduced at the preceding meeting by the representative of India, we are giving it careful consideration. We reserve our right to comment on it at a later stage.

44. Mr. FLORIN (German Democratic Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): My delegation does not intend to conceal the fact that the consideration by the General Assembly of such an agenda item as the one being discussed at the present time does give rise to certain doubts. My delegation believes that the discussion of this subject entails the risk of having an unfavourable effect on the United Nations and its authority. One cannot fail to observe that a discussion like this verges on a violation of a principle of international relations enshrined in the United Nations Charter: the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of one of the States Members of the United Nations.

45. If one looks at draft resolution A/34/L.13/Rev.1, these misgivings grow. Reference is made here to an armed conflict inside Kampuchea, not to a military conflict between States in relation to which, no doubt, the United Nations Charter could reasonably be applied. All the parties to the conflict are called upon to cease military activities, regardless of the fact that the legitimate Government in Kampuchea exercises control over the whole country and has to fight against armed gangs which receive support from outside. This draft resolution embodies an attempt to instruct the people of Kampuchea in which way they should exercise their right to self-determination.

46. Kampuchea is not being treated as a sovereign Member of our Organization, but, rather, as if it were a colony. Draft resolution A/34/L.13/Rev.1 is in practice aiming at compelling the Secretary-General of the United Nations to intervene in the internal affairs of the Kampuchean people. My delegation regards the demand for us to deal with the internal situation in Kampuchea once again at the thirty-fifth session as a violation of the United Nations Charter. Furthermore, we should like with the utmost earnestness to direct your attention to the fact that it is inadmissible to discuss questions relating to a given State without giving the legitimate representative of that State an opportunity to participate in the debate. Therefore, the delegation of the German Democratic Republic categorically opposes the draft resolution in both its original and its revised form.

47. The actual state of affairs in Kampuchea has been clearly depicted in the numerous statements of the legitimate Government of the country, the People's Revolutionary Council of the People's Republic of Kampuchea. These statements have also been circulated as documents of the United Nations. In his message to the President of the General Assembly and the Secretary-General, dated 7 September 1979, the

³ 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.

Minister for Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, Mr. Hun Sen, stated:

"The People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea, coming into being during the struggle of the Kampuchean people for their sacred national right to self-determination, is in control of the whole of Kampuchea and is handling all domestic and external affairs of the country. It has every condition to carry out Kampuchea's international commitments and obligations as a Member of the United Nations, as defined in the Charter. In pursuance of the foreign policy of independence, peace, friendship and non-alignment, the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea is making positive contributions to peace and stability in South-East Asia, and is the sole legitimate and authentic representative of the Kampuchean people." [A/34/460, annex.]

Mr. Eralp (Turkey), Vice-President, took the Chair.

48. From the various documents and studies, it is clear that the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique, which usurped power in 1975 with foreign assistance, abused its power and committed the most abominable crimes. As a result of the systematic destruction of whole segments of the population, almost 3 million people—of a total population of 7 million—perished. In the years of tyranny in Kampuchea, not only was the whole political, economic, financial, cultural, spiritual and religious life of the country paralyzed, but also traditional family ties were destroyed. The forcible so-called resettlement of about 2 million inhabitants of Phnom Penh and other major towns in the country led to the death of many thousands of old people, invalids, children, and women, including pregnant women. The herding of people into so-called "communes", which in actual fact were more like concentration camps, in which all, including the children, were forced to do work beyond their powers, led to the physical destruction of a large part of the population. Of the 28,000 people who were driven into the so-called Paroi Lovia commune, in the province of Takeo, it was possible to rescue only 5,000 in January of this year. As is clear from the documents of the trial by the People's Revolutionary Tribunal of the ringleaders—and this is just one of numerous examples—of about 1,000 of those who were engaged in intellectual work and who, during the domination of Pol Pot, returned to Kampuchea from abroad, only 85 survived. All the 2,800 pagodas and churches and also 114 Islamic mosques were destroyed. Irreplaceable spiritual and cultural objects were destroyed, including the Angkor temples, which were a symbol of the Kampuchean culture.

49. The documents from the trial just mentioned which contain hundreds of similar examples, make it clear beyond a doubt that Pol Pot and Ieng Sary were guilty of these extremely grave crimes. The fact that one of those guilty of Ieng Sary's crimes of genocide was given the opportunity to speak from this tribune, is a black page in the history of our Organization, particularly since the condemnation of the crimes revealed was unanimously endorsed, I believe, in this forum.

