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

## AGENDA ITEM 123

The situation in Kampuchea (*continued*)

1. Sir Anthony PARSONS (United Kingdom): The situation in Kampuchea is one of the most terrible with which the world has been faced for many years. An entire people is threatened by the famine and disease which ravage its country. And not only by famine and disease: Kampuchea is still ravaged by the fighting which continues between the Vietnamese invasion army and various Kampuchean armed groups.

2. The United Kingdom Government was among the first to draw attention to the sickening brutality of the Pol Pot régime towards the people of Kampuchea. We tried, with other like-minded countries, to persuade the international community to do something about it. It is interesting that some delegations which now belatedly criticize the deplorable human-rights record of the Pol Pot régime were among its staunchest defenders when we raised the matter in the Commission on Human Rights last year. At that time, the British Parliament and people, indignant and horrified at the news of the ghastly acts perpetrated under Pol Pot's reign of terror, were urging the Commission on Human Rights to undertake an investigation.<sup>1</sup> But it was said that the matter was being raised purely for political ends and that the reports provided by my delegation and others were unreliable. The curious proposition was advanced that Governments were responsible for what happened in their countries and the Commission should apply to them for information; it should not take on itself the role of international policeman. But we all know that tyrannical Governments do not constitute the most reliable sources of information on their own evil deeds. As my Minister of State, Mr. Neil Marten, pointed out at the Pledging Conference for Emergency Humanitarian Relief to the People of Kampuchea last week: "Had the United Nations been permitted to act more decisively at the time, many thousands of lives might have been saved."<sup>2</sup>

3. We now all know the sequel. A few months later, Kampuchea was invaded by Viet Nam, another country whose human-rights record is deplorable and whose tyranny has driven hundreds of thousands of its own citizens to risk perilous journeys in unseaworthy craft to escape from it. Great numbers of them died in the attempt. The Vietnamese invasion of Kampuchea was in total contravention of the United Nations Charter. But a virtually unanimous resolution, submitted by the non-aligned countries to the Security Council,<sup>3</sup> calling for an immediate cease-fire and a withdrawal of foreign forces from Kampuchea, was defeated by the negative vote of a permanent member. We know that a so-called régime in Phnom Penh has been installed by foreign arms and is controlled by the invading Power; we know that the local population has been given no opportunity to establish a government of its own choice. We know the way in which the Vietnamese Government and the Heng Samrin régime have tied themselves into knots over the question of the famine which is devastating Kampuchea. Delegates, reading through the mass of documentation circulated to the General Assembly at the request of the Ambassador of Viet Nam, will have noticed the contradictions: how on 28 September Heng Samrin said that the result of Pol Pot's rule "was a famine in all parts of Kampuchea which now threatens more than 4 million persons", and, five days later, his SPK Information Agency said in Phnom Penh that

"Statements about 'a terrible famine', which is 'threatening the lives of millions of people', are actually part of the manoeuvres conducted by the Peking [Beijing] expansionists, the American imperialists and international reactionaries against the Kampuchean people."

In the light of the grave concern expressed by so many of us at the Pledging Conference last week, one might ask what sort of leaders, surrounded by the wreck of their country and conscious of the desperate needs of their people, could bring themselves to say this sort of thing.

4. My delegation has studied the two draft resolutions before us with great care. We endorse the draft in document A/34/L.13/Rev.1, proposed by the five countries of the Association of South-East Asian Nations [ASEAN] and 22 other States, and will vote in its favour. I will not comment in detail on individual paragraphs, since this task has already been ably performed by the representative of Malaysia, when he introduced the draft resolution yesterday [62nd meeting]. My Government believes that it sets out in logical sequence the various steps which need to be taken to restore to the people of Kampuchea the conditions of peace, economic viability and political independence which they once enjoyed. We believe that, if this draft

<sup>1</sup> See *Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, 1978, Supplement No. 4*, paras. 213-215.

<sup>2</sup> See document SG/CONF.1/SR.1, para. 32.

<sup>3</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fourth Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1979*, document S/13027.

resolution were implemented, it would help to heal the dreadful injuries which they have suffered. It would bring immediate humanitarian succour and economic aid, put an end to the fighting and to foreign occupation and bring back into existence a sovereign and independent Kampuchea under a Government of its people's choice.

5. I would now like to say a few words about the draft resolution in document A/34/L.7/Rev.1. It is not so much what this resolution contains, but rather what it leaves out. Speaker after speaker, both in the present debate and on earlier occasions, including last week's Pledging Conference, has referred with horror and compassion to the famine conditions in Kampuchea. We have also all had the opportunity to study recent reports prepared by UNICEF and the International Committee of the Red Cross, based on first-hand observation, which set out Kampuchea's extensive and urgent needs for food, medical care and economic aid. And yet draft resolution A/34/L.7/Rev.1, in contrast to draft resolution A/34/L.13/Rev.1, does not even refer to these conditions, let alone call for action to bring relief to the long-suffering people of Kampuchea. Draft resolution A/34/L.7/Rev.1 also mentions neither the military invasion of Kampuchea nor its continued occupation by the invader. It ignores the fact that a major military campaign is at present taking place, and does not call for the cessation of hostilities—surely one of the first steps that must be taken if an effective relief programme is to be mounted. Nor, of course, does it call for the withdrawal of the foreign invading troops. These glaring omissions, in the view of my delegation, make draft resolution A/34/L.7/Rev.1 totally unacceptable, and we shall vote against it.

6. My delegation will support draft resolution A/34/L.13/Rev.1. It sets out a number of practical steps which, if adopted, will bring immediate aid to a Member State in desperate need. These steps will also help to establish political conditions in which Kampuchians can live in peace under a government of their own choice and free from external threat or interference. A solution on the lines proposed in draft resolution A/34/L.13/Rev.1 would, we believe, be in the interest not only of Kampuchea, but also of all the people in the region for, as long as there is no political settlement in Kampuchea, stability and peace in Asia will, I fear, remain a mirage. My delegation, therefore, hopes that draft resolution A/34/L.13/Rev.1 will receive overwhelming support.

7. Draft resolution A/34/L.7/Rev.1, on the other hand, is wholly negative. It offers the people of Kampuchea neither practical help nor political prospects. Its devious purpose would appear to be to sabotage any attempt by the international community to take effective action in support of Kampuchea, a small Member State which has been invaded by a powerful neighbour in violation of Article 2, paragraph 4, of the Charter. It is imperative for all of us to uphold the principle of the inadmissibility of the threat or the use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State; otherwise aggressors will take comfort, and peace in South-East Asia and beyond will be at risk. It is clear, therefore, that draft resolution A/34/L.13/Rev.1, which seeks to restore Cambodian territorial integrity and political independence, should be supported, and that draft resolution A/34/L.7/Rev.1, which attempts to whitewash aggression, should be opposed.

8. Mr. SOURINHO (Lao People's Democratic Republic) (*interpretation from French*): Before going into the subject before us, the delegation of the Lao People's Democratic Republic would like to express its great regret, not to say indignation, over the absence of the legal and authentic representative of Kampuchea from the present debate of the General Assembly on agenda item 123, entitled "The situation in Kampuchea". This anomalous situation, which implies a grave challenge to one of the cardinal principles of the Charter—the principle of non-interference in the domestic affairs of States—and also a challenge to the ideals of democracy that have always guided the debates of the General Assembly, should not and cannot constitute any sort of precedent in the future work of our Organization.

9. However, with the open and democratic spirit it has always shown, the delegation of the Lao People's Democratic Republic has decided to participate actively in this debate in the hope that we shall be able, with regard to the situation in Kampuchea, to contribute some clarifying elements to international public opinion, and particularly to representatives of peoples and countries that, like the valiant people of Kampuchea, have suffered in the course of their history the dire and pernicious consequences of colonial subjection and of the tyranny of their leaders.

10. In fact, immediately after their great and historic victory over the United States imperialists and their Lon Nol lackeys on 17 April 1975, following a long and ferocious struggle, the heroic people of Kampuchea, instead of being allowed to enjoy their dearly-won peace, freedom and independence, were made to experience one of the most tragic of fates through the treason of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique that usurped power in Phnom Penh.

11. Having embraced heart and soul the ideology and leadership of Beijing [*Peking*], the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique, in order to build a new society in Kampuchea, undertook to repeat the sadly celebrated experiment of the Chinese cultural revolution and in the space of less than four years turned Kampuchea into a vast concentration and forced-labour camp and the Kampuchean people into a martyred people such as history had never before known, save in the case of Hitler's Germany.

12. The sinister originality of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique of which the world must learn, however, is—as was pointed out by Mr. Mahomed Hikmet Turkmanie, a barrister at the Court of Appeal of Damascus, Syria, in his pleading on behalf of the party in the civil action before the People's Revolutionary Tribunal sitting in Phnom Penh last August to judge the crime of genocide committed by the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique—the fact that this murderous band committed monstrous crimes in time of peace; it cannot, therefore, even invoke the exigencies of war. Moreover, according to Mr. Turkmanie's statement, the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary criminals:

"... attacked not only foreign victims such as ethnic and religious minorities, but also their own compatriots, who were the main target of their criminal enterprises, and their own country by destroying the economic, financial, social and cultural structures.

...

"Their whole policy is based on the violation of all the fundamental rights and freedoms proclaimed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights up to and including the right of every human being to life.

"Among the revolting crimes against fundamental freedoms which the accused perpetrated, mention should be made of the elimination of religions in general and the complete liquidation of the Islamic religion in Kampuchea by the systematic extermination of Muslims—men, women and children; only those who managed to conceal their adherence to Islam have survived." [See A/34/559, annex II, pp. 15-16.]

13. Every fact and all the testimony prove that Pol Pot and Ieng Sary had long premeditated their crimes and that they executed them methodically, according to a well-established plan. And this sombre plan, as reflected in official documents of the Chinese lackeys Pol Pot-Ieng Sary that were seized by the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea and submitted to the People's Revolutionary Tribunal of Kampuchea during the Phnom Penh trial, had two principal objectives: first, to achieve, in line with the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary theories, an egalitarian communal society, with neither rich nor poor, based on a return to the land and, secondly, to conquer and maintain power, for Pol Pot and Ieng Sary, by physically eliminating all military personnel and officials of the former régime, all intellectuals, all opponents and those suspected of being opponents.

