



President: Mr. Jorge E. ILLUECA (Panama).

AGENDA ITEM 23

The Situation in Kampuchea: Report of the Secretary-General

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): This afternoon the General Assembly will begin its consideration of agenda item 23. The report of the Secretary-General on this item is contained in document A/38/513 and a draft resolution has been circulated in document A/38/L.2. In this connection, I should like to announce that 44 countries have become sponsors of that draft resolution.
2. Before calling on the first speaker, I should like to propose that the list of speakers in the debate on this item be closed tomorrow, Wednesday, 26 October, at 12 noon. If I hear no objections to my proposal it will be so decided.
It was so decided.
3. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I now call on the representative of Cuba who has asked to speak on a point of order.
4. Mr. ROA KOURÍ (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I have asked to speak on a point of order before we begin the discussion of item 23 before us, in view of a matter of the utmost urgency about which my Government would like to report to the Assembly so that it will be in the record.
5. I am compelled to denounce the very serious events which are occurring in the republic of Grenada, which early this morning became the victim of a military aggression by the land, sea and air forces of the United States of America in a blatant and gross violation of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and of international law.
6. In the course of this aggression, Cuban personnel in Grenada consisting of construction workers and their colleagues, as well as medical staff, teachers and workers, were subjected to a criminal and treacherous surprise attack by United States navy and army contingents with the use of infantry, artillery and combat aircraft and helicopters.
7. Cuban personnel, who had instructions to defend themselves if attacked, are fighting heroically in their working areas and living quarters, against powerful odds, giving an example to the world of heroism, solidarity and impartiality which will become the symbol of the will of the peoples to resist the criminal and unjustifiably aggressive and fascist policy of the Government of the United States.
8. Since 9.04 this morning, Cuban time, it was reported that the aggressors had caused casualties—although I have no exact figures—in the form of dead and wounded among the Cuban construction workers and their colleagues. Although we do not have specific information, we are told that the Grenadian combatants are also offering stout resistance to the imperialist invaders. The blood

thus shed by the Cuban construction workers and their colleagues, side by side with the Grenadian revolutionaries, in the defence of the sovereignty, independence and freedom of Grenada will constitute a lasting condemnation of the imperialist invaders and those now serving as their allies in open contravention of the vital interests of Latin America and the Caribbean.

9. Nicaragua has asked for an urgent meeting of the Security Council to consider these shameful acts. We hope that the Member States of this Organization will very clearly express their condemnation of the imperialist invasion of the republic of Grenada.

10. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I call on the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Philippines, Mr. Romulo, to introduce draft resolution A/38/L.2.

11. Mr. ROMULO (Philippines): Mr. President, let me begin with a quotation: "We must repeat the truth, again and again". These ageless words come from you, Sir, in your address from this rostrum at the thirty-seventh session [18th meeting, para. 121]. I reiterate them because they provide the reason why we are here, once again, considering the situation in Kampuchea.

12. What in this case is the truth that we need to reassert? This is the truth: Democratic Kampuchea, a Member of the United Nations, was the victim of armed aggression by Viet Nam in violation of the Charter. Foreign military forces continue to occupy Kampuchea. By the sheer force of arms, the occupation troops have imposed a spurious government on the people of Kampuchea. Finally, the Kampuchean people continue to be deprived of their right to have a government of their own free choice.

13. This is the fifth consecutive year that the Assembly has considered the question of Kampuchea. In the past four years, an overwhelming majority of Members of the world Organization have asserted this truth in progressively increasing numbers. At the thirty-seventh session, exactly 105 Member States voted in favour of resolution 37/6 in a renewal of affirmation of the truth of Kampuchea.

14. Today, one year later, Kampuchea remains a country under foreign military occupation. It is a matter of deep regret that Viet Nam has ignored, and continues to ignore, the clear call of the international community for an end to an unlawful military occupation.

15. This should not deter us, however, from discharging our obligation to the United Nations and to the world community to repeat the truth about Kampuchea "again and again" in order to keep the Kampuchean issue alive—and it is our duty to keep it alive. We firmly maintain our conviction that a just and lasting solution to the Kampuchean problem requires the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea, the return to the Kampuchean people of their right to self-determination and the restoration of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Kampuchea under appropriate international guarantees.