50. The people of Kampuchea could not resign themselves to the adventurist policy of Pol Pot and Ieng Sary. The uprising of the Kampuchean people—which broke out in 1976, continued almost uninterrupted until the régime was finally overthrown, and ultimately spread to all parts of the country—was an expression of

the constantly growing opposition of the people to their oppressors. The creation of the National United Front for the Salvation of Kampuchea, headed by the genuinely patriotic and democratic forces of the Kampuchean people, and the overthrow of the Pol Pot régime were the logical consequence of that development. The formation of the People's Republic of Kampuchea on 10 January 1979 laid the foundations for the organization, step by step, of the rehabilitation of the country.

51. As a result of the barbaric policy of the former régime and the resulting total destruction of the economy of the country, the Kampuchean people have to undergo innumerable sufferings and still today have to overcome considerable difficulties. The People's Revolutionary Council of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, headed by its Chairman, Heng Samrin, is making every effort to eliminate hunger and poverty and to satisfy the most basic needs of the people of the country.

52. However, the consequences of so many years of systematic destruction of the very foundations of the life of the people by the Pol Pot régime are something that cannot be eliminated in the course of just a few months, particularly since up to the present various forces are still at work attempting to take advantage of the disastrous situation in the country in order to intervene in the internal affairs of the Kampuchean people.

53. We are delighted to be able to state here that under these conditions, it has been possible to ensure the cultivation of rice on more than 500,000 hectares of land, as mentioned in the political report of the second national congress of the National United Front for the Salvation of Kampuchea. More than 40 factories have resumed production, in spite of severe shortages of raw materials and energy. Twenty-five hospitals and more than 100 medical centres have been opened. Railway operations have been resumed in various parts of the railway system. These initial successes have been possible thanks to the international solidarity manifested to the people of Kampuchea. For example, the socialist countries, particularly the Soviet Union and Viet Nam, have supplied Kampuchea with more than 200,000 tons of food.

54. Among the States that have been giving selfless assistance to the Kampuchean people is the German Democratic Republic. Cargoes of material assistance from the German Democratic Republic began as early as 21 March this year to be air-lifted into the capital of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, Phnom Penh. On the basis of bilateral agreements between my country and the People's Republic of Kampuchea, the German Democratic Republic is supplying the most necessary materials. My country is also doing its best to help the Kampuchean people to achieve a stable level of production through the development of their own national economy. We are convinced that the Kampuchean people will solve its own problems and will itself build its own future.

55. The national armed forces and the alliance with the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam are successfully protecting the peaceful constructive labour of the Kampuchean people against foreign intervention. The assistance of Viet Nam in the struggle for a new Kampuchea was primarily a humanitarian matter. It rescued

the Kampuchean people from total destruction. The presence of Vietnamese troops in Kampuchea, which in view of the constant threat from outside is still necessary today, is based upon the Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Co-operation between Kampuchea and Viet Nam signed in February this year [A/34/94-S/13101, *annex*] and relating exclusively to the bilateral relations between those two States.

56. The international community has taken note of the solemn assurance contained in the joint declaration of Viet Nam and Kampuchea, dated 25 August this year, that detachments of the Vietnamese army would return to Viet Nam

"...when the Peking expansionists and the imperialist and reactionary forces cease threatening Kampuchea's independence and territorial integrity and the peaceful life there..." [A/34/446-S/13522, *annex*, p. 5].

57. Peace and security in South-East Asia are not threatened by the internal situation in Kampuchea. The danger derives from those who, since 1975, have been using Kampuchea as an experimental field for their hegemonistic designs and have been urging the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique to undertake adventurist aggression against the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam that, by means of military aggression from the south and the north, the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam may be caught by a pincer movement and made the victim of far-reaching great-Power ambitions. As representatives know, pursuit of this aim led to outright aggression against the Vietnamese people, which, after a 10-year defensive struggle against foreign occupiers and major natural disasters, is striving towards the achievement of nothing but peace, security and the restoration of normal conditions of life in the country.

58. Peace and security in South-East Asia are threatened, not by current developments in Kampuchea, which are irreversible and cannot be turned back since it is the Kampuchean people that are responsible for them, but by the policy which supports the remnants of the Pol Pot régime and equips the latter with weapons with which to continue the struggle against the legitimate Government of Kampuchea which has been recognized by more than 30 Governments.