14. The execution of this abject plan, which began immediately after the taking of Phnom Penh on 17 April 1975, led to the forced eviction of all of the capital's inhabitants to the countryside, a population that was at the time, according to trustworthy information, nearly 2 million—as well as of all the inhabitants of other towns. This eviction was carried out with unheard of brutality and cruelty, causing the deaths of several thousands: women, children, old people and the sick. The photographs of the endless human columns marching under the strong sun into the unknown, which were taken by eyewitnesses of the unfortunate event and appeared in foreign newspapers and magazines all over the world, have given a measure of the truly tragic nature at the start of the "human conditions" to which, for approximately four years, the people of Kampuchea have been subjected. Once they arrived in the country, the people were sent to so-called co-operative centres, according to the importance of the centre, and without any other consideration. This inhuman and cruel treatment led to the separation and dispersal throughout the country of many members of the same family—sometimes separating husbands and wives, parents and children and sisters and brothers—without any possibility of communicating with one another, even by letter. In the centres, the population was subjected to a system of veritable forced labour, having to get up at 5 a.m., and not being allowed to go back to bed until 11 p.m., after having spent 12 hours working in the fields and 3 hours being subjected to Maoist theories. This pace of work caused the death of many thousands of people through sheer exhaustion, while several other thousands died from malnutrition or the lack of medical care. Thus, for example, a complaint about the conditions of work and the food would immediately lead to a massacre carried out by the young guards of the centre, usually from 14 to 16 years of age, who used the most

rudimentary methods of destruction, mainly shovels, pickaxes, knives or other sharp instruments; rarely did they use a gun, since each bullet given by their great friend, China, was more valuable to them than a man's life.

15. In the centres each person was very carefully questioned regarding his social origin and his prior activities, in order to be placed in one of the three categories of the population established by the perpetrators of this genocide. The first category consisted of the old population that had lived in the regions under their control before the liberation; the second consisted of the new population that had come from the regions under the administration of the old régime; and the third category comprised the collaborators, in the civilian and military fields, of that administration.

*Mr. Ibrahim (Ethiopia), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

16. The victims of the bloody policy of genocide were, in the first place and without exception, those persons that were members of the third category and their families, secondly the intellectuals and ethnic and religious minorities and, finally, those who opposed or were suspected of opposing the authorities, including the members and cadres of the party, officials and army officers. On the basis of information from reliable sources, testimony and reports from various persons, including criminal agents of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique and the person who was recently their eminent spokesman at a meeting of the Security Council devoted to the question of Kampuchea, and primarily on the basis of figures relating to the number of survivors in the different social, ethnic and religious categories, we have been able to assess, without exaggeration, at approximately 3 million the number of persons that were the victims of the policy of genocide, premeditated and carried out in cold blood by the gang of Pol Pot-Ieng Sary murderers.

17. In addition to this unspeakable crime, by which everyone must be shocked and horrified, the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique has completely dismantled the economic, social and cultural structures of the country; it has destroyed towns, villages, schools, hospitals, pagodas, markets and the currency; it has set up a barter system, thus setting Kampuchea back a thousand years.

18. Because of its unspeakable crimes against the Kampuchean people and because of the genocide it has practised against it, the Pol Pot régime, before it was overthrown and ejected by the people of Kampuchea, was placed beyond the pale by the nations of the world that truly respect civilization and human rights and also by those that often use these concepts as pretexts for interfering in the affairs of others.

19. Indeed, all those who do not suffer from short memories will recall that the abominable crimes and mass violations of all human rights, committed in Kampuchea by the Pol Pot régime, were not too long ago the object of unanimous and vehement condemnation by the West. Today it is very ironic that certain countries, which formerly attacked the régime of Pol Pot, do not feel embarrassed to speak of the legitimacy and legality of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique. We are forced to ask

what possible value can be placed, from the point of view of right and morality, on a legitimacy and a legality, based on genocide and the massive violation of all human rights.

20. It was precisely to save Kampuchea and the Kampuchean people from humiliation and extermination that the National United Front for the Salvation of Kampuchea, which has brought together Kampuchean patriots from all social groups, rose in insurrection all over the country and, on 7 January 1979, overthrew the bloody clique of Pol Pot-Ieng Sary.

21. No impartial person can deny that, since that date, it has been the National United Front for the Salvation of Kampuchea, through its intermediary, the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea, that has administered and controlled the entire country; it has its seat in the capital of the country, Phnom Penh, and enjoys the total support of the population. However, many countries continue to close their eyes to this reality. What more is necessary, according to the terms of international law, for a government to be recognized as legitimate and legal? The intractable apostles of legitimacy and legality should not apply these concepts in a selective and discriminatory manner because that is tantamount to an act of cynical interference in the domestic affairs of Kampuchea. How many Governments are there in the world today that, like the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea, fulfil all the necessary conditions for recognition, particularly the conditions of territorial control and control of the population, yet are still kept outside the United Nations?

22. Experience has shown that the adoption of unrealistic and unreasonable positions has never helped to solve international problems; on the contrary, it further complicates them and makes international relations even more difficult.

23. In the name of justice, law and international morality, the delegation of the Lao People's Democratic Republic appeals to all representatives of States present here, and particularly the representatives of the non-aligned countries and other small countries, to give proof of non-discrimination and realism, because the situation in Kampuchea, despite the perfidious manoeuvres of imperialism in connivance with the expansionist and retrograde forces, is absolutely irreversible.

24. In any case, never will the heroic people of Kampuchea, which just managed to avoid extermination and has suffered incredibly, never will the progressive and peace-loving peoples who respect human rights all over the world, who have profound sympathy for the people of Kampuchea and have supported and helped it to recover its freedom, independence and right to live, never will they allow the genocidal Pol Pot-Ieng Sary gang to regain power and persevere in their criminal actions against Kampuchea and the Kampuchean people.

25. At the present time, when the General Assembly, led into error by the subtle manoeuvres of the international reactionaries acting in union with imperialist and retrograde forces, is debating the situation in Kampuchea—when there is no problem concerning the situation in Kampuchea, except for the dearth resulting

from the consequences of the long and devastating war of aggression and the four years of the tyrannical and destructive power of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique—the people of Kampuchea, with the assistance of the friendly brother States and international organizations, is making great efforts to restore its country and reconstruct its economy and society along the path it has freely chosen.

26. In this connexion, it is appropriate to stress that, under the leadership of the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea, the Kampuchean people, which has just emerged, much weakened, from the horror camps, has managed within a short period of time to achieve substantial progress. It has, in fact, restored popular power throughout the country, established control over the whole territory, wiped out the main remnants of the aggressive forces of Pol Pot, re-established family life, reopened the schools and hospitals and restored cultural and religious activities. On the economic level, agricultural production has been resumed, a certain number of plants and factories have been set in motion again, and the ways and means of communication and transport have been progressively restored.

27. In its international relations, the People's Republic of Kampuchea resolutely applies a policy of independence, peace, friendship and non-alignment. It has put an end to the murderous border war that was unleashed by the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique against Viet Nam, the massacre of the population on the Lao frontier with Kampuchea and all the other bloody and barbaric acts of provocation committed against Viet Nam, Laos and Thailand. With regard to Thailand, I shall simply refer to a White Book published by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Thailand and circulated to all States Members of the United Nations by the Secretariat on 8 March 1977. In that book we discover with profound indignation the irrefutable proof of barbaric massacres of Thai nationals, particularly women and children, by the so-called Democratic Kampuchean armed forces; we also note the destruction by fire of frontier villages in Thailand, and the intensive and repeated violations of Thai sovereignty and territorial integrity.

28. Unlike the sinister defunct régime of Pol Pot, which practised a foreign policy of closing its frontiers so that it could hide its monstrous crimes from the world, the People's Republic of Kampuchea enjoys diplomatic relations with many countries and also the benefits flowing from ever-growing international sympathy and support. Since its birth only nine months ago, the Republic has been recognized by more than 30 countries. We are firmly convinced that all peace-loving and justice-loving peoples and nations, and all those who sincerely work for peace and stability in the Indo-Chinese peninsula, in South-East Asia and in the world, will very soon give their full support to the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea which, in its declaration on foreign policy, has assumed a commitment resolutely to work to achieve those objectives.

29. With regard to the presence of Vietnamese troops in Kampuchea, all evidence shows that this flows from the full exercise of sovereignty on the part of the Kampuchean people. In common with all other peoples of the world that struggle against tyranny and servitude—particularly the peoples of South Africa,

Namibia, Zimbabwe and Palestine, as well as many others whose representatives are sitting in this Assembly—the people of Kampuchea, in order to ensure the survival of its race, which was threatened with extinction by the genocidal policy of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique, had the right to seek outside help and assistance for its just cause. The presence of Vietnamese troops in Kampuchea, pursuant to the Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Co-operation, signed between the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea and the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam on 18 February 1979 [A/34/94-S/13101, annex], is in keeping with the United Nations Charter and the principles of the non-aligned movement, particularly paragraph 119 of its political declaration issued at the Conference held at Lima by its Ministers for Foreign Affairs in August 1975.<sup>4</sup>

30. Therefore, it is absolutely ridiculous that the very States which themselves also have troops abroad and those States which maintain foreign military bases on their own territories should make so much fuss about the presence of Vietnamese troops in Kampuchea. In any case, despite the lies, inventions and slanders, the presence of Vietnamese troops in Kampuchea, at the request of the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea, which is the only legal and authentic Government of Kampuchea, is an entirely internal matter for the people of Kampuchea. No country, no people, no international organization has the right to dictate to the people of Kampuchea how it should ensure the defence of its independence, its freedom and its sovereignty. Nor has anybody the right to tell it to commit suicide.

31. If it is true that it is the duty of all States Members of the United Nations to help safeguard international peace and security, it is no less true that, unless they are willing to openly betray themselves, they have no right to challenge or jeopardize peace and stability where the latter are beginning to emerge.