16. The generous support of the General Assembly for Democratic Kampuchea has encouraged productive

results in terms of advancing the chances of a comprehensive political settlement. It is clear that the Kampuchean Coalition headed by Prince Norodom Sihanouk has thoroughly confounded its initial detractors. Far from collapsing as predicted, the Coalition has survived its first difficult year. Internal unity and cohesion among the members of the coalition is increasingly evident, and its ability to attract and mobilize popular support inside Kampuchea is no longer in doubt. The Coalition has without question become the rallying point for Kampuchean nationalists who oppose the military occupation of their land.

17. The success of the Coalition Government in the international field has been matched by its increasing military strength. Reports from the field reveal the ability of the Coalition forces to engage in large-unit military operations not only in areas near the Thai-Kampuchean border but also deep inside Kampuchean territory.

18. A rough estimate indicates that over 200,000 Kampuchians have moved into the areas controlled by the Coalition forces, an excellent indication of the growing popular support for the Coalition Government. In turn, this has encouraged defections to the Coalition of military units and civilian cadres of the Heng Samrin Government. We can say at this time that the reliability and effectiveness of the Heng Samrin army is seriously in question. The costs of the military occupation of Kampuchea in terms of men and resources increase at an alarming daily rate for the Vietnamese occupation forces.

19. It would be imprudent to say, however, encouraging though the success in both political and military terms of the Coalition forces has been, that the occupation of Kampuchea has not exacted a heavy toll of the Kampuchean people. In terms of lives lost and property destroyed, of the general dislocation of society and, above all, of the deliberate and wilful destruction of the cultural identity of the Kampuchians, the cost is incalculable and, unless stopped, could assume the proportions of massive national destruction.

20. In ancient times conquerors ensured the submission of their victims by ploughing the land with salt. The conquerors of Kampuchea are more subtle. From the testimony of observers, both diplomatic and private, more than half a million ethnic and other Vietnamese have taken over Kampuchean villages and towns in an economic takeover reminiscent of *post bellum* carpet-baggers. Having deprived the Kampuchians of their political rights, the conquerors are now determined to deprive them of their economic rights as well. In Kampuchea, colonialism is once more rearing its ugly head in classic guise.

21. In his statement in the Assembly earlier this month, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Viet Nam observed that "During the last four decades South-East Asia has been the only region of the world ravaged by uninterrupted wars . . . At present the region is still without peace and stability." [24th meeting, para. 67.]

22. That shows sharp insight, if nothing else. Most assuredly, my country and other countries in South-East Asia desire nothing better than to see the end of conflict and the return of peace and stability in South-East Asia.

23. The ironic twist is that the cause of the present conflict and instability in South-East Asia is precisely the situation which prevails in Kampuchea. The members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations [ASEAN] continue to maintain that the problem of Kampuchea must be resolved on the basis of a comprehensive political settlement which is just and equitable to all parties concerned. We believe that the Declaration on Kampuchea,

adopted by the International Conference on Kampuchea on 17 July 1981,¹ contains the essential elements of such a political solution.

24. We must continue to regret that Viet Nam, as well as Laos, did not participate in the International Conference on Kampuchea. It has said that it considers both the resolution convening the Conference and its Declaration "erroneous" and "unimplementable". It strikes us as rather strange, if not improper, that a Member of the United Nations should dismiss in a cavalier manner the valid decisions of the Organization, particularly in this case, when such decisions were taken by an overwhelming majority of the United Nations.

25. None the less, the ASEAN member countries, in a sincere desire to seek a political accommodation in Kampuchea, agreed to receive the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Viet Nam in their respective capitals, or consulted with him in various venues, such as the United Nations Headquarters in New York and during the Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries at New Delhi. Apart from being featured as media events in the socialist press in Hanoi and elsewhere, these contacts produced meagre results.