59. Those who wish to teach a lesson to other peoples and, what is worse, actually boast about such a policy, are playing a dangerous game. All those who are inclined to supply those forces with modern military technology and armaments should be aware that they will ultimately bear responsibility for all the consequences of such an act. In this regard I should like to draw the Assembly's attention to an extremely illuminating document, A/34/648-S/13606.

60. The foreign policy proclaimed by the People's Republic of Kampuchea is one of independence, peace, non-alignment and good-neighbourly relations with all the States of the area. As far as the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam is concerned, its representative to the United Nations, Comrade Ha Van Lau, at the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly [62nd meeting] most convincingly confirmed those same goals. I wish particularly to welcome the constructive will that has been expressed to create a zone of peace, freedom, neutrality and stability in South-East Asia. The delegation of the

German Democratic Republic is in favour of draft resolution A/34/L.7/Rev.1, which contains the following ideas: any problem concerning Kampuchea and other South-East Asian countries should be settled by those countries themselves, without foreign interference, on the basis of the principles of respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of each country, rejection of aggression and interference in the internal affairs of States as well as on the basis of mutual benefit.

61. The thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly would be rendering a major service to the cause of peace and security in South-East Asia were it to oppose any attempts to increase tension and to support efforts designed to prevail upon the South-East Asian States to come to agreements with each other, without foreign interference in their internal affairs.

62. Mrs. RAHMAN (Bangladesh): Bangladesh supported the inscription of this item on our agenda. It has also sponsored draft resolution A/34/L.13/Rev.1, which was so ably introduced yesterday [62nd meeting] by the Permanent Representative of Malaysia. We have done so in our firm conviction that developments in Kampuchea not only have raised crucial questions affecting fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations, but also have been accompanied by colossal humanitarian consequences of an unprecedented nature. The two components of the problem, political and humanitarian, are indivisible.

63. There are occasions in the history of civilization when we are faced with human tragedy so vast that it defies description and so grim that it defeats rhetoric. Such a situation obtains in Kampuchea today. The people of Kampuchea has been the captive of a decade of cruel war, the victim of geo-political strife outside its control and beyond its comprehension, the object of near genocidal fury in the imposition of uncompromising political systems. It is a people that has been inexorably driven to the edge of total deprivation and the irreducible margin of survival.

64. The facts are stark, overwhelming in their intensity, brutal in their consequences. According to objective sources, the best estimates indicate a toll of 2.5 million persons, out of a total of 7 million Kampucheans, killed by execution, disease and malnutrition prior to the events of this year. Countless others have died since. Half the remaining population is now feared to be in peril of extinction from famine in the next six months since less than one sixth of the cultivable land has been planted in time for harvest. Disease is rampant and of epidemic proportions. Hospitals are overflowing. Medicine and drugs, not to mention doctors, are scarce to the point of non-existence. Eighty to 90 per cent of the children are threatened by malnutrition, and the growth of those alive under the age of five is abnormally stunted. The stream of refugees across the borders has now become a flood-tide. Meanwhile, conflict is raging out of control in a man-made disaster of epic proportions. The world community is witnessing the decimation of a nation. Survival is at a premium. It cannot await the niceties and the timing of political convenience. The call for action is paramount.

65. I seize this opportunity to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General and the representatives of the organizations of the United Nations family concerned,

for their vigilance in drawing attention to this grim situation and their continuing endeavours to seek and supervise remedial action. Our gratitude also goes to those Member States that have so generously made commitments to alleviate and avert the immediate consequences of the tragedy, and to those neighbouring countries that have given refuge and respite to the displaced, at great cost to themselves. As the Secretary-General has pointed out, despite these generous actions, time can defeat the purpose. Logistic, administrative and entrenched political constraints must be overcome, and the co-operation of all parties in the conflict is essential in order to facilitate these immediate humanitarian relief efforts.

66. While it is humanitarian consideration above all that deserves the immediate attention of the world community in the tragedy of Kampuchea, this can in no way downgrade the importance of the political settlement of the problem and the imperative need to pursue all avenues to achieve this end.