32. In South-East Asia, and particularly in the Indo-Chinese peninsula, peace and stability are now threatened, not by the presence of Vietnamese troops in Kampuchea but because of the perfidious manoeuvres of the reactionary military leaders in Beijing who, with the connivance of imperialist and retrograde forces, are desperately endeavouring to interfere in the domestic affairs of the Kampuchean people and in those of the other peoples of the Indo-Chinese peninsula in order to achieve their expansionist and hegemonistic goals in that part of the world and subsequently in the whole of South-East Asia.

33. As soon as those forces of evil cease their pernicious activities and, in particular, as soon as they stop supporting the remnants of the Pol Pot forces and those of other tiny groups of reactionaries and stop destroying Kampuchea, and as soon as they put an end to their political and economic exploitation of the misery and suffering of the people of Kampuchea, the question of the presence of Vietnamese troops in Kampuchea will find its own solution.

34. But in the present atmosphere and in the face of the political and military realities prevailing in the Indo-Chinese peninsula, to talk of the withdrawal of the Viet-

namese troops from Kampuchea without saying a word about the real reason for their presence, which is the joint threat of the international reactionaries and the imperialist and reactionary forces, is to practise the policy of the ostrich, which is prejudicial to peace and stability in South-East Asia and throughout the world. After all, the presence of Vietnamese troops in Kampuchea is not a threat to anybody, especially not to Thailand. On this point, last Friday the Prime Minister of Thailand, in a restatement on the question, made to the Thai daily newspaper, *The Nation*—and reported in a dispatch dated 11 November of Agence France Presse—according to which Prime Minister Kriangsak Chamanan excluded the possibility of the invasion of Thailand by Vietnamese troops—revealed the falsity of all the preoccupations of certain representatives of members of ASEAN. That statement, obviously sensible, and emanating from the leader of the country most directly concerned with the question of the presence of Vietnamese troops in Kampuchea, must inspire restraint in all the recalcitrant defenders of peace and stability in South-East Asia.

35. Furthermore, in its memorandum distributed to all Members of the United Nations through the Permanent Mission of Viet Nam to the United Nations [see A/34/671, annex], the Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam stated categorically that Vietnamese troops would never cross the frontiers of Indo-China. That firm assurance should surely dissipate any disquiet.

36. Following a line of moderation and restraint, in the hope above all of preserving the atmosphere of peace and co-operation which had been established among all the countries of South-East Asia following the magnificent victories of the three peoples of Indo-China, I have the honour to present, on behalf of its sponsors, draft resolution A/34/L.7/Rev.1.

37. This draft resolution is an expression of the concern of the sponsors to contribute to the maintenance of peace and stability not only in Kampuchea, but in South-East Asia as a whole. There is no need to prove that the situation in Kampuchea in recent years is very closely linked with that in South-East Asia, and it is difficult, if not impossible, to make an exact assessment of the situation in Kampuchea without taking account of the larger regional context.

38. The aim of draft resolution A/34/L.7/Rev.1 is to respond to two main concerns of the international community, namely, first to guarantee conditions of peace for the people of Kampuchea so that they can devote themselves to rebuilding their country and eliminating the distressing heritage of past years, and secondly to guarantee to the countries of the region conditions of peace and stability in order to allow them to develop friendly and co-operative relations.

39. In the political part, the first preambular paragraph of our draft resolution recalls the basic principles of the Charter which govern relations among independent and sovereign States, such as:

“... the settlement of international disputes by peaceful means, refraining in international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State and

<sup>4</sup> See document A/10217 and Corr. 1.



non-interference in the internal affairs of States  
....”

40. These basic principles of the Charter have been summed up 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*] and the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security [*resolution 2734 (XXV)*], which were adopted by the General Assembly in the course of the celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations.

41. The history of the last four years has proved clearly that the genocidal policy of the defunct Pol Pot régime is not only an abominable crime against the people of Kampuchea, but was also a grave threat to peace and stability in the region and jeopardizes all efforts at co-operation among the countries of South-East Asia. It is for this reason that the sponsors of the draft resolution, that I have the honour of introducing, consider it indispensable to recall this crime of genocide in the draft resolution because, to omit any reference to the genocidal crimes of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique in a resolution of the General Assembly dealing with the question of Kampuchea, as the sponsors of draft resolution A/34/L.13/Rev.1 have done, would imply that we endorse that crime of genocide, no matter what excuses we might make.

42. Draft resolution A/34/L.7/Rev.1 also speaks of the actual situation which has existed in Kampuchea since the beginning of this year. Having overthrown the genocidal régime which was in the pay of foreigners, the Kampuchean people regained their independence and their true freedom and began a process of national resurrection. Despite the enormous difficulties that they inherited from the past, the campaigns of slander and the efforts of the enemies of the Kampuchean people to restore the genocidal clique of Pol Pot, the situation in Kampuchea is rapidly returning to normal.

43. The operative part of draft resolution A/34/L.7/Rev.1 calls on States to refrain from interfering in the domestic affairs of Kampuchea, reaffirms the principles that should govern relations among the South-East Asian States and expresses hope for fruitful co-operation among the countries of the region. One part of draft resolution A/34/L.7/Rev.1 deals with the humanitarian question, takes note of the efforts of the Secretary-General and appeals to the international community to increase the urgent humanitarian aid that must be sent to the people of Kampuchea.

44. The draft resolution in document A/34/L.7 was submitted to the Secretariat on 25 October 1979. Draft resolution A/34/L.13, proposed by the ASEAN countries, was submitted to the Secretariat on 5 November 1979. Therefore, according to the terms of rule 91 of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly, A/34/L.7/Rev.1 must have priority over the other.

45. Yesterday, in his statement to the General Assembly [*62nd meeting*], the representative of Malaysia advanced two arguments in his request for priority to be given to A/34/L.13/Rev.1. He said that the sponsors of A/34/L.7/Rev.1 had opposed the inclusion of item 123 in the agenda and that their draft resolution did not mention the real situation in Kampuchea. None the less,

draft resolution A/34/L.7/Rev.1 has priority. The sponsors of draft resolution A/34/L.7/Rev.1 were indeed opposed to the inclusion in the agenda of item 123. However, once it has been included in the agenda, we have exactly the same rights in the matter as those who proposed its inclusion on the agenda of the General Assembly. Our draft resolution A/34/L.7/Rev.1 certainly does mention the real situation existing in Kampuchea before and after the overthrow of the genocidal régime. The arguments advanced by the representative of Malaysia in demanding that priority be given to draft resolution A/34/L.13/Rev.1 are invalid, the more so as they constitute a violation of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly.

46. On behalf of the sponsors of draft resolution A/34/L.7/Rev.1, I launch an appeal to the General Assembly to support it by a massive vote. By doing this, the General Assembly would be acting in accordance with the noble aims and principles of the Charter, and would be contributing to the alleviation of the sufferings of the Kampuchean people and to the strengthening of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia and in the world.

47. Mr. YANKOV (Bulgaria): The General Assembly is once again, in the course of its current session, called upon to consider problems relating to Kampuchea. This time, the General Assembly is called upon to take up item 123 entitled “The situation in Kampuchea”, which was inscribed on the agenda at the initiative of the five ASEAN countries [A/34/191].

48. My delegation already had the opportunity, during the discussion of the report of the Credentials Committee [*3rd meeting*] to express its views on several issues relating to Kampuchea. We firmly maintain that the sole legitimate and authentic Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea—the People's Revolutionary Council—should be encouraged and assisted, without any interference in its own affairs, to proceed to the solution of its own problems and to carry out the reconstruction of the country. In our view, it would be an act of justice on the part of the United Nations—and in strict conformity with its Charter and the fundamental principles of contemporary international law—if our Organization were to contribute to the prevention of any deterioration in the political situation in the area, and if it were to promote a constructive approach to the solution of the humanitarian problems, in full co-operation with the legitimate Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea. Any attempts to discuss the situation in Kampuchea in the absence of and against the will of the authentic representatives of the people of Kampuchea would be an interference in the country's domestic affairs and contrary to the principles of the United Nations Charter.

49. It is true that a most profound change in the political situation of Kampuchea took place early this year as a result of the struggle of the Kampuchean people. Exercising their inalienable right to self-determination, the Kampuchean people overthrew the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique, which had maintained with the aid of Peking [*Beijing*] a most brutal régime of tyranny and mass extermination. Those who had survived had been subjected to inhuman treatment, causing physical and mental destruction. The Pol Pot-Ieng Sary régime destroyed the economic and social structure, abolished all the political, cultural, educational and other institu-

tions and brought the country to the brink of catastrophe.

50. In foreign affairs that genocidal régime carried out an aggressive policy of provocation against all neighbouring countries and served as an instrument of the expansionism and hegemonism of its sponsors.

51. This was the régime which was overthrown by the Kampuchean people. There are some who would now try to undertake the impossible task, using various means of propaganda, of minimizing the grave consequences of the crimes committed by the Pol Pot clique and even shifting the responsibility on to the legitimate Government in Phnom Penh. There have been some attempts to use humanitarian aid to the people of Kampuchea as a political weapon against the People's Republic of Kampuchea. Such a policy is detrimental to the restoration of peace and stability in the area, the normalization of life and the reconstruction of Kampuchea. It leads to the creation of a hotbed of tension and military conflict through the attempt to revitalize the ousted Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique, which has been condemned by the international community at large. There are attempts now to present that ousted régime as the so-called "other party". Such a policy can lead at best to the incitement of Kampuchea to civil war, if not something worse.

52. There is only one legitimate Government in Kampuchea, and that is the People's Revolutionary Council. It is the only competent authority that holds the sovereign power to carry out the domestic and foreign policy of the country.

53. In a very short period of time and in the most difficult conditions, the People's Revolutionary Council has managed to overcome the most serious consequences of the policy of genocide of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique in Kampuchea and the acts of aggression previously carried out against the country, preserve peace and stability in Kampuchea, gradually remove the threat of famine and provide the conditions for effective reconstruction efforts.

