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CONTENTS

Agenda item 123:

 The situation in Kampuchea (*continued*).....1255

Page

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

AGENDA ITEM 123

The situation in Kampuchea (*continued*)

1. The PRESIDENT: I should like to draw the attention of the Assembly to revised draft resolution A/34/L.13/Rev.2.

2. Mr. KATAPODIS (Greece): There are three predominant factors to be considered in assessing the situation in Kampuchea: the conditions prevailing in that country before its occupation by foreign troops; developments since December of last year; and the desperate plight of the people of Kampuchea, including the refugee problem. All these factors must be taken into account in seeking a solution to what may turn out to be, in terms of the human lives involved, the starkest tragedy humanity has known since the Second World War.

3. If there is a common denominator in almost all the statements that we have heard so far in the present debate, it is the condemnation of the régime that governed—or, should one say, exercised power—in Kampuchea between April 1975 and the time that it was overthrown by foreign troops. The victims of that period numbered hundreds of thousands according to moderate estimates, and millions if the detractors of the ousted regime are to be believed. What makes this situation more tragic is the fact that the victims were immolated by their own compatriots, for reasons which seem to defy logic and without distinction as to sex, age, social class or even, in many cases, whether or not the victim was involved in political activities and the blood-civil war that devastated Kampuchea for five years. Without going into the reasons for the internal developments in Kampuchea between the beginning of the decade and the present day, one thing is certain—that during all those turbulent years the man in the middle stood practically no chance at all. This seems to confirm one of the paradoxes of our time that, in an age which should ideally provide individuals with every opportunity to participate in its unprecedented material progress and to establish their identity, they are reduced to mere particles of dust when caught in the whirlwind of great historical conflicts.

4. In December 1978, the Government of Democratic Kampuchea was overthrown by foreign invasion. This in itself is inadmissible. If States were permitted to extend their domination over their neighbours under the pretext of freeing them from their rulers, the whole international order would collapse. Unfortunately, in the post-war years, we have witnessed a number of such armed interventions, under pretexts ominously reminiscent of tactics that led to the greatest conflagration in human history. But, even if the invasion of Kampuchea could find some justification in its supposed motivation, ensuing events proved that the aim of the conqueror was to install in Phnom Penh a régime that can convince nobody that it represents the people of Kampuchea or is accepted by them. Thus Kampuchea finds itself on the verge of extinction as a separate national entity.

5. What is far worse is that the people of Kampuchea find themselves on the verge of extinction as a people, of physical elimination and disappearance from the face of the earth. Only last week, most of us were gathered in this same hall, in an expression of solidarity with the starving people of Kampuchea, both inside the country and in the refugee camps of neighbouring countries, which—and foremost among them Thailand—cannot be praised enough for opening their borders to the incessant flow of human flotsam that has flooded them in the last 11 months.

6. The response of the international community to the appeal of the Secretary-General, following the meeting on Refugees and Displaced Persons in South-East Asia, held at Geneva on 20 and 21 July 1979, is tangible proof that civilized humanity, when faced with its responsibilities, can fortunately still rise to the task of coming to the assistance of fellow human beings in need. But the collection of money and provisions is not sufficient in itself. Equally important is it that the product of international generosity should reach its final destination, the innumerable victims of starvation and disease. We hope that all those responsible, on whichever side of the fence they may be, for the present plight of these people, will put no obstacles in the way of the large-scale operation aimed at saving what remains of a once noble and gentle people.

7. However, the humanitarian aspect of the Kampuchean tragedy, despite its extreme urgency, should not let us forget the essence of the problem, which is the political future of the people of Kampuchea. There is not the least doubt in the mind of any impartial observer that neither the previous nor the present régime can serve as a basis for reconstituting a proper Government in Kampuchea. Those who have violated every human right in their own country and those who exercise power with the backing of foreign troops, as well as those who sent the troops into the country, can only serve Kampuchea by making way for a truly representative Government, democratically elected by the people of

Kampuchea. In that regard, my delegation would like to associate itself fully with the statement of Ambassador Keating of Ireland, who, speaking in the name of the European Community [63rd meeting], outlined very clearly the conditions and the framework of such a political settlement.

8. All those who, directly or indirectly, are responsible for the dire state in which millions of Kampuchians find themselves today should, albeit at the last minute, allow that unfortunate people to start in peace and freedom the long and painful process of rebuilding its country and regaining its human dignity. If Kampuchea, in one way or another, disappears from the map as a free and independent State, that will be a cause of shame for which few, if any, precedents can be found in our perturbed century.

9. Mr. ROCHE (Canada): Canada is speaking in this debate as a country which has had a long involvement in supervisory mechanisms established as a result of various attempts by the international community to restore peace and stability in Indo-China. It is therefore with concern that we have watched the developments in Kampuchea over the past years, and we have deep sympathy for the plight of the people of that country. When the war in Viet Nam ended, many of us were able to hope that peace was at hand after the decades of strife that Indo-China had seen. However, hope gave way to horror.

10. Canadians have followed the situation in Kampuchea with extreme concern. We have felt revulsion at the stories of the tragic suffering of the people. As these stories have gradually emerged, they have become not vague images but vivid reality. Incalculable numbers of people have died from the conflict and from famine. The promise of Kampuchea's future has been dimmed by the deaths of educators, doctors, skilled workers and managers and, most sadly, virtually a generation of children.

11. The appalling circumstances of the people were only beginning to be made known to the world when their suffering was compounded by the aggression of a foreign Power embroiling them in active conflict. Kampuchians have been forced to flee from their homes, to separate from their families, to starve, to die.

12. Conditions continue to deteriorate. The pitiful few who have been able to reach refuge in Thailand tell of the decimation of the population through disease and famine. Villages have been sacked by troops: by regulars, guerillas and deserters. Water supplies are contaminated, people reduced to eating seed grains and whatever else they can get by foraging. Children, the future of the nation, are dying by the thousand. The distended bellies and bewildered eyes of the infants tell of the horror of life and death inside Kampuchea. Canadians feel outrage at the enormity of this obscenity.

13. The Secretary-General should be congratulated on convening the Pledging Conference for Emergency Humanitarian Relief to the People of Kampuchea, held on 5 November. The generosity of those who responded to the plea and pledged some \$210 million means that some lives will be saved in the coming months.

14. Canada appeals to all parties for their co-operation in the humanitarian relief effort. The most re-

cent reports of the aid efforts speak in terms of a six-month period within which \$110 million worth of food, medical equipment and agricultural supplies should be distributed. The international community must recognize that this effort, even if fully successful, can only temporarily halt the deterioration of the situation, and that for little more than half the population. Already relief for the second six-month period is being planned but, again, the scope of the effort has severe limitations.

15. The deep concern of Canadians at conditions inside Kampuchea is slowly changing its expression from anger to determination that the realities of the situation be recognized by the international community and solutions sought.

16. The humanitarian relief effort and the handling of the refugee problem are only palliatives. If, in the longer term, there are to be prospects of the existence of a Kampuchean nation, the present problems of social and political organization must be addressed. We are assembled to discuss those questions, to evaluate alternatives and to take concrete actions towards their resolution.

17. The outstanding issues must include: recognition of the role Viet Nam is playing in Kampuchea; the relationship of the Kampuchean situation to the stability of the whole of South-East Asia; identification of the principles on which a settlement of the situation should be based and consideration of ways in which to bring about a lasting political solution.

18. We condemn unreservedly the genocide practised by the Pol Pot régime. However, we do not accept the thesis that the invasion of Kampuchea was intended solely to deliver the country from tyranny. It appears clear that the purpose of the invasion was the establishment of a docile and subservient régime. Whatever Viet Nam's motives may have been, they are construed by neighbouring countries and by most of the international community as an attempt to establish a dependent State on their border which would pay homage to Hanoi.

19. There are two specific points which might usefully be made here. One reason Viet Nam has given for its actions against Kampuchea is that of border conflicts. But if serious problems actually existed on the Vietnamese-Kampuchean border, it would hardly be necessary to occupy the entire country to resolve them. Secondly, the claim made in the draft resolution submitted by Viet Nam — A/34/L.7/Rev.1 — that the people of Kampuchea invited Vietnamese intervention, and that such action is in accordance with the Charter, is at best a distortion of the intentions of the drafters of that document. Provision for such intervention, if intended, would only be a prescription for turmoil and a pretext for aggression. In any event, there is no evidence that the Kampuchean people asked for the intervention of foreign troops. Instead, the current situation argues for the view that Viet Nam interfered in the internal affairs of Kampuchea, not to rescue the people from a manifestly abhorrent régime, but to satisfy a desire for the extension of its influence. Uncertainty over Viet Nam's long-term intentions provides an undesirable, destabilizing influence on the whole of South-East Asia. The international community must recognize the desires of the nations of South-East Asia for peace, freedom and neutrality. International influence must be brought to bear on those who would upset these desires.