67. Bangladesh believes that certain truths are self-evident. For almost a year the international community has been closely studying the evolving political and military situation, which has been aptly categorized "cyclical", where violence begets violence. It is a situation that has led inevitably to a vicious circle of action, reaction and counter reaction in South-East Asia, with the potential of eventually drawing into the vortex of turmoil and war all the countries of the region and of the world. It is also recognized that this situation not only has its roots in the events of the past year but is the consequence of internal, regional and geo-political strife spanning decades. It is now undeniable that this situation threatens peace and stability in South-East Asia and beyond. It is therefore vital that the international community call urgently for and facilitate the process of adjustment and co-operation among all parties in the search for a lasting and permanent peace.

68. The first priority is to find a settlement in conformity with the principles of the United Nations Charter, in particular, respect for the territorial integrity and political independence of all States, non-interference in the internal affairs of States, the non-use of force or of threat of use of force and the peaceful settlement of disputes. The immediate necessity is to put an end to all hostilities and all military operations in the entire region, with genuine respect for the political independence of all States involved; the withdrawal of all foreign forces from the territories of other States; and the exercise of maximum restraint by all parties as regards any action that could increase tension or further widen the conflict.

69. We believe that the heart of the matter, the key to the solution of this problem, lies in enabling the people of Kampuchea to decide their own future and destiny and to choose their own Government democratically and free from outside interference of any kind whatsoever, while at the same time scrupulously respecting the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of Kampuchea.

70. This is the thrust of the draft resolution that we have sponsored. It is comprehensive, encompassing the need for both immediate humanitarian and long-term political remedies. It is non-discriminatory, eschews

condemnation of any party and is constructive and forward-looking. We believe that it is practical—a first essential step towards the durable peace which is the responsibility not only of countries in the immediate vicinity and of the great Powers directly involved, but also of the world community in general, in accordance with the obligations under the Charter. It is also for these reasons that Bangladesh believes that draft resolution A/34/L.13/Rev.1 deserves priority consideration.

71. Mr. ABDEL MEGUID (Egypt) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The Arab Republic of Egypt has been following with considerable concern the deterioration of the situation in Kampuchea and the sufferings of its people, which are the result of the intervention of a foreign Power in an attempt to impose a certain régime on the people of that country, which has suffered for so many years from many destructive wars. Without that intervention, this people could have enjoyed a true peace which would have enabled it to reconstruct, in tranquillity and security, all that had been destroyed during many bloody conflicts in South-East Asia.

72. The developments that followed this intervention in the internal affairs of Kampuchea have led to a deplorable situation within Kampuchea and in neighbouring countries. In its own country, the Kampuchean people has undergone unprecedented hardships and is suffering from a famine which is threatening to destroy it. The continuing mass exodus of Kampucheans to neighbouring countries is causing the latter serious problems. The possibility that the present conflict may extend to those countries is a serious threat to peace and stability in South-East Asia. Current activities of foreign interference in Kampuchea represent a grave violation of paragraph 4 of Article 2 of the United Nations Charter according to which States Members of the United Nations undertake to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State.

73. Furthermore, such activities contradict the commitment of States to respect the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of other countries, as stipulated in the Charter of the United Nations and in the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations [resolution 2625 (XXV), annex].

74. Egypt believes firmly in the principles of the United Nations Charter and the right of peoples to determine their own future without outside interference. We have always rejected acts of aggression against the sovereignty and territorial integrity of any State, as well as any attempt to impose ideologies on other States. We call for the total withdrawal of all foreign troops from Kampuchea so that its people may exercise its legitimate right to self-determination in complete freedom from foreign interference, on the basis of respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of that country. This, in our view, is the only way of saving the friendly people of Kampuchea from annihilation and preventing the present conflict from spreading to neighbouring countries, so that that region of the world may enjoy peace and security, and stability. In conclusion, I must not fail to thank the Secretary-General of the United Nations for his initiative in holding the Pledging Conference for Emergency Humanitarian Relief to the Peo-

ple of Kampuchea as well as the States that have promised contributions to that country. We support draft resolution A/34/L.13/Rev.1 on the situation in Kampuchea submitted by the States members of ASEAN and various other States.

75. Mr. KAMANDA wa KAMANDA (Zaire) (*interpretation from French*): The question before us is not whether the Pol Pot régime is guilty of genocide and is in fact a régime of assassins, or whether the régime of Heng Samrin is made up of little angels come down from heaven on a mission to save or redeem the human race.