54. In the field of foreign policy, the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea has steadfastly upheld the principles of non-alignment, independence, peace and friendship. The Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea has given every evidence of its authentic character and its capacity to discharge its various obligations, and has embarked on a large-scale humanitarian assistance programme for the Kampuchean people.

55. At the invitation of the Central Committee of the National United Front for the Salvation of Kampuchea and the People's Revolutionary Council, a top-level delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, headed by Todor Zhivkov, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and President of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, visited Kampuchea last October and obtained first-hand information about the situation in the country and the efforts of the Government to overcome the consequences of the foreign aggression and the internal chaos left by the Pol Pot régime. So, when we speak of the situation in Kampuchea, our statements are based

on first-hand information obtained from the country by a most responsible delegation from my country. In the joint communiqué signed in Phnom Penh on 2 October 1979, it is stated that:

"The Bulgarian delegation highly values the efforts exerted by the Kampuchean people for the implementation of the programme documents of the National United Front for the Salvation of Kampuchea, aimed at doing away with the painful legacy left by colonialism, imperialism and the criminal régime, at ensuring the democratic rights and freedoms of the population, bringing life back to normal, restoring the economy and building a peaceful, independent, democratic, neutral and non-aligned Kampuchea, embarked upon the road to socialism."

56. The people of Kampuchea has passed through a terrible ordeal. Now that, in exercise of its sacred and unanimously recognized right to self-determination, it has freed itself from its oppressors by way of a truly nation-wide uprising and started a campaign of reconstruction, this people deserves and should receive the full sympathy and support of the international community. The United Nations, which has enshrined among its loftiest goals the maintenance of peace and security, the universal realization of the right of peoples to self-determination and the safeguarding of human life and dignity, should prevent any activity which could constitute interference in the internal affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea. This is of vital interest not only to the Kampuchean people but also for peace and stability in the region of South-East Asia.

57. Therefore, it is of the utmost importance that all States should refrain from any activity which could be detrimental to the exercise of the Kampuchean people's right to self-determination, independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. Whatever problems exist or might arise in that region should be settled peacefully by the peoples of that region on the basis of mutual respect for equality, independence, territorial integrity, non-aggression and non-interference.

58. The peoples of South-East Asia have expressed their strong desire for peace and independence and are pursuing the objective of the establishment of a zone of peace, freedom, neutrality and stability in the region. Their efforts in that direction should be encouraged by the General Assembly, as envisaged in draft resolution A/34/L.7/Rev.1, introduced by the delegation of Laos and sponsored by several other delegations, including my own. I wish to take this opportunity of expressing my delegations's appreciation of the very lucid and convincing introduction and presentation of that draft resolution by the representative of Laos.

59. We are of the view that such action on the part of our Organization would be conducive to the spread of international détente in Asia. It would strengthen the prospects for peace and stability in that continent.

60. In this connexion, I wish to point out, on behalf of my delegation, that draft resolution A/34/L.13/Rev.1 does not provide the framework or the basis for the achievement of this aim. I cannot fail to express the view of my delegation that this draft resolution is based on a one-sided, arbitrary evaluation of the situation. It does not comply with the principles of self-determi-

nation and respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the People's Republic of Kampuchea and fails to provide a constructive solution for the problems. It proclaims the principles of independence and non-interference in relations among States and appeals to all States to refrain from any interference in the internal affairs of Kampuchea; but it casts doubt upon the right of the Kampuchean people to self-determination, independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity exercised through its legitimate Government and the institutions of its own choice. It urges the United Nations, by including in its agenda an item entitled "The situation in Kampuchea", to engage in constant interference in the internal affairs of the Kampuchean people. Could there be a better pretext for those who seek to foment greater unrest in the region by supporting either directly or indirectly the criminal régime of Pol Pot, which has been condemned both by the people of Kampuchea and by the international community at large? The draft resolution may contribute to a heightening of tensions in the area through the doctrine of the so-called two zones or two administrations, rather than providing a feasible and just solution. It may become an instrument for the destabilization of the situation in Kampuchea under the aegis of the United Nations and may impede the process of the reconstruction of that country.

61. On the basis of the aforementioned considerations, my delegation would cast a negative vote if this draft resolution were submitted to a vote.

62. We do hope that this Assembly will not allow itself to be misled into permitting the United Nations to be used for political schemes which are alien to the purposes and principles of its Charter and which run counter to the fundamental rules of international law. We also hope that all States will not only refrain from any activity that may be prejudicial to peace and stability in the area but will render assistance to the genuine efforts exerted by the People's Republic of Kampuchea in the process of national reconstruction.

63. I should like to reiterate the position of my country in this connexion by referring to the statement made by the President of our State Council on his recent visit to Kampuchea:

"The Bulgarian people supports the constructive positions of the Governments of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and the Lao People's Democratic Republic aimed at the consolidation of peace and security in South-East Asia and wishes them success in the establishment of relations of good-neighbourly co-operation with the other countries of the region."

64. Mr. FRANCIS (New Zealand): There is no graver issue before this Assembly than the question of Kampuchea, which is addressed by draft resolution A/34/L.13/Rev.1, of which New Zealand is a sponsor. That issue presents a challenge both to the conscience of the world community and to the basic principles which this Organization was established to uphold and protect. There is, moreover, a danger that conflict in that country could spread beyond its borders to threaten peace and security in the entire South-East Asian region.

65. Our first obligation is to the people of Kampuchea, the innocent victims of wars in which they

wanted no part and of régimes indifferent to their welfare and to their sufferings. During years of isolation from the international community, they were subjected to brutal and tyrannical policies by a Government which displayed a contempt for human rights unequalled in recent history. This year, in an illegal action violating the fundamental principles of the Charter, Kampuchea was invaded by the Vietnamese armed forces. The country was then abandoned to conflict, famine and despair by a régime imposed and maintained by Vietnamese force of arms and indifferent to deprivation and hardship among the people.

66. In the face of these catastrophes the Kampuchean people fled. Economic and social disruption, disease, famine and war left them with no alternative. We do not know how many refugees there are or how many Kampucheans have survived the executions, the oppression and the starvation and disease of recent times. We do know that the massive exodus of people has imposed heavy burdens on the countries of ASEAN, and especially on Thailand. We know, too, from the reports of representatives of the United Nations and other agencies which have visited the warring factions, of the desperate plight of millions of Kampucheans. The determined and persistent efforts of those representatives, in particular of UNICEF and the International Red Cross, have resulted in the setting up of programmes of relief, to which the international community has demonstrated its willingness to contribute in generous measure. The draft resolution pays a fitting tribute to the efforts of the Secretary-General, of various United Nations bodies and of other humanitarian organizations in persuading the parties involved to put politics aside so that those programmes could be initiated and carried forward, and in mobilizing world-wide support to give those programmes substance.

67. Relief efforts will be needed for a long time to come. They are and will continue to be essential to the welfare and the survival of the Kampuchean people. But they can only treat the consequences of war and social disruption, not their causes. They cannot resolve the profound conflicts of interest and attitude between the warring parties or put a stop to the ruthless pursuit of selfish political ends which has produced this crisis of such tragic dimensions in Kampuchea. In addition, there continues to be a grave risk that the conflict will escalate and undermine the security of the South-East Asian region, where so much progress has been made in the past two decades and where so much is now at stake. The longer the fighting continues, the greater will be the danger that the big Powers will once more become involved.

68. The most pressing and urgent need now is to begin working towards a political settlement that will restore peace and stability to Kampuchea and security to the area. As the New Zealand representative said in the general debate this year [10th meeting], any settlement must be based on the fact that there are three separate countries in Indo-China, each with its own national tradition. Peace can only be restored when the countries of the area—those in Indo-China and their neighbours as well—indicate their willingness to negotiate on the basis of respect for one another's independence and territorial integrity. There can be no justification for any Government sending armed forces into another country. Equally, there can be no justification for keeping them there.



69. Each year in this Assembly Governments reaffirm their commitment to the principle of self-determination and the right of all peoples to determine their own future free from outside interference. The draft resolution before us asks simply that the Assembly reaffirm that the Kampuchean people, too, have that right and are entitled to the protection of those other Articles of the Charter that we must always invoke in support of States whose rights have been trodden on by more powerful neighbours. The aim of any political settlement must be to let the people of Kampuchea decide their own future in peace and freedom, free from outside interference. The conditions in which they can exercise that choice will not exist until all foreign forces have been withdrawn.

70. There can be no peace until the independence of Kampuchea is assured. If we fail to find a political settlement, there can be no security in Kampuchea or in the region as a whole. But, above all, without peace and security there can be no future for the Kampuchean people. What is at stake is their survival. This Organization has no higher obligation than to prevent a human tragedy that would scar mankind's conscience for generations. The draft resolution before us contains the essential elements for a political settlement. Support for this draft resolution would be the first step towards fulfilling our obligation.

71. I should like, if I may, to comment briefly on the two other draft resolutions before the Assembly, A/34/L.7/Rev.1, introduced by the representative of Viet Nam, and A/34/L.38, introduced by the representative of India. The former draft resolution, in our view, is a misleading text. It suggests, on the one hand, that its sponsors support the fundamental principles of the Charter, but then, on the other, appears to assert that those principles have no application in the case of Kampuchea and will therefore not have to be implemented. We cannot accept that approach any more than we can accept the deliberate distortion of history on which it relies. It is essential to any settlement in Kampuchea that foreign forces be withdrawn from the country. Without that, the people of Kampuchea will not be restored to full enjoyment of their rights, including their right to decide their own future, free from outside interference and in peace and security. New Zealand will accordingly vote against that draft resolution.

72. Nor can we support draft resolution A/34/L.38, introduced by India. In its present form, that draft does not really address the problems of Kampuchea, nor does it seek to define the essential elements of a solution. Though described as complementary to draft resolution A/34/L.13/Rev.1 and as passing no judgement, the proposal in fact does make a specific prejudgement on what might be the most useful approach to resolving the problem of Kampuchea and the serious difficulties facing the South-East Asian area. We believe that the form which negotiations should take is best left for further consideration, in close consultation with the States primarily concerned.