20. In an attempt to secure the future of the Kampuchean people and the stability of South-East Asia, certain principles must be borne in mind which are recognized in draft resolution A/34/L.13/Rev.2, which has been introduced by the States members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations [ASEAN].
21. The draft resolution reaffirms the right of all peoples to determine their own future free from outside interference. It then emphasizes that all States should refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the sovereignty, territorial integrity or independence of any State and strictly adhere to the principles of the peaceful settlement of disputes and of non-interference in the internal affairs of other States.
22. It is against these principles that we must measure the course of action designed to find a political solution to the long-term problems of Kampuchea and respond to the concerns of States in South-East Asia.
23. Accordingly, Canada has sponsored draft resolution A/34/L.13/Rev.2 as providing the basis for the first tentative steps towards a solution of these problems.
24. Draft resolution A/34/L.13/Rev.2 identifies elements of the current situation in Kampuchea: the threat to stability of South-East Asia; regret for armed intervention; alarm at the potential for the conflict spilling over into neighbouring territories; distress at the refugee flow and the necessity of humanitarian relief.
25. The draft resolution then makes three points of paramount importance to the future of Kampuchea. First, it calls upon parties to the conflict to cease hostilities forthwith; secondly, it calls for the immediate withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea; and, thirdly, it urges settlement by peaceful means.
26. Canada endorses these points which, if acted upon with the real co-operation of all parties, should be the first steps towards the resolution of the problem in Kampuchea and the establishment of conditions under which the people of Kampuchea may be free to choose their own government. It is equally important to note that the draft resolution requests the Secretary-General to investigate the situation and to use his good offices in order to contribute to a peaceful solution to the problem.
27. Canada urges all Member States to support draft resolution A/34/L.13/Rev.2, for its focus is on the future, on co-operation and constructive action. We call upon all nations to support the Secretary-General and to use all influence at their disposal to ensure that the situation in Kampuchea does not end in greater tragedy.
28. We welcome the increasing co-operation extended by Viet Nam and the Heng Samrin administration in the humanitarian relief effort and applaud the response of Member States to the call for aid. In the final analysis, however, the plight of the Kampuchean people and the instability of Indo-China will not be alleviated without political decisions and action. Whether galvanized by humanitarian concerns or political realism, it is imperative that all parties co-operate to find political solutions within the context of the principles enunciated in the draft resolution. We have before us a proposal for the first steps towards such solutions, and we urge all Member States to offer their full support.
29. Mr. KOMATINA (Yugoslavia): Yugoslavia has been constantly guided in its policy of principle and in its international activities by strict respect for the authentic principles of the policy of non-alignment, in which are at the same time embodied and further elaborated the basic principles of the Charter of the United Nations. In this respect, we attach primary importance to the principle of the sovereignty of peoples and countries and to the rights to independence, territorial integrity and free national and social development. No people and no country can be deprived of these inalienable rights for any reason and on any pretext whatsoever. We believe that this basic position constitutes the essential foundation of international relations, an irreplaceable criterion for safeguarding security, and the only acceptable course of action in the search for peaceful solutions. In short, it is an inexhaustible source and foundation for over-all behaviour in international life.
30. These principles represent a whole and cannot be applied selectively depending on the size, social system or level of development of countries. Their violation cannot be allowed on the basis of the so-called validity of motives, as this would amount to a return to times when the right of the stronger reigned supreme and when decisions were imposed by various centres or concerts of Powers bent on dividing the world into spheres of interest and influence. International relations are not an ambivalent quantity to be dosed out on the basis of arbitrary criteria to various categories of countries.
31. The non-aligned movement has transformed these principles into a basic postulate of its policy and course leading to the establishment of a new system of international relations. From the very outset, and most recently at their Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Havana from 3 to 9 September 1979, they have put into the forefront the principles of
- “National independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, sovereign equality, and the free social development of all countries . . . non-interference and non-intervention in the internal and external affairs of other countries; freedom of all States to determine their political systems and pursue economic, social and cultural development without intimidation, hindrance and pressure; . . . non-use of force or threat of use of force and non-recognition of situations brought about by the threat or use of force; and peaceful settlement of disputes.” [See A/34/542, annex, sect. I para. 13.]
32. Regarding the objectives of the non-aligned movement, the Heads of State or Government on the same occasion laid special stress on:
- “ . . . preservation of the national independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and security of non-aligned countries; elimination of foreign interference and intervention in the internal and external affairs of States and the use or the threat of force; . . . elimination of imperialism . . . and all forms of expansionism, foreign occupation, and domination and hegemony; . . . withdrawal of foreign military forces and the dismantling of foreign military bases.” [Ibid.]

It is therefore no accident that the non-aligned countries are preparing a document directed against interference and intervention that they will submit to the General Assembly for adoption.

33. What is involved here is not a transient policy or a purely formal democratic principle, but a *conditio sine qua non* of a stable and democratic international order in which countries and peoples may freely establish their mutual relations. There can be no "justified" or "unjustified" intervention, just as there are no "good" or "bad" occupation. If we were to embark on that road, we should indirectly be assenting to the monopoly right of the strong and the great to shape international life; we should be sanctioning intervention as an integral part of the existing system of balance of power, whereby the security of small and militarily weak countries would be permanently threatened. In so doing, we should actually be tacitly accepting the kind of "special", sometimes "lightning", sometimes "quiet" but always global war that is constantly being waged against the independence of countries and peoples, and the justification of such war by "higher" aims in accordance with various arbitrary interpretations.

34. A new situation has been created in the whole region of South-East Asia. Unfortunately, that region has not become a zone of peace and co-operation among equal peoples and countries, as foreseen in the decisions at non-aligned conferences, but has been transformed into a dangerous focal point of crisis as a result of successive interventions, which exacerbate the existing, inflame the potential and portend new contradictions and conflicts. The situation in Democratic Kampuchea embodies elements of increasingly acute danger, threatening peace not only in the region but also in the world at large. It is therefore our main objective to identify all the basic aspects and dimensions of this crisis, to prevent the *fait accompli* that has been imposed by force from becoming a permanent state, to help overcome the crisis by peaceful means and above all to ensure conditions that will enable the Kampuchean people, which has been subjected to frightful tribulations and suffering, freely to determine its own way of life in independence. In brief, to our mind the basic task is to find a peaceful solution based on the withdrawal of foreign troops from Kampuchea, on non-intervention and non-interference in external and internal affairs, and on strict respect for and consistent observance of the principles of national independence, sovereignty, equality and free national and social development of all the States of the region.

35. It is not, nor has it ever been, a question of pronouncing ourselves on the character of an internal system or of defending one or another Government or régime in Kampuchea or in any other country, regardless of the individual opinion that any one of us may have on this matter. The internal system of a country, which is a matter to be decided exclusively by the people of that country, is one thing, while relations among sovereign countries, which must be based on strict respect for independence, are another. No foreign country has the right to change existing Governments and to set up or impose new ones, and no foreign country has the right to determine the fate of other countries in any way. For us this is an irrefutable law of international relations. It is encouraging that most countries have given priority to defence of the principles of independence and non-intervention, separating such

defence from their views on the character of the internal régime. This was also reflected in the way in which the Security Council dealt with this question at the beginning of the year.

36. We welcome the initiative that the ASEAN members have undertaken in urging the United Nations and the whole international community to exert efforts to find a political settlement of the crisis created by military intervention in Democratic Kampuchea, on the basis of principles that would guarantee all the peoples of that region an equal right to peace, independence, security and free internal development.

37. All these elements are embodied in draft resolution A/34/L.13/Rev.2, which has been conceived in a realistic, moderate and constructive spirit. It emphasizes the need to put an end to intervention as a matter of urgency; it points to the only possible course conducive to a peaceful solution; it stresses both the political and the humanitarian aspects of the problem; it identifies the modes of implementation, underlining the indispensable role of the United Nations and of its Secretary-General.

38. We support that draft resolution because it also draws attention to the basic principles governing behaviour in international relations and to the ways that lead to the resolution of the crisis. We also support the demand that that resolution be given priority over any other draft because, in addition to answering substantive questions, it has been proposed by the very same countries that requested inclusion of this item in the agenda of the General Assembly. My delegation cannot support draft resolution A/34/L.7/Rev.1, because it alters the character of the problem and is aimed at justifying and legitimizing the situation created by foreign intervention.

39. The gravity of the situation and the complexity of the crisis and, above all, the dramatic moment in the development of the situation in Kampuchea, where war is continuing with massive use of force; the unheard-of suffering of its people, which is without precedent in the long and rich history of that martyred country; and the seriousness of the problem of refugees: all these things make it imperative to find solutions without further delay, with a view to eliminating the consequences of intervention and preserving peace and stability in the whole region.