26. No progress on a political settlement of the Kampuchean problem was reported through the efforts of the *Ad Hoc* Committee of the International Conference on Kampuchea. Nor was any progress achieved in meetings with the leaders of Viet Nam and Laos by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General of the United Nations. This much can be gleaned from the report of the Secretary-General [A/38/513]. The Philippines and other countries in the South-East Asian region are grateful to the Secretary-General, his Special Representative, Mr. Rafeuddin Ahmed, and the Chairman and the other members of the *Ad Hoc* Committee of the International Conference on Kampuchea for their valuable efforts to promote a political settlement of the Kampuchean problem.

27. I wish at this point to invite the attention of the General Assembly to the joint statement of the ASEAN Ministers for Foreign Affairs entitled "An Appeal for Kampuchean Independence" [A/38/441]. This joint statement represents a fresh effort on the part of the ASEAN countries to draw Viet Nam, Laos and other concerned parties into sincere and serious consultations, specifically on possible initial steps that could be taken in pursuit of a comprehensive political settlement of the Kampuchean problem.

28. In our view, these steps could include the following. First, phased troop withdrawals on a territorial basis. This could begin with withdrawal from the westernmost territory of Kampuchea along the Thai-Kampuchean border, on a definite timetable to be worked out and with due regard to the declared intention of Viet Nam to conduct such partial withdrawals. Secondly, the observance of a cease-fire in areas where the troop withdrawals have taken place, and their designation as safe areas for uprooted Kampuchean civilians under the auspices of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. Thirdly, the introduction of peace-keeping forces or observer groups to ensure that the withdrawals have taken place and that the cease-fire and safe areas are respected.

29. It will be noted that the joint statement by ASEAN Ministers for Foreign Affairs is temperate in language and moderate in tone. We seek neither to confront nor to condemn. Rather, we appeal for the survival of the Kampuchean nation and its people, and for the attainment of a political settlement, to be negotiated in an appropriate forum that will provide for the conditions essential

to the restoration of Kampuchea's independence and sovereignty.

30. We trust that Viet Nam and its supporters will respond positively and with equal sincerity to our appeal.

31. As you will note, the draft resolution stays close in substance to the resolution which the General Assembly adopted last year [resolution 37/6].

32. In the operative paragraphs of the draft resolution, the General Assembly reiterates its conviction that the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea and the restoration of its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, the right of the Kampuchean people to determine their own destiny, and the commitment by all States to non-intervention in the internal affairs of Kampuchea, are the principal components of any just and lasting resolution of the Kampuchean problem. The Assembly also takes note of the report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee of the International Conference on Kampuchea and authorizes the *Ad Hoc* Committee to convene when necessary. It also reaffirms the decision to reconvene the International Conference on Kampuchea at an appropriate time and renews the appeal to all States of South-East Asia and other States to attend future sessions of the Conference. The Assembly requests the Secretary-General to continue to consult with and assist the Conference and the *Ad Hoc* Committee and to exercise his good offices in order to contribute to a comprehensive political settlement. It also expresses its appreciation to donor countries, the United Nations and its agencies and other organizations which have rendered relief assistance to the Kampuchean people, and requests them to continue to provide emergency assistance to Kampuchean people who are still in need, especially along the Thai-Kampuchean border and in the holding centres in Thailand. The Assembly finally urges the countries of South-East Asia, once a comprehensive political solution to the Kampuchean conflict is achieved, to exert renewed efforts to establish a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in South-East Asia.

33. The sponsors respectfully submit this draft resolution for the consideration of the General Assembly and request that it be accorded the support of all its members.

34. In conclusion, the situation in Kampuchea is one, but only one, of the numerous flashpoints of danger in the world. The war between Iran and Iraq, the rising tensions in Central America, the protracted conflict in Afghanistan—these are symptoms of a deeper malaise which afflicts contemporary life. They are symptoms of a basic fear, indescribable but real, which gnaws at the very vitals of us all. Fear and terror are the true characteristics of our unhappy lives.

35. Even as I speak the situation in Lebanon remains uncertain. The lives of 205 Americans and a still undesignated number of the youth of France have been snuffed out in a tragic outburst of institutionalized terrorism. The irony of it is that those men were in Lebanon on a mission of peace. To the Governments of the United States of America and of France, the Philippines expresses its sorrow and extends its most profound condolences.