73. Mr. NUSHI (Albania) (*interpretation from French*): Among the many items on the agenda of the current session is one entitled "The situation in Kampuchea". The tense situation which was created this year in South-East Asia and especially the serious events related to the barbarous aggression unleashed by the Chinese social-imperialists against the Vietnamese

people, have rightly preoccupied world public opinion and continue to arouse concern and anxiety.

74. On a number of occasions in the course of this year, the United Nations has turned its attention to the examination of this situation or of particular aspects of it. We recall the sad spectacle of the Security Council meetings, when representatives of the imperialist super-Powers made statements and indulged in unrestrained cynicism, hypocrisy and demagoguery in order to disguise their hegemonistic designs and justify the aggressive actions and plots hatched against the peoples of Indo-China.

75. We feel that it is the duty of the General Assembly at the present time to examine the real causes of the misfortunes that have befallen the Cambodian people and the other peoples of Indo-China, and that are a source of danger for all peoples and countries in that zone and for world peace and stability.

76. Past and present history is replete with examples showing that peoples have always paid too dearly for the games played and the intrigues carried out at their expense by the imperialist Powers and the various reactionary forces, both within and outside their nations. The situation created in Cambodia and in the Indo-Chinese region this year is very clear evidence of this. The sufferings and misfortunes of the peoples of Indo-China today are the continuance of the sufferings and misfortunes that they have endured for years as a result of the aggression of the United States of America. Throughout the whole period of their barbarous aggression against Viet Nam, Cambodia and Laos, the American imperialists used the most sophisticated means of waging war; they burned and destroyed everything, perpetrated abominable crimes and massacres against the civilian population and acted as rabid enemies of man and nature, defying the most elementary standards of law and morality.

77. While the peoples of Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia were heroically fighting against the American aggressors and their puppets in Indo-China, the Soviet and Chinese revisionists were bargaining with American imperialism and striving to derive advantages for their policy, at the expense of the Indo-Chinese peoples.

78. The historic victory of the peoples of Indo-China over American imperialism was a great event in the life of those peoples. But the imperialist super-Powers went to work immediately after that victory in order that the peoples of Indo-China should have neither respite nor peace. Thus it was that, even before binding up the wounds of war, those peoples were once again the target of the plots and intrigues of the imperialist super-Powers, the United States, the Soviet Union and China, of their intervention and their ill-famed imperialist practices, which consisted in setting Indo-Chinese against Indo-Chinese.

79. Like all the other Indo-Chinese peoples, the Cambodian people had waged a hard and resolute struggle to recover its freedom and its national independence, sovereignty and dignity. But its enemies within and outside the country did not allow it to enjoy the fruits of the victory obtained by means of that struggle. And now all the facts show that the grave situation and the course of events in Cambodia, as well as throughout the whole of South-East Asia, are above all the direct consequence of

the intrigues, plots and interference of the imperialist super-Powers—China, the United States and the Soviet Union—which are engaged in frenzied rivalry with the aim of implementing their aggressive and hegemonistic policy in the region of Indo-China and occupying political and military positions there.

80. It is to be noted, in particular, that the grave situation in Cambodia is the sorry consequence of Chinese interference in the domestic affairs of that country. The Chinese leaders have by all possible means incited, encouraged and supported the bloody Pol Pot régime in oppressing the Khmer people and in converting Cambodia into a bridge-head for China's hegemonism and expansionism in South-East Asia. The Pol Pot Government, after coming to power, very rapidly became a group of *provocateurs* in the service of the imperialist bourgeoisie and, above all, of the Chinese revisionists, whose purpose was to discredit the idea of socialism in the international arena. Acting on the inspiration of the leaders in Beijing [*Peking*] and with the aid of China, that group instituted Fascist terror in Cambodia and pursued a policy of genocide against the people of that country. The Chinese leaders have also used that group to instigate trouble and conflicts and to undertake warlike actions in South-East Asia in order to promote their hegemonistic designs.

81. After the overthrow of the Pol Pot régime, the aggressive activities and the intrigues of the imperialist super-Powers in Indo-China grew in scope. The ruling team in China rushed in with excessive vanity to make public its imperialist doctrine of "giving a lesson", which was followed by the unleashing of armed aggression against the Vietnamese people.

82. That Chinese aggression against Viet Nam was a typical Fascist act and also marked the appearance of Chinese social-imperialism in the international arena. The Chinese social-imperialists have attacked Viet Nam, have burned, massacred and destroyed on Vietnamese soil, in much the same way as the American imperialists did. That is why that aggression was denounced and condemned with determination and a sense of deep outrage by progressive public opinion throughout the world.

83. A grave situation continues to exist in Cambodia. The people of that country continue to endure suffering and privation. The imperialist super-Powers are continuing to plot various kinds of intrigues and machinations. These are so many reasons for which tension remains and the possibility of further complications has not diminished. There is also the danger that the imperialist super-Powers might further aggravate the situation by provoking new conflicts in order to pit the countries of the region against each other or to get directly involved in those conflicts.

84. The imperialist super-Powers—China, the United States and the Soviet Union—are sparing no effort to dissimulate their genuine intentions and their aggressive and hostile actions against the freedom and independence of the peoples of Indo-China. They have been trying feverishly, especially since the beginning of this year, to give the impression that they are extremely saddened by the misfortunes of the Cambodian people and that they have no concern other than to come to its assistance. In actual fact, everyone is seeing every day that the super-Powers are only thinking of speculating

upon the sufferings of the people of Cambodia and of trampling their rights underfoot.

85. No demagogy can permit the Chinese social-imperialists to escape condemnation for the barbarous aggression they launched against Viet Nam and for their complicity in the crimes perpetrated by the Pol Pot régime against the Cambodian people. They can repeat as often as they like their cynical statements designed to show that it is Viet Nam which provoked—indeed attacked—them, but they will not succeed in masking their big-Power chauvinism, or their intentions and their preparations to launch a new aggression against Viet Nam.

86. The American imperialists will likewise be unable to erase from the memory of countries and peoples the barbarous crimes they perpetrated and continue to perpetrate in Indo-China or elsewhere by shedding crocodile tears over the fate of the population of Cambodia or by giving lectures on the rules and principles of international law, here in the United Nations and in other forums. They cannot escape their share of responsibility for the Chinese aggression against Viet Nam which was planned and prepared in Beijing, but also approved in Washington before being unleashed.

87. It is also in vain that the Soviet social-imperialists attempt to represent themselves as the champions of the right of the people of Cambodia to live freely and independently. Everybody knows very well that the Soviet social-imperialists acted openly against the national liberation struggle of that people when it was fighting American imperialism. The friendship which they are today offering to the Cambodian people differs in no way from the friendship offered by the American imperialists or by the Chinese social-imperialists. Friendship offered by the imperialist super-Powers to the peoples of Indo-China is designed to draw the countries of that region into the orbit of their policies and into their zones of influence.

88. The present situation in Indo-China and the events which are taking place in the region confirm once again how dangerous it is to rely on the "friendship" of one imperialist super-Power in the hope of finding refuge from the hostility of another.

89. The Albanian people and the People's Socialist Republic of Albania have always firmly supported the struggle that the peoples of Indo-China have been waging against the aggression of American imperialism and the plots concocted against them by the super-Powers and the imperialist Powers. They have supported and continue to support the right of the Vietnamese, Cambodian and Lao peoples to live in freedom and independence, to enjoy fully their national sovereignty and to ensure their complete national integrity. We support the right of each of these peoples, as of any other people in the world, to manage their own affairs without any external interference. The attitude of Albania was and is that Viet Nam and Cambodia should themselves resolve their disputes, by means of negotiations, without it being necessary to resort to the use of force.

90. We have condemned and we continue to condemn the interference of foreign Powers in the countries of this region. We have denounced and denounce again the aggressive policy and the expansionist and hegemonistic designs of China, the Soviet Union and the United

States of America in Indo-China and in South-East Asia.

91. We abide by the view that it is for the people of Cambodia, and for that people alone, to resolve its domestic problems within Cambodia. The Pol Pot régime was a barbarous régime which practised the policy of genocide even against the people of its own country. The Cambodian people and revolutionaries are entitled to overthrow such a régime and to form a Government according to their wishes. No one has the right to impose on the Cambodian people any solution whatsoever which does not correspond to its interests.

92. We have condemned and we continue to condemn the aggression launched by the Chinese social-imperialists against Viet Nam as well as all other acts of aggression of this kind. Peoples have the right and must be free to exercise the right to self-determination without interference of any kind on the part of foreign Powers. "Administering punishments" or "giving lessons" is an imperialist practice which is a threat to peoples.

93. This has been and will be the position of the Albanian Government. We accept no other solution to problems of this kind. This is the line of conduct that we have defended and will continue to defend.

94. Mr. RADIX (Grenada): The placing on the agenda of the item on the situation in Kampuchea without the presence in this Assembly of the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea, the only authentic and legitimate representative of the Kampuchean people, is a gross interference in the internal affairs of the people of that sovereign State and an infringement of the principles of international justice and morality.

95. The Kampuchean people have, since January 1979, established their Government within their territory. That Government has been afforded full recognition by the People's Revolutionary Government of Grenada, which has satisfied itself that the People's Revolutionary Council meets all the usual requirements of international law and practice.

96. All democratic peace-loving people throughout the world are fully aware of the crimes of genocide carried out by the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique against the people of that State before the Kampuchean people, in keeping with their right to self-determination, rose up to rid themselves of that Fascist dictatorship.

97. Genocide is a crime recognized by the United Nations and the international community as justiciable in each and every country. What is the evidence of this genocide? It is a documented fact that over 3 million of the citizens of that country were murdered within four years by their own Government, using the most brutal methods, which surpassed even those of Hitler.

98. That doctors, priests, intellectuals, artists, women, workers, youths and students were wiped out on the altars of fascism is a fact beyond dispute. That they were held in concentration camps without food and other basic goods is beyond dispute. That the whole fabric of society of the Kampuchean people was attacked and destroyed is beyond dispute. That the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique were put on trial in Phnom Penh in August 1979 for the crime of genocide before a court of

competent jurisdiction, with observers from the international community, and were found guilty, that again is beyond dispute.