40. Therefore my delegation is convinced that, at the present moment, it is of the utmost importance that the General Assembly confirm the lasting principles on which such a solution should be founded. It seems to us that, within this framework, the General Assembly is faced with a fivefold concrete task. First, it should not endorse foreign intervention, and it should demand the immediate withdrawal of foreign troops, because only in such conditions can the people of Kampuchea freely determine its own way of life. Secondly, it should create conditions for and initiate a political settlement of the crisis by peaceful means, through negotiations, for we firmly believe that a just and durable political solution of the problem of Kampuchea—and that of the South-East Asia crisis in general—can be achieved only in this way. Here I wish to emphasize that Yugoslavia has advocated a peaceful settlement from the very outset. In order to achieve that aim, as early as the initial stage of the crisis, the President of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Josip Broz Tito, through his special en-

voy, the former Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Miloš Minić, addressed a message to the Heads of State of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and Democratic Kampuchea in which he called upon them to put an end to military operations and to settle the conflict through negotiations. With the same purpose in mind, a *pro memoria* of the Government of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was handed to the Deputy Foreign Minister of Viet Nam on 28 December 1978. Yugoslavia has acted similarly on all occasions. We have always proceeded from the position that the solution of this problem through the use of force not only constitutes a risky course that is contrary to the Charter but also creates a vicious circle that results in increased interference by outside Powers, which has a negative impact both with regard to the solution of the conflict and with regard to the independence of the parties involved in it. Thirdly, the Assembly should request all States to refrain from interfering in the internal affairs of Democratic Kampuchea and urge them not to do so under any circumstances; fourthly, it should reaffirm the inalienable sovereign right of the people of Kampuchea to determine its destiny and to decide on its own socio-political system without outside interference; and fifthly, it should call for the provision of urgent and over-all humanitarian assistance to the entire people of Kampuchea, to refugees and displaced persons and ensure that the aid reaches those who are in the greatest need of it.

41. Intervention, interference in the internal affairs of States and the use of force in international relations, on any pretext and anywhere in the world, are totally unacceptable to my country. In the same way, we firmly believe that intervention and aggression must not be rewarded or accepted, even as a temporary state of affairs. The toleration of such a situation on the pretext of statically conceived realism or control imposed by foreign force, even if such control is effective, does not provide a way out of the crisis, but actually amounts to a voluntary or involuntary acceptance of, if not complicity in, intervention in and occupation of a country which is a Member State of the United Nations. This is a matter fraught with numerous immediate and long-term dangers.

42. At non-aligned meetings and in the United Nations, we have constantly pointed to the inadmissibility and the danger of military interventions, foreign interference and the imposition of solutions on other countries by means of *faits accomplis* and we have advocated a peaceful solution of disputes on the basis of the principles of non-alignment and the United Nations Charter. We will follow in the same direction and we are ready to support any effort designed to lend humanitarian assistance to the Kampuchean people and, especially, to the refugees.

43. We wish to point, in particular, to the humanitarian aspect of the problem and to the fact that the tremendous suffering of the Kampuchean people is continuing with the same intensity and with the danger of physical extermination. Such a situation is without precedent in the recent history of international relations. In this connexion we support the efforts exerted within the framework of the United Nations and more broadly, with a view to lending humanitarian assistance to the Kampuchean people and, especially, to the refugees. We wish, on this occasion, to congratulate His Excellency Mr. Kurt Waldheim, Secretary-General of

the United Nations, for his untiring endeavours to solve the humanitarian problems arising out of the crisis in South-East Asia. We wish to underline the moral obligation incumbent on all of us to do everything in our power in order to alleviate the suffering of innocent men, women and children. We repeat that it is important to ensure that aid reaches those who need it most and those for whom it is intended, both in Kampuchea itself and in the countries which have received the refugees. This assistance should be channelled through the United Nations and other international organizations. It is clear, however, that the suffering of the Kampuchean people will finally end only when such a political solution is found as will enable the Kampuchean people to determine its own destiny. For only within the framework of such a just and comprehensive solution of the whole crisis in South-East Asia can we prevent the imposition of foreign interests on the peoples of that region and solve all other problems of a humanitarian, social and political nature.

44. In conclusion, I should like to stress that in this, as well as in other situations, the United Nations plays an irreplaceable role, both with regard to the search for and the implementation of a political solution, and with respect to humanitarian assistance. The situation in Kampuchea has, once again, put the world Organization to the test of showing whether it is able to contribute to finding durable and just solutions to the major problems of the present-day world, primarily problems concerning international peace and security and the elimination of focal points of crisis. This situation puts to the proof the duty and readiness of all of us to contribute to this by consistent action based on principle and in keeping with the United Nations Charter. If we fail in this, we could be faced with unforeseen dangers for peace and security not only in this region, but in the rest of the world at large. In this crisis, beyond any doubt, all the basic principles of international relations are at stake and, at the same time, forces are involved whose action exercises a strong impact on the international situation. All the greater is the responsibility of the international community to take urgent action. Our credibility will suffer considerably if we are not in a position to help a Member State to realize its right to independence and to help to save its people from extermination.

45. Mr. DASHTSEREN (Mongolia): The item which is being currently discussed in this Assembly relates purely to the internal affairs of a sovereign State, one of the full-fledged Members of our Organization. At the very outset, my delegation would like to reiterate its position of principle that the discussion of the situation in Kampuchea, without the consent of its legitimate Government and in the absence of its official representative, constitutes a gross violation of the principles of sovereign equality and non-interference in the internal affairs of States. These are fundamental principles of contemporary international law and of this Organization, expressed in paragraphs 1 and 7 of Article 2 of the Charter. This is the only way in which world public opinion would view the consideration of the situation in Kampuchea.

Mr. Matane (Papua New Guinea), Vice-President, took the Chair.

46. Moreover, the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Council, the only legitimate representative of

the Kampuchean people has time and time again in its official communications drawn the attention of the Organization to the inadmissibility of the discussion of its internal situation.

47. Mongolia, like many other countries, holds the view that, if the issue had to be discussed in the General Assembly on the insistence of certain delegations, that discussion should have been based on the objective picture of the situation prevailing in Kampuchea, obtained directly from the genuine representatives of the Kampuchean people, that is, the official representatives of the People's Republic of Kampuchea; and certain Members should not, as was the case a few months ago in the Security Council, have listened to the malicious slanders of certain persons who do not and never did represent the people of Kampuchea at all. Unfortunately, the discussion did not proceed in this way.

48. The initiators of the present item 123 argued in their explanatory memorandum [A/34/191, annex] that the situation in Indo-China "poses a threat to the peace and security of the ASEAN member States and of the whole region".

49. In our view, there was indeed an imminent threat to the peace and security of the peoples of the South-East Asian region. That threat came from Kampuchea when the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary régime plunged the people of Kampuchea into the abyss of the policy of genocide inside the country and made territorial claims to their neighbours' possessions, and in particular claims to the whole Mekong delta, instigated anti-Government actions in those neighbouring countries, provoked border clashes and incidents and even committed acts of aggression. But, as far as we can recall, no one at that time requested the discussion of the then existing situation.

50. As history shows and teaches, no nation can be held under oppression by brutal force of terror and massacres. In the case of Kampuchea, its people was subjected to gradual extermination. The four years of the genocidal reign of Pol Pot and Ieng Sary brought death to 3 million people while the remaining 4 million were to suffer the same fate. In those circumstances, it was only logical and natural that the people of Kampuchea should wage an armed struggle against the hated régime of the Pol Pot and Ieng Sary clique, a struggle which was crowned with the complete victory of the people, the overthrow of the odious régime and the formation of a new, genuinely revolutionary Government.

51. The People's Revolutionary Council set as its main aim the restoration of the fundamental human rights and freedom of the Kampuchean people and the development of good-neighbourly relations and co-operation with its neighbours and all other States. Therefore we rightfully regard the victory of the people's uprising as an important event, and not only in the history of the Kampuchean people. We regard the new People's Republic of Kampuchea as an important factor in the normalization of the situation in South-East Asia and the strengthening of peace and security in that part of the world.

52. If there is any threat to the peace and security of the region, then it comes from a country that encouraged the odious régime of Pol Pot and Ieng Sary to commit the crime of genocide, foment border incidents with its neighbours and create a direct threat to international

peace and security. What is worse is the fact that the real danger comes from a permanent member of the Security Council, that is, a country which, under the terms of the Charter of the United Nations, is called upon to bear "primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security", but which, ironically, not only propagates world war and makes territorial claims on its neighbours, but has already occupied islands and parts of the territories of its neighbours, uses peoples of its origin in other countries to undermine stability in those countries and has, as was rightly said, taken the law into its own hands and voluntarily assumed the role of prosecutor, judge, jury and executioner and the role of tutor of its smaller neighbours.

53. Mongolia, which has a common border with China and itself experiences the great-Power hegemonistic and chauvinistic ambitions of the Chinese rulers, is well aware of this danger.

54. The root causes of the recent tragedy of the Kampuchean people can be found not in Kampuchea itself but in the great-Power and chauvinistic ambitions of one of its great neighbours, the leader of which declared a few years ago:

"We must conquer the globe. Our target is the entire globe, where we shall create a mighty power."

It is also relevant to recall Mao's words in 1965:

"We must without fail get hold of South-East Asia, including South Viet Nam, Thailand, Burma, Malaysia, Singapore . . . South-East Asia is a very rich region; it abounds in minerals and will be worth the expense of getting hold of it. In the future it will be very useful for the development of Chinese industry. In this way there will be a full return on the expenditure. After we get hold of South-East Asia the wind from the East will prevail over the wind from the West."