76. Those who tackle this problem cunningly from that point of view are deliberately departing from the spirit and the letter of agenda item 123 under discussion, both in their statements and in the draft resolutions they have submitted.

77. In the view of the delegation of Zaire, the question posed is that of the flagrant violation of the principles of non-interference in the internal and external affairs of States, of non-recourse to force—especially armed military intervention in the settlement of disputes among States—and of the right to self-determination of the Kampuchean people. That violation is at the root of the untold suffering, the horrors of every kind and the forced exodus of populations that the international community condemns; that violation is the cause of the aggravation of tension in that region and of the continuance of the threat to peace and international security.

78. We long to be spared these long tirades on human rights in Kampuchea. Human rights are also violated in South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe; vicious murders and genocide have been practised there for very many years in the name of State interests or policy.

79. How is it that this situation does not move to an equal degree the lion-hearted knights, protectors of peoples and universal avengers? Why do they not storm the racist minority régimes of southern Africa? Why do they not brandish the sword of the avenger over the citadel of *apartheid*?

80. Are human lives and human rights of less value in southern Africa than elsewhere? Is it more acceptable morally to deprive a person of food, so that he will die a slow death, than to cut off his head or kill him by the sword? Are human rights and social rights incompatible? We believe that there are many ways of violating human rights and we in the southern hemisphere know how our rights are violated and how we are constantly subjected to violence.

81. What lies, what hypocrisy, what vile designs in the name of human rights! It is a tragi-comedy which dishonours our era. On repeated occasions, the Republic of Zaire has stated that it approaches this problem of Kampuchea from the angle of principle, and principle alone.

82. In our consideration of this question, we must always bear in mind the provisions of the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, as well as those of the Charter itself relating to non-interference in the

internal and external affairs of States, to non-recourse to force or armed intervention in the settlement of disputes between States. We must also be mindful of the inadmissibility of the policy of hegemonism in international relations, a principle that is beginning to be recognized today by all the States of the world.

83. We consider that the recognition of a State, a Government or a régime is an individual act of sovereignty and we therefore refuse to associate ourselves with subtle attempts to make us recognize a Government or régime through a decision or resolution of the General Assembly.

84. The support of a people for its Government, a Government's legitimacy—which is the affair of its people—the effective exercise of power or control over territory, are among the criteria which each Government individually must be allowed to take into consideration when granting or refusing in its sovereignty, its recognition to another Government.

85. Certainly, we also favour the defence and protection of human rights; this stems from our profound respect for human beings. However, we categorically refuse to accept that certain States, because they are powerful, should take advantage of the question of human rights to arrogate to themselves the right to take unilateral measures against other States or to censure them.

86. It is regrettable that the question of human rights should be used more and more often for political propaganda in the service of hegemonistic, mean and selfish interests and Machiavellian designs for destabilization in the world. There are many States within these walls—and we are among them—which did not contribute to the overthrow of the legal régime in Cambodia for the benefit of another. There are many States in this hall—and we are among them—which did not contribute to putting the Pol Pot régime in power. There are States in this hall which would not even think of overthrowing or contributing to the overthrow of the Pol Pot régime in favour of another for the mere reason that they do not concur in the political views, or the policies, of that régime.

87. It is time for those of us who engage in this type of activity to understand that they are placing immense difficulties in the way of international co-operation and peaceful coexistence between differing social régimes.

88. When the shameful acts of destabilization they commit finally bring results contrary to those they expected, today's international destabilizers tend more and more to make the international community share responsibility for the dangers resulting from their acts. We do not accept this, because we consider ourselves free men.

89. In our humble view, this is the heart of the problem, and it relates to the behaviour of the great Powers, both of the East and of the West. The international community must adopt all the necessary normative and other measures to protect the small States, the weaker States, against the stronger States if we want to help to create a climate of peace, international security and co-operation.

90. The delegation of Zaire is happy to note, incidentally, that the large majority of States in the world shares this view, as was eloquently demonstrated by the decision of the General Assembly at its thirty-fourth session [4th meeting] on the representation of Democratic Kampuchea.

91. The delegation of Zaire, a sponsor of draft resolution A/34/L.13/Rev.1 associates itself with the state-

ment made by the representative of Malaysia in introducing that draft. We consider that that draft resolution fully covers all aspects of the problem, meets all concerns and advocates useful measures which every objective person of good faith will be I am sure, in duty bound to support.

The meeting rose at 12.10 p.m.