99. There are those who say that the heroic people of Viet Nam invaded Kampuchea and that foreign troops must be withdrawn. The people and Government of Kampuchea, in keeping with their sovereignty and independence, have the right to call upon any friend and together oppose any foe who seeks to reimpose fascism and hegemony within Kampuchea. The history of Viet Nam over the last 30 years, in its struggle for independence, is testimony of its desire for peace, independence and sovereignty.

100. My delegation fully supports the efforts of the Secretary-General in bringing humanitarian relief to the people of Kampuchea. The disaster was caused by the deliberate, insane policies of the former régime and their allies. The national life of the people of Kampuchea is every day being restored. Schools, hospitals, the cities and all aspects of civilization are once again being given an opportunity to flourish. Hand in hand with those nations that desire peace, justice and freedom in the world, the people of Kampuchea will no doubt progress along the road of rebuilding their society.

101. My delegation remains convinced that any problem concerning Kampuchea and other South-East Asian countries must be resolved by dialogue between those countries on the basis of sovereign equality, mutual respect and non-interference in each other's internal affairs, thus making the region into a zone of peace, friendship and co-operation.

102. My delegation is pleased to sponsor draft resolution A/34/L.7/Rev.1.

103. Mr. HULINSKY (Czechoslovakia) (*interpretation from Russian*): Item 123, on the situation in Kampuchea, was included in the agenda of this session of the General Assembly against the will of the Government of Kampuchea, in spite of the categorical warning given by many Member States as to the possible negative consequences of that unlawful step. Moreover, agenda item 123 is being discussed in the absence of the representatives of the People's Revolutionary Council of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, to which the General Assembly has this year, in spite of resistance by many delegations, denied an opportunity to take part in the discussion of questions directly related to the domestic affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

104. All this is in total conflict with the political realities and with the basic principles of international law, as is the very fact that the seat of Kampuchea in the United Nations is still being occupied by hired private persons, representatives of the régime that has entered history in such a barbarous and uncivilized way. The countering of reality with fabrications and the desire to draw the General Assembly into attempts to deal with a sovereign State as though it were a colony are not in the interests of our just cause.

105. For its part, the Czechoslovak delegation, in its approach to the examination of agenda item 123, is being guided by two basic principles.

106. First, we respect the rights and urgent, well-founded interests of the Kampuchean people and its Government, and we are striving to offer them the necessary material, political, diplomatic and moral assistance. In this respect, we of course do not limit ourselves to the possibilities available within the framework of the United Nations.

107. Secondly, we firmly reject any attempts on the part of certain States demagogically to exploit the situation in Kampuchea, which, for the purpose of serving political ends that are alien to the cause of international peace and security, is being represented in a deliberately distorted manner and depicted as having interrelations which do not exist in fact.

108. In connexion with the situation in Kampuchea we have heard expressed from this rostrum a whole series of thoughts on the legitimacy of a Government, on good and bad Governments, and so on. Speakers have referred to international law. We totally agree on the need to comply with the letter and spirit of international law, but we cannot agree with the method of its application—in regard to the situation in Kampuchea—to which certain delegations have resorted here.

109. Can we call lawful, under international law, a Government that is practising a policy of genocide in relation to its own people?

110. Can we call unlawful, under international law, a movement of national resistance that has come into being as a result of the struggle against such a Government?

111. Is it unlawful, under international law, when a national resistance movement—which is a national liberation movement in the literal sense—asks for international assistance and receives it? The United Nations itself has, after all, collaborated in such decisions in the past, or at least it has not blocked them.

112. Or do those who lecture this Assembly on international law perhaps believe that its principles would be implemented if the Kampucheans were once again handed over to the mercy of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary executioners? In what way are their purposes different from the purposes of those who, not all that long ago, tried through resort to medieval methods to “teach lessons”—thus they arrogantly labelled their crimes—to the people of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam?

113. The People of Kampuchea have in the past gone through trials that surely have no analogy in history. The foreign aggression that has been occurring for many years in Indo-China, that has caused incalculable human and material losses to the peoples of Kampuchea and neighbouring Viet Nam, contributed to the establishment of conditions in which Pol Pot and Ieng Sary, the puppets of hegemonism, came to power. They eagerly implemented the perverted, feudal Maoist experiment that has claimed millions of Kampucheans as its victims and has led to the total collapse of the country's economic and social life. Overwhelming evidence of the lawlessness of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique was revealed by the open trial held at Phnom Penh from 15 to 19 August 1979, at which the two principal executors of the policy of genocide against their own people were duly sentenced. The delegation of the International Association of Democratic Lawyers, which visited the

Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and the People's Republic of Kampuchea this year and appeared before the People's Revolutionary Tribunal, also collected evidence concerning the crimes of the hangmen of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique. The sentence handed down by the People's Revolutionary Tribunal, as well as the report by the delegation of the International Association of Democratic Lawyers, published respectively in documents A/34/491 and A/34/559, will forever stand as a warning of the dangers of Peking's [*Beijing's*] policy of hegemonism.

114. The Kampuchean people are embarked upon a new course. Having overthrown the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary régime, they have placed at the head of their country the People's Revolutionary Council of the People's Republic of Kampuchea. The Kampuchean people have thereby created the necessary bases and guarantees for the thorough restoration of the country's life and its full-fledged democratic development. So far, however, the legacy of the past has not been totally eliminated. Millions of human lives have been lost, and the national economy is dislocated. This faces the People's Revolutionary Council of the People's Republic of Kampuchea with crucial tasks. The situation is further complicated by efforts made by the enemies of the new course in the history of Kampuchea, whose aim is the reversal of the country's development and its reconversion into a colony of hegemonism or an instrument of implementation for the interests of international reaction in South-East Asia.

115. The Government and people of Kampuchea, however, have given a single, unequivocal answer to such attempts. They are conducting a peaceful foreign policy and are striving to establish good-neighbourly relations and friendly ties with all States of the world. In their domestic policy, their principal efforts are aimed at eliminating the terrible burden of the past and at providing for the country's basic and vital needs and a gradual transition towards renewing the normal functions of the country's national economy and its further development.

116. The first results achieved by the People's Republic of Kampuchea in its brief period of existence are not so bad. For example under difficult circumstances, they have sown and are about to reap harvests from 570,000 hectares of rice fields, and it will be possible next year to harvest 200,000 additional hectares of inter-seasonal crops. The social, political and organizational structure of the country is being restored. Convincing evidence with regard to the situation in Kampuchea and its causes and international aspects, as well as with regard to the political, economic and social purposes of the People's Revolutionary Council of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, was furnished at the press conference held on 6 November at United Nations Headquarters by the Ambassador of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, Mr. Keo Prasat, empowered by his Government to conduct negotiations here in New York with representatives of the United Nations and of a number of Member States.

117. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and other socialist States are giving the Kampuchean people and the People's Revolutionary Council of the People's Republic of Kampuchea comprehensive, disinterested and still much needed material assistance in their grandiose task of restoring their country. As my delegation indicated at the Pledging Conference for Emergency

Humanitarian Relief to the People of Kampuchea, held on 5 November 1979,<sup>5</sup> the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic has, just this year, offered the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea foodstuffs, medicines and medical equipment, including complete equipment of field hospitals with the necessary facilities. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic is sending to the Kampuchean people through its Government, the People's Revolutionary Council of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, clothing, textiles and building materials for the construction of shelters, along with a variety of consumer products. This direct bilateral assistance has already reached the sum of 55 million Czechoslovak crowns, not counting transport expenses.

118. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic is also taking part in the restoration of the economic life of the People's Republic of Kampuchea and, thanks to Czechoslovak assistance, a number of industrial and energy plants will be put into operation once again. With regard to the scale and direction of the assistance socialist States are lending to the people of Kampuchea, eloquent illustration is provided by the fact that these States have already sent to Kampuchea more than 200,000 tons of food-stuffs and other goods. It is necessary to emphasize, in this connexion, that the Socialist States' assistance to the People's Republic of Kampuchea is being offered on a selfless basis, without any political conditions and in compliance with the principles of sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of the People's Republic of Kampuchea. We believe that further international assistance, including assistance channelled through the United Nations, will be rendered on the same basis. We would wish to believe that this assistance will not be exploited to the detriment of the interests of the people of Kampuchea and that it will no longer be utilized in an unworthy manner and in the spirit of a cheap operetta, for the purposes of pre-electoral campaigns in certain countries.

119. In conclusion, I should like to emphasize once more that the situation in Kampuchea is a matter for the Kampuchean people, and that in their relations with Kampuchea all States must refrain from any steps that might constitute interference with the domestic affairs of that State and that would be contrary to the lawful right of the Kampuchean people to independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity for their State. It is also necessary for all questions directly related to Kampuchea and other States of South-East Asia to be resolved by and among those States without any interference from outside and on the basis of the existing principles of international relations.

120. The Czechoslovak delegation will vote against the draft resolution sponsored by, among other States, the members of ASEAN. We proceed on this basis for the following considerations. First, draft resolution A/34/L.13/Rev.1 distorts the situation in Kampuchea, approaches it in a way that is totally at variance with reality and analyses unrealistically its causes and inter-relationships. Secondly, an attempt to carry out the provisions of the draft resolution would mean an attempt to turn the wheel of history back and to put the people of Kampuchea once again at the mercy of the mass murderers, Pol Pot and Ieng Sary. Thirdly, the draft totally ignores the existing political situation in Kampuchea and in particular the fact that the Kampuchean people

has placed at the head of its country a new Government which is the only lawful Government, the People's Revolutionary Council of the People's Republic of Kampuchea. Fourthly, the draft is aimed at weakening the defence capability of the People's Republic of Kampuchea. Fifthly, on the whole the draft cannot be described as anything but an attempt to interfere in the domestic affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

121. We have become sponsors of draft resolution A/34/L.7/Rev.1 because it contains proposals the adoption of which would definitely contribute to the establishment of favourable conditions for the strengthening of international peace and security and of good-neighbourly relations in South-East Asia, and at the same time would respect the fundamental rights and legitimate interests of the people of Kampuchea.