55. Therefore the situation in and around Kampuchea should be considered in the context of the prevailing over-all situation in South-East Asia.

56. A number of delegations have made reference in their statements to the presence of Vietnamese troops in Kampuchea. In this regard, my delegation would like to note that the presence of Vietnamese troops in Kampuchea is both legitimate and legal. It is legitimate in the light of the present policy of China which has "guided", "advised" and "helped" the odious regime of Pol Pot and Ieng Sary to exterminate one third of its own people, has voluntarily assumed the right to "teach lessons" to its neighbours and, together with some other foreign Powers, is backing the remnants of the previous genocidal régime. It is completely legal because the Kampuchean people, just like other peoples, is entitled under contemporary international law and the Charter of the United Nations to seek support, aid and assistance in exercising its right to self-determination, self-defence and collective defence. The whole post-war period in general and the latest events in Asia, Africa and Latin America in particular testify to this.

57. As we all know, the Pledging Conference for Emergency Humanitarian Relief to the People of Kampuchea was held last week on the initiative of the

Secretary-General. In this connexion, I should like to state that the Government and people of the Mongolian People's Republic, like other socialist countries, are rendering aid and assistance to the people of Kampuchea on a bilateral basis.

58. Here I should like to state that humanitarian aid to the people of Kampuchea should not be used to interfere in the internal affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea. All the assistance to the people of Kampuchea should be without any political strings and should be delivered through the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea, the sole authentic and legal representative of the Kampuchean people.

59. In conclusion, my delegation would like to refer to draft resolutions A/34/L.13/Rev.2 and A/34/L.7/Rev.1.

60. My delegation has closely examined draft resolution A/34/L.13/Rev.2 and is of the view that: first, its adoption would not lead to a just settlement of the humanitarian issues in Kampuchea; secondly, it does not reflect the true situation in that country, and thirdly, it would constitute a gross violation of paragraph 7 of Article 2 of the Charter, since it would be interference in the internal affairs of that country.

61. Therefore my delegation will vote against that draft resolution. On the other hand, the adoption of draft resolution A/34/L.7/Rev.1, which my delegation has decided to sponsor, in our opinion could contribute to the cause of alleviating the plight of the long-suffering Kampuchean people and establishing a zone of peace, freedom, neutrality and stability in the region.

62. With regard to the attempts to reverse the priority of the two draft resolutions, my delegation fully supports the formal motion proposed by the representative of Laos [65th meeting] to the effect that draft resolution A/34/L.7/Rev.1 be given priority, for the following reasons: first, it is in full accordance with rule 91 of the rules of procedure; secondly, we find no convincing reason why draft resolution A/34/L.13/Rev.2 should be accorded priority.

63. Mr. SAHAK (Afghanistan) (*interpretation from Russian*): For the third day now, the General Assembly is discussing the so-called "situation in Kampuchea". Having lived through a terrible tragedy, the people of Kampuchea have embarked on the task of restoring their country and establishing normal conditions in all spheres of their life. Of course, there are many problems and difficulties; but the stubborn efforts being made by the Kampucheans to overcome them, and their success in doing so, in clear evidence that so far as they are concerned there is no such question as the one we are now discussing. The question exists only for the United Nations; it is an artificial problem. At this time when we are being compelled to deal with it, the Kampucheans are heroically healing the wounds of their martyred country. They are full of confidence that we shall not allow any further mistakes to be made and shall not adopt any unjust decisions, such as the ones quite recently adopted by our Organization. The discussion of the present question has gone beyond normal legal rules and criteria. The utmost caution must therefore be exercised in approaching the problem. The adoption of the decision well known to everyone here was bound to

perplex and alarm world public opinion and cause it to have a feeling of bewilderment.

64. The Kampuchean people have lived through a terrible tragedy. Isolated from the rest of the world during the bloody Pol Pot-Ieng Sary rule, Kampuchea lost 3 million of its sons and daughters. This fiendish extermination would have continued to this day if the wave of national wrath had not swept aside the bloodthirsty clique. Its crimes have no precedent in the history of mankind. When one examines the material relating to the crimes of genocide committed by the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique, one immediately makes the association with the crimes of Hitler's executioners. But the Pol Pot group has gone even further than they did. To engage in the bestiality of the criminal clique, one must have the cruelty of professional assassins. And now we have here in our Organization the representatives of those criminals. That indeed gives food for thought.

65. The courageous people of Kampuchea, who were victorious in their patriotic struggle against the aggression by United States imperialism, were unable to enjoy the fruits of that victory. The criminal puppet Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique, which came to power, engaged in a cruel policy of genocide against the Kampuchean people. The economic, political and cultural foundations of Kampuchean society were methodically destroyed. The régime had particular hatred for the representatives of the intelligentsia. They were exterminated from the very outset. Many Kampucheans who were working or studying abroad were called back and cruelly dealt with upon their return. The nucleus of any society—the family—was mercilessly destroyed. People were forced to marry. Children were separated from their parents. Kampucheans were converted into obedient slaves, with no will of their own. The slightest insubordination led immediately to cruel punishment. There are communal graves overflowing with human remains; they furnish clear evidence of the mass annihilation of Kampucheans.

66. During the rule of the criminal clique, religious services were prohibited. Many clergymen were killed. Pagodas and temples were destroyed. Religious relics and statues of the Buddha were destroyed. Many of these objects had great scholarly value. There were also mass murders of foreigners living in the country, including Chinese and Vietnamese.

67. The dark years of the rule of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique converted Kampuchean cities into ghost-towns. The capital of Kampuchea, Phnom Penh, and other large cities and towns became dead places.

68. Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique tried to introduce "pure socialism" of the Peking [*Beijing*] variety in Kampuchea.

69. Against the brother people of Kampuchea—the people of Viet Nam—a bloody border war was unleashed whose purpose was to drive a wedge between the brother countries and weaken them. The genuine friends of the Kampuchean people were declared to be their enemies. The torrents of vicious slander heaped upon Viet Nam by the self-appointed representative of so-called Democratic Kampuchea cannot confuse anyone. Viet Nam's role in the international arena is well known. The Vietnamese people earned great

respect and sympathy throughout the world by their heroic 30-year struggle for freedom and independence. Their foreign policy is a peaceful one; it is aimed at the maintenance of peace in South-East Asia and throughout the world. That is why the slander and lies of the representative of "Democratic Kampuchea" cannot delude anyone. The invidious role of Peking in this whole undertaking is quite clear. By creating a fuss about the problem of so-called "regional hegemonism", the Chinese leaders are trying to conceal their own hegemonistic actions.

70. The many years of their joint struggle have bound together the peoples of Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea. Their common paths of historical development and their joint struggle against common enemies have forged indissoluble links of friendship and solidarity among the peoples of those three countries of Indo-China. That is why it is not at all surprising that the fraternal Vietnamese people have given the assistance and support requested by the Kampuchean people, imperiled but not broken by the terrible trials that have been their lot. Indeed, this is not the first time that the fraternal Vietnamese people have provided assistance, which is not contrary to the United Nations Charter. The Vietnamese people have provided such assistance to the Kampuchean people in the past as well, in their struggle against the domination of the French colonialists, and subsequently during the aggression by American imperialism. It would have been far more surprising if Viet Nam had not come to the assistance of the Kampuchean people who were on the verge of total annihilation as a result of the cruelest genocide, inflicted upon them by the criminal Pol Pot-Ieng Sary regime—and thereby ignored the ties of solidarity and brotherhood between the two peoples. This assistance to the heroic people of Kampuchea must continue until that people itself determines that it is possible and necessary to forgo such assistance. Any decision adopted without the agreement of the Kampuchean people would constitute interference in the domestic affairs of Kampuchea. The question inevitably arises as to where all those persons and all those organizations were that are now so eagerly speaking out with regard to the situation in Kampuchea when the Kampuchean people was indeed on the verge of complete annihilation. Why did they remain so modestly silent then, and why are they so full of noble wrath and indignation now that the Kampuchean people has rid itself of the criminals?

71. A revolutionary régime has been established in Kampuchea in keeping with the justified aspirations of the Khmer people. The new Government is making great efforts and expending considerable energy to bring the country out of its difficult situation. The question of the situation in Kampuchea is an artificial one. It is designed to permit, through the United Nations, interference in the internal affairs of Kampuchea. There is no such question; a Government really exists, it has full authority in the country, it is genuinely concerned over its people and it is making enormous efforts to lead the country out of its catastrophic situation. On that invented pretext, the United Nations has now been compelled to deal with a non-existent problem. At a time when there is not a single representative of the lawful Government—that is, the People's Revolutionary Council of the People's Republic of Kampuchea—here, this discussion constitutes a flagrant interference in the affairs of a sovereign State. The solution to any problem concerning Kampuchea, as well as any other State

of South-East Asia, must be sought without any foreign interference, on the basis of the principles of respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of each of the countries concerned, non-aggression and non-interference in internal affairs, and also on the basis of equality and mutual benefit.

72. The new revolutionary Government in Kampuchea has had to face numerous difficulties, the legacy of the previous régime. The People's Revolutionary Council of the People's Republic of Kampuchea has adopted the necessary measures to provide emergency assistance to the population. A considerable quantity of food-stuffs, medicines and urgently needed items has been distributed. That assistance has been provided to Kampuchea by various countries and international organizations. The Kampuchean people has accepted and continues to accept such assistance with gratitude, provided it is given in a selfless way and without any political strings. However, the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea has indignantly rejected the assistance for the so-called "two sides" in Kampuchea, because that assistance was aimed at achieving a very definite purpose and would have been channelled to support the remnants of the Pol Pot bands. Such proposals are considered by the Kampuchean Government as interference in the internal affairs of Kampuchea. The uproar raised in the Western press in connexion with the "great famine" in Kampuchea is intended to achieve a very specific purpose, namely, to legitimize the supplying of food-stuffs to the remnants of the Pol Pot bands, which would be in violation of the sovereignty and independence of Kampuchea. The attempts to derive profit from the terrible situation of the Kampuchean people deserve condemnation. Assistance to Kampuchea from any country and organization should be granted without any political conditions and channelled through the sole legal representative of the Kampuchean people, the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea.

73. The people of Afghanistan warmly welcome the heroic victory of the long-suffering people of ancient and splendid Kampuchea, and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan has always supported and continues to support the just aspirations of the Khmer people. The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, as well as the whole of peace-loving mankind, is interested in the establishment of lasting peace and a stable situation in South-East Asia. The peoples of that region have, as a result of their 30-year heroic struggle for their freedom and independence, endured many difficulties and privations. In the course of military actions they have incurred numerous human losses and the economy of their countries has been destabilized. In order to heal the wounds of war and to rehabilitate and develop the national economies of the peoples of this region, it is necessary to have an atmosphere favourable to their efforts to the restoration and development of their countries. My delegation considers that the establishment of favourable conditions could lead to lasting peace in the region and the union and co-operation of all the countries within it. At present expansionist forces and hegemonistic endeavours constitute a serious threat to peace in the region and, in the face of such a danger, the unity and solidarity of all the countries of South-East Asia would be a reliable factor for stability and lasting peace in the region. The most important task of all peace-loving forces and international organizations, including the United Nations, is

to contribute to the strengthening of mutual trust, solidarity and the maintenance of peace in that region.

74. Mr. NAIK (Pakistan): The delegation of Pakistan appreciates the initiative taken by the countries of ASEAN in inscribing the item on "The situation in Kampuchea" on the agenda of this session of the General Assembly [A/34/191]. The magnitude of the suffering of the people of Kampuchea is unprecedented in recent history. It is cause for special concern and anxiety, not only because of the moral issues it has raised, but also because it constitutes a serious threat to world peace and the orderly conduct of international relations on the basis of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

75. Millions of innocent persons have died in Kampuchea and now the very survival of the Kampuchean nation is threatened. The international community must respond effectively and promptly to this tragic situation. We feel that it is our inescapable responsibility to take urgent steps to provide humanitarian relief to the afflicted people of Kampuchea and to devise measures, based on the realities of the situation and the interests of the Kampuchean people, for the restoration of peace and tranquillity in that devastated country.

76. The tragedy of Kampuchea has two principal facets: the political and the humanitarian. The essence of the political problem in Kampuchea arises from foreign military intervention in the affairs of that country. Last January, the non-aligned members of the Security Council and, in March, the countries of ASEAN respectively submitted to the Council two draft resolutions on the situation in South-East Asia¹ calling for the immediate cessation of hostilities and the withdrawal of all foreign forces to their own countries. In conformity with this position, the Government of Pakistan, in its statement of 16 January 1979, also declared its support for the international call for all foreign forces to be withdrawn immediately from Kampuchea.

77. It is the considered view of the Government of Pakistan, as expressed in its statement of 16 January and as stated again in the Security Council on 25 February of this year,² that external military intervention to overthrow the lawful Government of a country constitutes a violation of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the rules of international law governing the rights and duties of States. These principles include respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of other States and the non-use of force in international relations.

78. Pakistan condones neither the odious actions of the Pol Pot administration nor the brutalities which it has committed against its own people. We have emphatically deplored these policies. But considerations of human rights cannot be invoked to justify foreign military intervention. We feel that such intervention cannot be justified under any circumstances or on any grounds, moral or political ones. If such a thesis were to be accepted, it would have the most serious consequences for international peace and security. It remains

our firm view that peace and tranquillity cannot return to Kampuchea unless the foreign military presence in that country is ended and its people are able to exercise their right of self-determination without outside interference.

79. The humanitarian problem in Kampuchea is of the gravest proportions. As I stated earlier, millions have perished already, and the spectre of death, disease and hunger looms large over the survivors of this continuing tragedy. Thousands of men, women and children have left their country in a desperate search for food and security elsewhere.

80. The Secretary-General's initiative in convening two international conferences, at Geneva on 20 and 21 July 1979—the Meeting on Refugees and Displaced Persons in South-East Asia—and in New York on 5 November—the Pledging Conference for Emergency Humanitarian Relief to the People of Kampuchea—to help the Kampuchean people, reflects the concern of the international community over these tragic and distressing events. The results of the Pledging Conference have been encouraging.³ The Government of Pakistan, notwithstanding its own constraints and difficulties, has made its modest contribution of 2,000 tons of rice to help avert famine and hunger in Kampuchea. We hope that relief assistance from the international community will soon reach the afflicted people within Kampuchea. It is incumbent on all parties concerned to transcend their political differences and co-operate in alleviating this massive human tragedy.

81. The General Assembly has before it three draft resolutions on this item. Pakistan, together with many other countries including those of ASEAN, has sponsored draft resolution A/34/L.13/Rev.2. That draft resolution, in our view, fully underlines the political and the humanitarian aspects of the realities of the Kampuchean situation. It calls for the cessation of hostilities and the immediate withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea. It further calls upon all States to respect scrupulously the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of Kampuchea, which alone can enable the Kampuchean people to decide their own future free from outside interference. At the same time, the draft resolution fully emphasizes our most immediate concern, that of providing humanitarian assistance to the Kampuchean people.

82. My delegation hopes that draft resolution A/34/L.13/Rev.2 will receive the support of a large number of members of the General Assembly. We also support the request made earlier by the representative of Malaysia [62nd meeting] that priority should be accorded to this draft resolution.

83. We find it difficult, on the other hand, to accept draft resolution A/34/L.7/Rev.1, in which the fundamental considerations that have been briefly outlined by me and by many other representatives are not included. This draft resolution fails to recognize the imperative need for effective action by the international community to help Kampuchea and its people. Also, it does not envisage any measures to ensure respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of Kampuchea, without which peace and security will remain elusive in the entire region.

¹ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fourth Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1979*, document S/13027 and S/13162.

² *Ibid.*, *Thirty-fourth Year*, 2116th meeting, paras. 131-139.

³ See document SG/CONF.1/SR.1 and 2.

84. It will be evident, from what I have said, that my delegation would also be unable to support draft resolution A/34/L.38. As several other speakers have pointed out, that draft resolution in its present form does not really address the problems of Kampuchea. Nor does it define the essential elements of a solution. In fact, draft resolution A/34/L.13/Rev.2 renders draft resolution A/34/L.38 superfluous.

85. Mr. GURINOVICH (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR wishes to reaffirm its position that the seat of Kampuchea in the United Nations and in other international organizations should be occupied by the People's Republic of Kampuchea and its lawful representatives, the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea. Any questions relating to Kampuchea can be discussed in the United Nations only at the request of that lawful Government. We do not recognize the credentials of private individuals, or more specifically of common criminals, from a non-existent so-called "Democratic Kampuchea". On the strength of the provisions of the United Nations Charter concerning the inadmissibility of interference by the United Nations in affairs which in essence fall within the domestic competence of any State, there is no basis for discussing the so-called question of the situation in Kampuchea. Such a question no longer exists. It was resolved as far back as January of this year when the Kampuchean people overthrew the tyrannical, anti-people clique which with foreign assistance had usurped authority in the country. Yet some within the United Nations do not wish to take this into account. Instead of extraditing the criminals who have carried out a policy of genocide, as provided for in the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide [*resolution 260A (III), annex*], an attempt is being made to keep the political corpse within the United Nations.

86. In the spring of 1975 when the leaders of the régime which has now been overthrown by the people—those leaders who have been sentenced to death for the genocide of the Kampuchean people—were delivered to Phnom Penh by a special plane from Peking [*Beijing*], they first proceeded to "clean up" the cities of their entire populations and sent millions of urban dwellers into forced exile in agricultural forced-labour colonies, so that the cities were converted into stone deserts. All this was done in accordance with Pol Pot's saying that "the presence of cities creates inequality". Something similar was stated during the Second World War by the Nazi *Gauleiter* in Byelorussia, Wilhelm Kube. With sadistic savagery rejoycing over the destruction of Byelorussian cities, he said: "the city spoils the Byelorussian". The fate of Kube is well known. After sentencing by the partisans, he was killed in his own bed during the temporary occupation of the city of Minsk.