122. Mr. ROA KOURI (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): In taking up the subject before us, I wish first of all to reiterate the position of principle of the Government of Cuba on the matter. Since 7 January 1979 the sole legitimate representative of the people and State of Kampuchea is the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea, presided over by Comrade Heng Samrin and with its seat of government in Phnom Penh. The consideration of any subject relating to Kampuchea by the United Nations and other international organs, therefore, requires the participation on an equal footing of the legitimate representatives of that State, in accordance with the usage, customs and practices of international law.

123. We do not need at this time to describe the chain of events that submerged the people of Kampuchea in the horrible nightmare that was the Pol Pot régime. With the support of the hegemonists of Peking [*Beijing*], the sinister duo of Pol Pot and Ieng Sary installed genocide, persecution and despotism as a systematic form of government, brutally transporting the urban population to the fields, implanting the Maoist model of the so-called "proletarian cultural revolution" and forced labour in "communes", eliminating Buddhism and all other religions, totally destroying the economic, political and cultural structure of Kampuchea, closing down schools, hospitals, churches and other places of religion, destroying the markets and the monetary system and adopting a policy of provocation and aggression against the neighbouring countries, particularly the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam.

124. The overthrow of that régime and the installation of a popular Government in Kampuchea put an end to the dangerous adventure of the Chinese leaders in that friendly nation, but their military aggression against Viet Nam, the consistent threats against Laos and the unlimited support given to the bands of Pol Pot—in open and blatant violation of the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Kampuchea—have created a situation that seriously threatens peace and stability in the States of South-East Asia.

125. In collusion with the imperialist North American Government, the new mandarins disguise their hegemonistic plans by the use of hollow, hackneyed phrases intended to convince the world of a non-existent attachment to the principles of independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-intervention in the domestic

<sup>5</sup> See document SG/CONF.1/SR.2, paras. 35-36.



affairs of States. The occupation of a part of the territory of India since 1962, the aggression against Viet Nam in 1979 and the concentration of troops on the borders of Laos, to cite a few examples, clearly refute the fallacious verbal gymnastics of the Peking mandarins.

126. Furthermore, no one can believe the protestations of those who yesterday massacred the people of Indo-China and committed one of the vilest crimes against humanity in Viet Nam; nor can anyone believe their Chinese associates, who sponsor war and the arms race while pretending to be in favour of a "just solution" of the problem of Kampuchea. Such a "solution" is not and could not be anything but a return to ignominy, subservience and the reactionary alliance with those who regard South-East Asia as their own province or as a spring-board to reaffirm their predominance over the entire continent.

127. Therefore we reject the so-called logic of those who, while appearing to defend the rights of the Kampuchean people, intend to impose upon them alien solutions or to insist on the adoption of measures that can be decided upon only by the Kampuchean people themselves, in the strict exercise of their sovereign rights.

128. The Kampuchean people, which courageously struggled against imperialist aggression, against the puppet régime of Lon Nol and the clique that was overthrown last January, is today master of its own destiny and has undertaken the harsh task of national reconstruction. In that endeavour it needs the understanding and selfless assistance of the international community. Thus the efforts made by the States that love peace and justice are most laudable, as are also those of the Secretary-General of the United Nations and of a number of international organizations that have hastened to give humanitarian assistance to the people of Kampuchea.

129. National reconstruction calls for a gigantic effort on the part of the whole people to bring the country back to normal, to reunite families, to re-establish supply lines and to put cities, villages, schools, hospitals, factories, communications and transport back into operation: in one word, to organize industrial and agricultural production on a new basis and to rebuild all that was destroyed by the genocidal madness of the Pol Pot régime.

130. That country's return to civilized life and peaceful co-existence with neighbouring countries requires all States to abstain from any activity that might endanger the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Kampuchea or that might constitute intervention in its domestic affairs.

131. The Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, with which Cuba has established friendly and diplomatic relations, has declared its adherence to the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter, to peaceful co-existence among States, to respect for the sovereignty and independence of all countries and for the principle of non-intervention in domestic affairs of the latter, proclaiming a foreign policy of non-alignment and of friendship with all peoples.

132. The problems relating to Kampuchea and other

neighbouring States must be solved by those countries themselves, without any foreign interference and on the basis of respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of each and every one of them. With this conviction in mind, my delegation expresses its confidence that the countries of South-East Asia will continue their efforts to establish in that area a zone of peace, freedom, neutrality and stability, on the basis of the existence of friendly relations and co-operation among all.

133. We believe this to be the only way to guarantee the peace and security, to which all the peoples of Indo-China and South-East Asia aspire. It is that objective that all members of the international community must firmly support and it is to that objective that Cuba will devote every effort it may be called upon to make.

134. Mr. KAMIL (Indonesia): Situated as we are in the vicinity of the area of conflict, we have followed the events of the past year in Kampuchea with grave and increasing concern and can only note that the situation continues to deteriorate, thereby seriously threatening the peace and security of the region. That it has also caused concern in the world at large was underlined by the fact that the Security Council was convened in January, and again in March of this year, to examine the problem and to try to throw water on the growing fire of war. Despite these efforts and the support of the overwhelming majority of the members of the Security Council for the relevant resolutions, the issue has remained unresolved.

135. In view of these considerations, my delegation was among those who took the initiative to inscribe this item on the agenda. Let me make it clear that, in doing so, we did not propose to focus blame for the present conflict situation on any one State or group of States. Such an approach could only lead to recriminations and make the effort to find a solution more difficult. It is our sincere hope that, by bringing this matter to the attention of the General Assembly, we may prove able to bring an early end to the conflict situation and create conditions for peace and security. It is also our hope that this effort will be appreciated by all concerned.

136. The concern of the countries of ASEAN over the conflict in Kampuchea was expressed on 9 January this year in the statement issued at Jakarta by my Foreign Minister on behalf of the ASEAN Foreign Ministers,<sup>6</sup> and the joint statement issued soon after by ASEAN Foreign Ministers at Bangkok.<sup>7</sup> The worsening of the situation in Indo-China, caused by the subsequent intervention by an outside power, China, in the region, prompted the ASEAN Foreign Ministers to issue the Bangkok declaration of 20 February 1979.<sup>8</sup> The declaration expressed apprehension about the mounting frictions and growing tensions in and around the region, which have erupted into an escalation of armed activities and a widening of the area of conflict. That declaration furthermore appealed to the conflicting parties to cease all hostilities and urged that all foreign forces be withdrawn from all areas of conflict in Indo-China.

<sup>6</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fourth Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1979*, document S/13014.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, document S/13025.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, document S/13106.

137. Developments in Kampuchea since the change of régime in 1975, four years ago, have indeed been tragic. Basic human rights have been grossly violated and trampled on. Countless people have perished and many more, especially women and children, have been left starving and sick. Everything has been neglected in the pursuance by the régime of a ruthless policy towards its helpless and hapless people. This is now common knowledge everywhere. This already tragic situation was further aggravated following a foreign military intervention into that country at the beginning of this year. That brought with it more deaths, further dislocations and more suffering and hardship to the people. It also brought with it the establishment of a régime not of the choosing of the Kampuchean people themselves. It, furthermore, brought with it a threat to the peace and security of the neighbouring countries and of the region.

138. But these were not the only fruits of the military intervention. It has also resulted in a dramatic increase in the number of refugees who crossed the borders to seek a safer place in neighbouring Thailand. In turn, this has caused a great additional burden to the receiving country, whose hospitality and generosity in granting temporary shelter to refugees in all these years is well known to us all. My delegation would like to take this opportunity to commend the Secretary-General and the international agencies for having initiated efforts to provide humanitarian assistance to those refugees in Thailand as well as to the suffering Kampuchean people themselves.

139. It is needless to point out that foreign interventions, be they military or otherwise, are flagrant violations of the principles of peaceful coexistence and non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries. These lofty principles are enunciated not only in the United Nations Charter but also in other historic documents, such as the Bandung Declaration of 1955 and the declarations of the non-aligned countries, which held their sixth conference at Havana from 3 to 9 September 1979 [see A/34/542].

140. Foreign interventions, including that which is now taking place in Kampuchea, are not only contrary to the principles I just mentioned, but also are conducive to danger because they leave the country or region concerned open to further intervention. We witnessed such a chain of events earlier this year, and I am afraid that it would constitute a precedent which, I am sure, the international community does not wish to see repeated.

*Mr. Salim (United Republic of Tanzania) resumed the Chair.*

141. Indonesia is particularly concerned that outside Powers may make use of the conflict in Kampuchea to serve their own purposes, which may not be in the interest of the countries of my region.

142. For these reasons, my delegation, voicing the sincere hope of my Government, strongly urges that hostilities in Kampuchea, which are the tragic result of such interventions, be immediately halted and that foreign troops be withdrawn from that country. This does not imply that, following the withdrawal of the foreign forces, a return to the *status quo ante* is desired.

143. We believe that this proposed chain of actions

will lead to a situation where the people of Kampuchea will be enabled to establish a government of their own choosing, free from outside interference or pressure and free from any taint.

144. We hope that this Government will be one that will be able to live in harmony with the other Governments and peoples in the region and preserve the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Kampuchea. The establishment of such a situation would constitute a positive contribution to the efforts of the South-East Asian countries in the realization of the concept of a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in the region.

145. The international community should also address itself to another question which may in its nature be external to the region of South-East Asia, but nevertheless is of serious concern to a country or several countries in that region. This is that there should not be any threat imposed from abroad on the South-East Asian countries, if they are to concentrate their efforts on the much needed task of reconstruction and development. We in the region should be given all opportunity—free from foreign intervention or the threat of such intervention—to develop our region politically, economically and socially into a region where peace and prosperity will one day prevail.

146. I wish to recall here that, when the conflict in Kampuchea increased in intensity earlier this year, our Secretary-General offered his good offices in trying to find a suitable solution to the problem. Now with the situation worsening both in military and humanitarian terms in that unfortunate land, my delegation strongly believes that the Secretary-General's offer of good offices should now be welcomed. It can be used to fulfil the universal desire for the restoration of peace and stability in Kampuchea, as proposed in draft resolution A/34/L.13/Rev.1, of which Indonesia is one of 30 sponsors.

147. In conclusion, my delegation sincerely hopes that when members of this Assembly vote tomorrow afternoon on this draft resolution their vote will not be meant to underline their "yes" or "no" to the situation in Kampuchea. My delegation wants to believe that tomorrow's voting on this resolution will mark the turning of a new page and the beginning of the dawn of a new era of peace in the history of Kampuchea and the history of my own region, South-East Asia.

148. Mr. TINOCO (Nicaragua) (*interpretation from Spanish*): On item 123, which the General Assembly of the United Nations is now discussing, and which relates to the situation in Kampuchea, my country took a very clear and consistent stand from the very first days of our triumphant revolution.

149. At the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Havana last September, the Government of reconstruction of Nicaragua expressed its solidarity with the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

150. The position we have adopted was dictated by our own experience and revolutionary needs. We have been guided by our personal knowledge of what is meant by the struggle of a people to liberate itself from

exploitation, oppression and genocide. Because we have lived through this genocide and have physical experience of it, because we have seen thousands of our compatriots mown down by bullets of genocide and aggression, we are unable to understand the ease and lightness with which all the infamy committed by the régime headed by the two criminals, Pol Pot and Ieng Sary, is dismissed.

151. We have seen how, in a manner incomprehensible to us and yet in the most natural way possible, the barbarity of the Pol Pot régime is mentioned, fleetingly acknowledged and then immediately overlooked — while the feelings and thoughts of a massacred people are forgotten — and the discussion proceeds, without further preamble, to the most extensive consideration of the role of Viet Nam in this matter.

152. We do not understand it, because absolutely no one has troubled even to mention the monstrous numbers of deaths and the statistics of social and cultural destruction that have been denounced in many documents, over a long period of time.

153. Our people rose, and we rebelled against the despotic and genocidal clique of Somoza; but our sufferings pale before the sufferings of the Kampuchean people.

154. If in our country the dictatorship assassinated 10 Catholic priests in a year, that figure pales into insignificance before the fact that, over three years, the criminal clique in Kampuchea slaughtered the greater part of 82,000 bonzes in that fraternal country.

155. If the Somoza dictatorship in my country murdered in one year 30 university professors, in Kampuchea the genocidal clique of Pol Pot left out of a university population two or three times greater, no more than two or three professors, either because they eliminated them physically or because they stifled the very expression of culture.

156. If in Nicaragua the Somoza genocidal dictatorship killed 40,000 of our compatriots, who constitute 1.5 per cent of our population, in a single year, in Kampuchea over a period of three years, the genocide of Pol Pot and Ieng Sary and their clique exterminated 3 million persons, who constituted 40 per cent of the population of Kampuchea as a whole.

157. Can a people bear such a barbaric and unjust destruction of its culture?

158. Can a people put up with a geographical uprooting so infamous and insensitive and a way of life so distorted that they do not much differ from the brutal uprootings which resulted from the capture of slaves in Africa?

159. Can a people bear decimation and a death-rate of such grotesque proportions as that in Kampuchea, which was so extreme that it cannot even be compared with what the Nazis inflicted on the Jews between 1939 and 1945?

160. It is for this reason that our delegation, our Government and our people are unable to understand how some people can have doubts about the existence of

objective conditions sufficient to justify the uprising of the Kampuchean people against their executioners.

161. In the light of such stunning and dramatic figures and facts, we do not understand how some can insinuate that there was not, or even deny the possibility that there might have been, a people's uprising, because we believe that this would be to deny to the Kampuchean people its human nature and its capacity to react against its aggressors and its executioners.

162. In the light of such clear figures and facts, we do not know how one can have any doubt regarding the legality of that uprising and of any measure taken by the people of Kampuchea to aid and abet it.

163. In the light of such clear figures and facts, we do not understand how anyone can deny the reality of the uprising and the rebellion of that people against its executioners. To deny the reality of that uprising means — by logical reasoning and by the weight of figures — saying that the Kampuchean people was unable to rise because of the blood it had shed, because it was worn out and because of the genocide committed against it. To say this, and then to treat it so lightly and superficially in our analyses of the Kampuchean problem, is inconsistent and unjust.

164. All this has led my delegation to consider that the supreme effort made by the Kampuchean people to raise itself from hell was not only necessary but inevitable and could not be stopped.

165. We believe in the supreme right of peoples to overthrow their tyrants and executioners, especially if they are genocidal. We believe in that right of peoples, regardless of the ideological belief that that executioner may assume.

166. The day it is proved to us that these monstrous figures of death are untrue, that it is not true that 3 million Kampucheans were slaughtered in the name of an absurd and irresponsible social experiment, on that day we shall believe that the Kampuchean people perhaps did not have the right to rebel and to use all its available resources and allies to save itself from such monstrous criminals.

167. The position of my delegation stems from our own vital, revolutionary experience. That is why we speak clearly and affirm that our Government and our people firmly respect the basic principles of the Charter of the United Nations. We suffered genocide and exploitation and, at that time, we, the people subjected to bombing and brutal extermination, were convinced that, over and above the principle of non-interference by other States in our domestic affairs, stood the principle of survival. Thus we did not hesitate to seek assistance and support from the progressive Governments of Latin America, assistance that was not lacking and that strengthened our cause.

168. My Government and people believe that at certain historical and political moments the principle of non-interference in the domestic affairs of other States contradicts the very vital need of a people to survive. In such circumstances, for States that are spectators outside the tragedy, the legal international principle is always given pride of place, but for the hungry masses,

for the masses subjected to extermination, international law is a distant thing; what comes first is the settlement of their own internal and vital contradictions with their aggressors.

169. That is why we state and believe that the problem of world peace is not only the problem of good neighbourliness among States. The problem of peace is also—or perhaps above all the problem of justice, the problem of democracy and of respect for human rights, within each State.

170. To conclude, I wish to indicate that we do not believe that the true solution to the problem of the conflict in Kampuchea lies in calling in a simplistic way for the withdrawal of the Vietnamese troops.

171. We consider that the military problem of South-East Asia, the problem of peace in South-East Asia, is far more complex and involves circumstances dependent upon and troops coming from different countries.

172. We believe that we might contribute to the search for that true solution by carrying out an analysis that will make it possible to define and identify the geopolitical trends and interests and the strategic threats in the zone. For all these reasons, we support draft resolution A/34/L.7/Rev.1 and, basing ourselves on operative paragraph 3, we wish to declare our sympathy for draft resolution A/34/L.38, submitted by the delegation of India.

173. Mr. BHATT (Nepal): The recent tragic developments in Kampuchea have deeply disturbed the conscience of the world. There has been widespread dislocation of the economic and social life of the Kampuchean people, as a consequence of foreign invasion. The situation has been developing to the present explosive condition since the Vietnamese invaded Kampuchea in December last year. The direct result of that conflict was bloodshed and the creation of an atmosphere of fear and uncertainty in the country. Kampucheans are suffering from conditions of acute food shortage and are dying by hundreds of thousands. The number of those who have left their homeland in search of food, shelter and security is also staggering. From all accounts it is clear that, unless urgent measures are taken to organize relief and to provide it directly to the Kampuchean people themselves, the nation is in danger of being destroyed.

174. My delegation is gratified to note the response of the international community in meeting this challenge. We should like to express our thanks and appreciation to the Secretary-General of the United Nations for convening an emergency Pledging Conference for Emergency Humanitarian Relief to the People of Kampuchea, on 5 November. Though the contributions pledged at that Conference were less than the Secretary-General had requested, yet it clearly manifested the concern of the international community at the deteriorating condition of the Kampuchean people. We are hopeful that in the future the response of the international community will be as prompt and as generous when the need for further humanitarian relief arises for the people of that country. We appeal to all parties concerned in the area

to co-operate fully in the international relief efforts, regardless of their political attitudes. The immediate concern of all of us should be to save a whole nation from the danger of extinction due to starvation and disease.

175. My delegation is aware that, though the problem of humanitarian relief to Kampuchea is of the utmost urgency, the root cause of the present grave situation is the armed conflict in Kampuchea. Some time back, it appeared that the countries of Indo-China, after a long struggle and great sacrifice, had finally gained national independence, peace and stability, and the immediate task before them was national reconstruction after decades of ravaging wars to achieve independence. Their heroic fight against heavy odds had won universal admiration and wide support, and their well-wishers were hoping for an era of peace and development. However, recent events have belied those hopes. The cause of the present situation of instability is the invasion of Kampuchea by Viet Nam in December last year. My Government deplored the action of Viet Nam at that time and asked for immediate withdrawal of foreign forces from Kampuchea. In spite of almost universal condemnation of that act of aggression against a small nation, it seems that the Vietnamese forces have come to stay in Kampuchea. It is regrettable that the Security Council has not been able to take action by calling for the cessation of all hostilities and complete withdrawal of foreign forces, because of the use of the veto by one of its permanent members.

176. The already grave situation in Kampuchea has been further complicated by the intervention of outside forces in the internal affairs of that country. Various explanations have been presented to justify that action, which is a clear case of aggression and a violation of the principles of non-intervention in internal affairs, non-use of force, and respect for the national independence and the territorial inviolability of a State. We have been told that one of the provocations of the Vietnamese armed intervention in Kampuchea was the character of the Kampuchean Government. Such arguments are unacceptable to us. We cannot justify aggression on any grounds. Every nation has the right to decide its own destiny. The Kampuchean people should be allowed to choose their own government freely and democratically without outside interference in any form. The first and most important condition for enabling the Kampucheans to act freely is the immediate withdrawal of all foreign forces from their territory and the creation of a normal situation.

177. Draft resolution A/34/L.13/Rev.1, of which my delegation is a sponsor, provides for practical measures to restore peace and stability in Kampuchea and to provide humanitarian relief to the people of that country.

178. In conclusion, my delegation hopes that all parties to the conflict will cease their acts of hostility and settle their disputes by peaceful means. We also support the Secretary-General in his efforts to provide urgent relief to the Kampuchean people

*The meeting rose at 5.40 p.m.*