87. The Pol Pot band converted Kampuchea into a huge slaughter-house. Pogroms of "aliens" were carried out against Vietnamese, Chinese nationals, Thais and others who lived in the country. The clique deprived the population of elementary rights, separated families, closed down markets, destroyed hospitals, schools, pagodas, temples and cultural property; it prohibited Buddhism, which was practised by a large part of the population, and Islam, which was the religion of the ethnic minority of Champa. It also destroyed the intelligentsia. The country became an experimental laboratory for demented Maoist ideas on the liquidation of

social inequality through the "total physical destruction of non-proletarian elements", on "purity of race", and on the construction, in an empty space, of a "new civilization of the future"—without any cities, schools, hospitals or national culture.

88. The criminals are seldom frank concerning their ominous designs, but there are moments when they are drunk with power and when they hope for impunity. In the spring of last year, after two years of unbridled mass terror, Pol Pot stated: "We need only 1 million Kampuchians for the building of the new society". The kind of fate that the barbarous régime was preparing for 6 million persons can be judged from the 3 million Kampuchians who were savagely killed and tortured, and who perished from hunger and disease during the years when the bloody clique of dictators had the upper hand.

89. Even those representatives who have spoken here and who can hardly be suspected of sympathy with the new authorities in Kampuchea have called the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary régime a "band of murderers" and have condemned their policy of genocide.

90. It should also be pointed out that the band of criminals, on instructions from abroad, converted Kampuchea into a military bridge-head for attacks on other countries of Indo-China. Over a period of more than three years, it fomented hatred among nations, provoked armed conflicts and border wars with all the neighbouring countries and become a threat to peace and stability in South-East Asia. It rejected all proposals to hold peace negotiations designed to regulate relations with neighbouring countries. The purpose of pursuing that policy can be judged from the following statement on the Phnom Penh radio on 10 May 1978: "by sacrificing only 2 million Khmers, we shall succeed in destroying more than 50 million Vietnamese". That the actions carried out by the anti-people régime fall entirely within the definition of aggression was clearly demonstrated in the report of the delegation of the International Association of Democratic Lawyers which visited Kampuchea and Viet Nam and which included prominent lawyers from Italy, France, the United States of America, the People's Republic of Poland and Japan. That convincing and well-argued report, circulated in document A/34/559, contains a comprehensive analysis of the situation in that region of South-East Asia.

91. In the general debate at the thirty-third session of the General Assembly, the speaker who now unlawfully and to the disgrace of the international community occupies the seat of Kampuchea in the United Nations, smugly stated, in his discussion of the relations of the Kampuchean people with his régime, that if that régime had exploited and oppressed those people, then doubtless the people would not have had confidence in it and would have arisen against it. The history of Kampuchea, he maintained, is full of such examples.

92. Now perhaps the history of Kampuchea has met with just another such example: the bloody régime of genocide has been overthrown by the people. Starting with uprisings which occurred in individual regions and army units, the people's struggle against the band of criminals quickly spread throughout the whole country and one uprising after another took place during the period from 1975 to 1978. The struggle of the Kam-

puchean people was converted into a mass movement which culminated in the establishment of the National United Front for the Salvation of Kampuchea.

93. The retaliatory actions taken by the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam on the border between Viet Nam and Kampuchea, in accordance with Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations relating to legitimate self-defence, created favourable conditions for the Kampuchean resistance movement. The people and the revolutionary armed forces, under the leadership of the National United Front for the Salvation of Kampuchea, carried out simultaneous military operations, organized uprisings and overthrew the bloody clique.

94. At present the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea controls virtually the whole territory of the country. Through the established organs of government, it is governing and managing all the internal and external affairs of Kampuchea and making great efforts to improve the living conditions of the people and to restore production. The Kampuchean people is gradually liquidating the terrible legacy of the barbarous régime and is normalizing the situation in the country. All forced-labor camps in the country have been eliminated; plans are being carried out for economic and social development; the cities are coming to life; markets, schools and hospitals are operating. Freedom of thought is being restored, along with freedom to marry and freedom of religion. Gradually, step by step, new conditions of life are being established. The needs of the population are being fulfilled more and more. The nation, which was on the verge of total extinction as a result of genocide, is being reborn.

95. The international ties of the People's Republic of Kampuchea are increasing. There is greater recognition and understanding of the peace-loving foreign policy course proclaimed by the People's Revolutionary Council and the decision of the Kampucheans to make an active contribution to the development of friendly relations and co-operation in South-East Asia and throughout the world and to the strengthening of universal peace.

96. Under the leadership of the People's Revolutionary Council, the entire Kampuchean people is doing everything possible to build a genuinely peaceful, independent and democratic Kampuchea, with an avowed policy of non-alignment. The constructive nature of the transformations which are now taking place in the People's Republic of Kampuchea is confirmed by all the officials and representatives of international organizations who have visited it, including the citizens of those countries whose representatives maintain attitudes inimical to the Kampuchean people in their speeches at the United Nations.

97. In the light of all the foregoing facts, it is absurd and monstrous to hear proposals and statements about ignoring the new Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea and appeals to interfere in the domestic affairs of Kampuchea, as well as attempts to undermine its revolutionary accomplishments. Whether certain parties like it or not, the changes that have taken place in Kampuchea are irreversible. There can be no return to the past, and there will be none in this case. Any attempts to interfere in the domestic affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea will likewise be doomed to failure, regardless of the pretexts that may be given for them.

98. The task of the international community with regard to the new Kampuchea does not reside in interfering in its internal affairs and setting up barriers to its rebirth; rather, it should consist in helping that country to recover from the terrible consequences of destruction and terror. The assistance provided should not be employed as an instrument to exert pressure and to force upon the Kampuchean people a régime that would be to the liking of Peking or its Western allies. Such assistance should be provided in accordance with article 17 of the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States, "with strict respect for the sovereign equality of States and free of any conditions derogating from their sovereignty" [see resolution 3281 (XXIX)].

99. As indicated in the statement made by the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea:

"... the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea is prepared to receive assistance and co-operation on a bilateral or multilateral basis without political conditions. The People's Revolutionary Council does not make recognition of the People's Republic of Kampuchea a prior condition of humanitarian aid to the people of Kampuchea." [A/34/652, annex, para.5.]

The great assistance being provided to the People's Republic of Kampuchea by the Soviet Union and the other States of the socialist community has been sufficiently and convincingly described not long ago in this Assembly.

100. All the manoeuvres and intrigues surrounding the so-called "question of Kampuchea" do not contribute to the establishment of a lasting peace in South-East Asia. As for the presence of the troops of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam in the People's Republic of Kampuchea, this is a question of bilateral relations between sovereign States. No one has the right to interfere in it. Those armed forces are there at the request of the lawful Government of Kampuchea, in accordance with the Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Co-operation concluded on 18 February 1979 between the People's Republic of Kampuchea and the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam [A/34/94-S/13101, annex]. Their presence does not threaten the independence and security of any neighbouring country.

101. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR considers that draft resolution A/34/L.13/Rev.2, the sponsors of which include countries members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO] and of other Western blocs and groups, constitutes interference in the domestic affairs of a sovereign country and that it is contrary to the principles of international law and the United Nations Charter. It should also be pointed out that the sponsors of that draft resolution are countries that have been actively in favour of recognizing the credentials of the Pol Pot criminals in the United Nations, obviously in the hope that by posing hypocritically as the enemies of the crimes of genocide, they will be able to force upon the Kampuchean people the tyrannical régime they have overthrown. Draft resolution A/34/L.13/Rev.2 must be resolutely rejected by the General Assembly.

102. The Byelorussian SSR has become one of the sponsors of draft resolution A/34/L.7/Rev.1, which

takes fully into account the social and political changes and transformations that have been carried out in Kampuchea by the sovereign Kampuchean people themselves, in defence of their right to independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. That draft resolution is based on the United Nations Charter, on the principle of non-interference in the domestic affairs of States, on the right of all people to determine their own fate for themselves. That draft resolution orients the countries of South-East Asia towards the continuance of efforts to establish in that region a zone of peace, freedom, neutrality and stability. It duly regulates the question of providing humanitarian assistance without any political conditions, to the Kampuchean people.

103. We call upon other delegations to support draft resolution A/34/L.7/Rev.1 and thereby to adopt the only correct position of principle. Adoption of that draft resolution would contribute to the further normalization of the situation in South-East Asia. The Byelorussian SSR, together with all other States that respect the inalienable rights of the Kampuchean people to decide their fate for themselves and to exercise their right to self-determination, independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, expresses its total solidarity with the People's Republic of Kampuchea in its struggle to liquidate the grave consequences of the temporary rule in that country of the clique of foreign henchmen and to oppose any interference in the domestic affairs of the Kampuchean people. We wish them every success in the building of their new life.

104. Mr. GUNA-KASEM (Thailand): This debate on agenda item 123 concerning the situation in Kampuchea, and the subsequent decision to be taken today, in the view of my delegation and of the other countries members of ASEAN, will have a most significant bearing on the future of the South-East Asian region and may affect the peace and security of the wider area beyond the region.

105. The matter before us, although inscribed as an item on the agenda of the General Assembly for the first time, is not new to anyone who is aware of the events that have been occurring since the end of 1978 and the foreign armed intervention in the unfortunate country of Kampuchea, once a cradle of world civilization. The world is also well aware that the non-aligned members of the Security Council and the ASEAN countries have on two separate occasions this year brought this problem, with its grave consequences for peace and security in South-East Asia, to the attention of the Security Council. Each time, however, their effort was blocked by the negative vote of a permanent member, despite the overwhelming 13 votes in support from all the non-aligned members and the rest of the members of the Security Council.

106. The inability of the Security Council to take any action on this question, due to a veto cast by the USSR has made it impossible for the world community to forestall a further deterioration of the situation in Kampuchea. Indeed, the problem has now reached a critical stage because the resumption of the dry-season offensive waged by foreign forces against the various patriotic Kampuchean elements in different parts of the country has resulted in a widespread famine and a continuing mass exodus of the Kampuchean people into Thailand and neighbouring countries. We are therefore compelled to turn our efforts over to the General

Assembly, where we hope some concrete results can be achieved leading to the restoration of peace and stability in South-East Asia. In inscribing item 123, "The situation in Kampuchea", on the agenda of the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly, the following have been the factors contributing to the Thai Government's decision to join in the effort with the other four ASEAN countries and submit with them and others the 30-nation draft resolution in document A/34/L.13/Rev.2.

107. First, hostilities and bloodshed have continued unabated in Kampuchea between about 200,000 foreign combat personnel and the armed forces of the Heng Samrin régime, on the one hand, and the various patriotic Kampuchean elements, on the other. The Kampuchean people have found themselves unable to cultivate rice, their staple food. This has resulted in a famine of very serious proportions. The very existence of the Kampuchean nation itself is now threatened as thousands of innocent lives, particularly those of women and children, have already been lost, and many more will perish if the fighting in Kampuchea is not quickly brought to an end.

108. Secondly, Thailand is the country most affected by the massive waves of Kampuchean refugees and displaced persons fleeing the ravages of war and famine in their country and entering Thai territory. Again, this problem will continue if there is no cessation of hostilities in Kampuchea.

109. Thirdly, the Kampuchean conflict is not a conflict between Viet Nam and ASEAN States. It is solely by reason of geographical proximity that the problem has been brought to the doorstep of the ASEAN countries. It is therefore natural that we should be most concerned with the Kampuchean conflict. It is not the policy of any of the ASEAN countries to become parties to or to be involved in the conflict in Kampuchea, nor is it our wish that the Kampuchean problem be seen as a confrontation between ASEAN countries and Viet Nam or between ASEAN and the Indo-Chinese States. In this connexion, I wish to state that today Thailand continues to maintain good bilateral relations with Viet Nam and Laos, and it has every intention of promoting further peaceful and constructive relations with those countries, in the interest of peace and stability in the South-East Asian region.

110. Fourthly, the events in Kampuchea have direct repercussions on the future of peace and stability in South-East Asia itself. The use of force as a means of settling disputes by one country against another sovereign State of the region constitutes a most dangerous precedent, especially where the future peace and security of South-East Asia is concerned. There is also a distinct possibility that the fighting in Kampuchea may continue to spill over into neighbouring countries, thus increasing the danger of big-Power involvement. In the past few months there has already been some spillage of fighting into Thailand, with potentially serious consequences. My delegation subsequently submitted accounts of such occurrences for the information of the United Nations. These accounts have been circulated as General Assembly and Security Council documents [A/34/580-S/13575, and A/34/610-S/13585].

111. Fifthly, the ASEAN countries believe that the present difficulties and hostilities in Kampuchea are the

direct result of the imposition of the will of a foreign Power on the Kampuchean people by means of foreign armed intervention. Therefore, in order to find any durable solution to the problem, it is imperative that, before anything else, there must be an immediate cease-fire or cessation of hostilities followed by a total withdrawal of foreign forces from Kampuchea so that the Kampuchean people will be enabled to decide their own future and destiny free from outside interference, subversion or coercion.

112. Lastly, Thailand believes that the United Nations is the best forum in which a political solution can be found and concrete measures can be devised to put an end to the present hostilities. It is almost a year since the outbreak of hostilities in Kampuchea, and there has as yet been no visible sign that the parties directly involved will be able to arrive at a negotiated settlement of the Kampuchean problem.

113. On the question of Kampuchean refugees and displaced persons, Thailand finds itself in a unique position. Because of its geographical location and traditional humane policy, it has been the natural place of first refuge for people fleeing from strife in neighbouring countries. The current fighting in Kampuchea, which originated in the eastern part of the country, has resulted in a dispersal of the population in a westerly direction. In such circumstances it was inevitable that the bulk of the displaced Kampucheans would press towards the direction in which relief was available, where food and medicine could be found—namely, towards the western part of Kampuchea and beyond the border into Thailand. Owing to its unique position, Thailand has been cast in the role of life-saver for these hundreds of thousands of Kampucheans. Indeed, if Thailand were to look away, these unfortunate people would almost certainly succumb to the ravages of war and famine.

114. It is with this realization and out of a sense of compassion and humanitarian concern for fellow human beings that, on 19 October 1979, Kriangsak Chamanan, Prime Minister of Thailand, announced a new policy of allowing unimpeded entry from Kampuchea of distressed civilians, regardless of their political affiliation, into Thailand, and of giving them temporary asylum until they could return to their homeland after the fighting was brought to an end or resettle in third countries.

115. Thailand firmly believes that relief assistance should and must reach all of the civilian population of Kampuchea everywhere, on a non-discriminatory basis. Only on that basis would it be in keeping with the wishes and the humanitarian interest of the international community. No one should object to or obstruct the good work of the various humanitarian organizations to get food and medicine through to the needy Kampucheans. Nor should relief aid be subjected to political considerations or be used by any faction to bargain for recognition. On its part, Thailand is doing its utmost to assist the common effort of the international community in this humanitarian task.

116. There is not much time left. Indeed, we are racing against time to save the lives of innocent Kampucheans and to help preserve Kampuchea as a nation with its indigenous ethnic population remaining intact.

117. I now wish to reply to certain allegations made concerning my country by some preceding speakers. The first is that Thailand allows its territory to be used for the transporting of arms and the provisions of assistance to the Pol Pot forces.

118. I wish to repeat here that Thailand has always firmly adhered to the policy of neutrality and non-involvement in the conflicts in South-East Asia since the outbreak of hostilities in 1978. My Government, therefore, categorically rejects this allegation as completely false. Thailand has not allowed any arms supply destined for the belligerents in the Kampuchean conflict to pass through Thai territory and has not allowed its territory to be used in any way to aid and abet the Pol Pot faction or any other belligerent faction in Kampuchea. On the contrary, it is well known that certain countries, especially a big Power which has itself made such allegations, have added fuel to the fire by ferrying munitions of war to the faction in Phnom Penh, thereby aggravating the threat to the peace and security of the neighbouring countries in South-East Asia. Thailand itself has been a victim of the spillage over our border of the fighting in Kampuchea; Thai territory and sovereignty have been subjected to violations by armed intruders on several occasions, as cited earlier.

119. The second allegation is that Thailand gives sanctuary on Thai soil to some of the belligerent elements.

120. My Government has repeatedly rejected this allegation also as being groundless. It is true that Thailand has allowed Kampucheans fleeing the ravages of war, starvation, sickness and brutality to take temporary refuge on our territory, regardless of their political affiliation, pending resettlement in any third country or return to their homeland when the situation returns to normal. We adopt this attitude out of our sense of compassion and our humanitarianism, in spite of the fact that we have to shoulder an enormous burden. At this moment approximately 400,000 refugees, including those from Laos, Viet Nam and Kampuchea, are on Thai soil on that basis. Clearly the desire of the Thai people is only to save the lives of suffering fellow human beings who need our help. We do not seek to meddle in the internal affairs of other countries.

121. It is therefore unjust and unconscionable that some circles, which have never helped to alleviate this immense refugee problem along the Thai-Kampuchean border, should wilfully misinterpret Thailand's motive in extending help to the refugees from Kampuchea as one of assisting one faction against the other in the conflict in Kampuchea. Those same circles have never taken the trouble to pronounce themselves on the unscrupulous use of innocent lives as an instrument of foreign policy.

122. In order to observe at first hand the true situation along the Thai-Kampuchean border, my Prime Minister requested the Secretary-General of the United Nations two weeks ago to send a fact-finding mission to Thailand. I am happy to report that the Secretary-General has agreed to accede to the Thai request, and that he dispatched to Thailand a fact-finding mission, from 12 to 29 November, headed by the Under-Secretary-General for Special Political Affairs, Mr. Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, and a team of civilian assistants. My

delegation wishes to take this opportunity to express once again Thailand's deep appreciation to the Secretary-General for agreeing to our request and for sending this mission. We look forward to receiving the mission's report which, as we hope, will establish the facts about the situation in that area.

123. I wish to turn now to the political aspect of the Kampuchean problem, which is the root cause of the suffering and deprivation of the Kampuchean people. Draft resolution A/34/L.13/Rev.2 refrains from expressing preference for one personality over another. It simply leaves it to the Kampuchean people to decide their own future, free from external interference. This, however, cannot come about unless and until there is a cessation of hostilities, as well as an immediate and total withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea.

124. I should like to take this opportunity to draw the attention of the Assembly to two changes which have been made by the sponsors and which now appear in document A/34/L.13/Rev.2.

125. The first amendment concerns operative paragraph 7 of our draft resolution. After consultations with a number of non-aligned States, the sponsors decided to accommodate the wish of those States by adding the phrase: "and calls upon all States to refrain from all acts or threats of aggression and all forms of interference in the internal affairs of States in South-East Asia" to the words that were already contained in operative paragraph 7.

126. The sponsors believe that the amendment has improved the text, and it is their hope that this amendment will enjoy a wide measure of support among the Member States.

127. The second amendment is the addition of a new operative paragraph 12, which reads:

"Also requests the Secretary-General to explore the possibility of holding an international conference on Kampuchea as one of the means for implementing the present resolution".

128. The 30-nation draft resolution, if accepted and implemented, will pave the way for a peaceful political solution to the Kampuchean problem—the only existing alternative to the continuing bloodshed, loss of life, deprivation and suffering of the Kampuchean people. To this end, the sponsors believe that the Secretary-General can play a constructive role. We have, therefore, requested him to follow the situation closely, to use his good offices in the search for a peaceful solution to the problem and also to consider the possibility of convening an international conference on Kampuchea.

129. I now wish to say a few words about draft resolution A/34/L.7/Rev.1. I regret to state that we are in complete disagreement with the underlying intentions of draft resolution A/34/L.7/Rev.1 as a whole. It can be clearly seen that the main thrust of the fifth, sixth and seventh preambular paragraphs of A/34/L.7/Rev.1 is directed only at the events before the foreign armed intervention took place in Kampuchea. The seventh preambular paragraph, as well as the first operative paragraph should also be subjected to close scrutiny. Taken together, the two paragraphs presuppose the acceptance

and the recognition by the international community of a régime installed by foreign force, contrary to the view of the overwhelming majority of nations as expressed in General Assembly resolution 34/2 on the report of the Credentials Committee.

130. We also find operative paragraphs 2 and 3 of draft resolution A/34/L.7/Rev.1, the main thrust of which is closely interlinked, unacceptable. Thailand is, of course, genuinely interested in contributing to the solution of the problem and that is precisely what we are doing now at this Assembly. But first and foremost, it is the duty and responsibility of the conflicting parties themselves to try to resolve the problem by peaceful means. This brings me specifically to operative paragraph 3 of the draft resolution, which expresses the hope that South-East Asian countries will pursue their effort for the establishment of a zone of peace in the region. I wish to stress here that since the inception of ASEAN, and particularly since the Declaration signed at Kuala Lumpur on 27 November 1971, all the countries of ASEAN have been fully committed to working towards the fulfilment of our concept of the establishment in South-East Asia of a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality, free from major-Power rivalry and interference. However, the continuation of the fighting and the presence of foreign forces in Kampuchea could only invite greater big-Power interference and rivalry in the region. Consequently, what is happening in Kampuchea runs counter to the professed desire for the establishment of a zone of peace in South-East Asia, as expressed by the sponsors of A/34/L.7/Rev.1 themselves.

131. I wish now to turn to draft resolution A/34/L.38, proposed by India.

132. On behalf of the sponsors of draft resolution A/34/L.13/Rev.2, I wish to state that we fully understand and recognize the Indian delegation's desire to make a constructive contribution to the Kampuchean problem. It is with regret that the sponsors of this draft resolution find the Indian draft deficient in several respects.

133. First, the Kampuchean problem is not a problem between the ASEAN countries and the States in Indo-China. Nor is it of exclusive concern to the countries of South-East Asia alone. The problem, rather, is of concern to the whole international community. It is in line with this conviction that the ASEAN and like-minded countries sought to bring the Kampuchean question to this Assembly in the first place. Furthermore, the Indian draft resolution tends to create an appearance of confrontation between the ASEAN and the States in Indo-China. The fact is, the ASEAN countries are not even parties to this conflict.

134. Secondly, the conference envisaged in the Indian draft resolution is restrictive in terms of participation. It does not allow for all parties involved to take part.

135. Thirdly, the objective of the conference, as envisaged by India, to discuss all issues, is too broad. It does not specifically address itself to the situation in Kampuchea, in particular to the cessation of hostilities, the withdrawal of foreign forces from that country and the assurance that the Kampuchean people will be enabled to exercise their right of self-determination and to

choose their own Government, free from external interference, subversion and coercion.

136. Fourthly, the Indian draft resolution is in fact not complementary to draft resolution A/34/L.13/Rev.2, as suggested by the Indian representative, for the reason that it envisages the possibility of convening an international conference, and not a conference involving only countries in the subregion of South-East Asia.

137. For the foregoing reasons, therefore, the sponsors of draft resolution A/34/L.13/Rev.2 find the Indian draft resolution incompatible with theirs and are unable to accept it, and if the Indian draft resolution is put to the vote they will vote against it.

138. In conclusion, the sponsors of draft resolution A/34/L.13/Rev.2 have tried to be realistic in their approach to the Kampuchean problem, and we have presented the issue to all Members of the United Nations in a balanced and comprehensive manner. We have made no harsh or unrealistic demands which cannot be implemented. We are only trying to pave the way for a just and durable solution where all Kampucheans will be enabled to choose their own future without foreign interference and coercion. Above all, we are trying to stop the bloodshed and the fighting, the result of which is now threatening the very existence of the Kampuchean nation and the peace and stability of the South-East Asian region as a whole.

139. It is therefore our hope that all the peace-loving and justice-loving nations of the world will support our request for priority in the consideration of draft resolution A/34/L.13/Rev.2 over A/34/L.7/Rev.1 and any other draft resolutions which have been submitted under item 123. We also request their support for our draft resolution. We are convinced that, if adopted, it will contribute to a peaceful solution of this problem of unprecedented magnitude in the history of South-East Asia which is now one of the most pressing concerns of the world community.

140. Mr. KARSTENSEN (Norway): There is one overriding concern which should guide us during this debate, and that is concern for the Kampuchean people. Their plight has shocked the whole world. While we are debating here, Kampucheans are dying by the thousands every day. Through the praiseworthy initiative of the Secretary-General in calling a Pledging Conference for Emergency Humanitarian Relief to the People of Kampuchea, the world community has demonstrated its concern over the situation and its readiness to come to the assistance of this needy people. Governments have given priority to the great humanitarian effort called for and have been able to avoid letting political issues and considerations hamper its implementation.

141. The response by Governments from different parts of the world to the appeal by the Secretary-General was impressive, taking into account the fact

that the Pledging Conference was called at such short notice. The response testifies to the fact that it is realized throughout the world that the Kampuchean people are suffering from famine and disease of immense proportions.

142. May I therefore, in the name of the Norwegian Government, appeal once more to the parties directly involved not to let political interests and considerations create additional obstacles to a relief operation which in any case has to be undertaken in the most difficult circumstances. I appeal to these parties to co-operate constructively with the international organizations in the dedicated efforts they are making to bring food, medical supplies, shelter and other forms of relief to people who have suffered more and longer than the international community can tolerate.

143. The Kampuchean people are not only dying from hunger and disease, they are also dying from war. My country had looked forward to a period of reconstruction and reconciliation in the troubled region of Indo-China after the end of the tragic war in which all the three Indo-Chinese countries were involved. We were ready to assist in such a process in whatever modest ways would be open to us.

144. It is, therefore, with deep regret that we witness new fighting in the area, involving countries and peoples whose overriding concern should be with peace after years of suffering.

145. A lasting solution to the problem of Kampuchea must, for that reason, go beyond the humanitarian effort to include also a solution to the underlying political problems.

146. Peace and stability can be restored to Kampuchea only in accordance with the principles of the United Nations. This requires an immediate end to hostilities and means that the withdrawal of all foreign troops must be a part of the solution to the Kampuchean problem. So must the strict observance of the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of another country. The Kampuchean people, free from foreign interference, must be enabled to decide for themselves and, to the extent that the United Nations can be helpful, my Government will support initiatives to that end.

147. Draft resolution A/34/L.13/Rev.2 contains the elements which, in the view of my Government are essential to restoring peace and stability to the area. Hence we shall support its adoption.

The meeting rose at 1.05 p.m.