36. Kampuchea, however, remains a test case. Its solution lies within the realm of probability—if we had the nerve and the courage to light once again the fragile candle of world peace.

37. Prince NORODOM SIHANOUK (Democratic Kampuchea) (*interpretation from French*): I would not venture to waste the time of this Assembly by repeating today what I had the honour to say before it at the thirty-seventh session [11th meeting] and again on 4 October last at the 17th meeting of this session, about the

deplorable state into which my country has been plunged for nearly five years. Every representative present here is aware of the situation in Kampuchea and is able to form an opinion, and there is no doubt that the problem of Kampuchea is of the utmost importance for States, Governments and peoples committed to justice, freedom and peace.

38. Permit me to pay a tribute to those States, Governments and peoples which have never stopped taking action or raising their voices to prevent the problem of Kampuchea, the source of unbearable suffering and humiliation for a whole people, who only yesterday were peaceful and happy and were always proud of their past and their civilization, from sinking little by little into indifference, which is the last step before oblivion. For that oblivion would be very much to the advantage of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, which invaded my country in December 1978, has been occupying it since January 1979 and at present is actively engaged in colonizing it physically by first proceeding to the gradual and systematic settling of its own nationals in our territory. By appropriating our resources which scarcely cover the needs of our own population, those Vietnamese settlers have brought about a demographic imbalance which will be a threat to our national identity itself sometime in the future. That is why, through its statement dated 13 October 1983 [A/38/510], my Government has strongly condemned this attempt to colonize Kampuchea and has denounced any agreement on the subject concluded now or at any time in the future between the Phnom Penh régime and the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam. Could there be a worse calamity for a people than the loss of their national identity?

39. At the international level the Kampuchean tragedy has jeopardized the security and stability of all the nations of South-East Asia. The Kingdom of Thailand, in particular, as underlined in document A/38/486, is subject almost daily to violations of its territory by the armed forces of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam. Those violations have each time caused heavy losses in human life.

40. Therefore to absolve the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, as is requested, from its aggression against and occupation and colonization of Kampuchea—formerly a buffer State between the East and West—would amount to inciting and encouraging that same Viet Nam to push its conquests ever further after having assimilated them one after the other.

41. To accept the Vietnamese "*fait accompli*" in Kampuchea would be tantamount to replacing international law with the law of the jungle. But is it not the law of the jungle that the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam now seems to impose on the Organization? Indeed, after having called the just United Nations resolutions erroneous, the Vietnamese Minister for Foreign Affairs did not hesitate to state before this Assembly on 7 October last that "If the United Nations persists in its current course, the question of peace and stability in South-East Asia will be resolved outside the framework of the Organization." [24th meeting, para. 100.] This means that the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, which has always proclaimed itself to be "the outpost of the socialist camp in South-East Asia", wants to impose by force of arms its expansionist policy on all countries of the region. It is time that Viet Nam abandoned all illusions in this field. If Viet Nam continues to impose this atrocious war on our people, who wish only to live in peace within the borders of their country, we have no other course than to carry on with the struggle so that our soil might continue to burn ever

more fiercely under the feet of the invaders until they are obliged totally to withdraw from Kampuchea.

42. It is vital that no breach be opened in the dike that stands in the way of great invasions. Otherwise it would be the beginning of the end of the reign of justice and law.

43. Last year in this Assembly, 105 nations respectful of the Charter of the United Nations voted in favour of the resolution on Kampuchea, putting all foreign troops under the obligation to withdraw from our country and give back to our people the exercise of their right to self-determination. On behalf of my people, my Government and in my own name, I warmly thank those nations which have given us their noble support.

44. This circle of friends, brothers, however overwhelming it may be, should now be further enlarged. That is why I call upon all the other Member States, those which have abstained or those which out of respect for a very great super-Power allied with Viet Nam, voted against this resolution. Permit me to remind those Powers that the problem is not one of whether they should prefer Democratic Kampuchea to the administration installed in Phnom Penh; it is a matter of deciding whether Kampuchea and its people should be restored to independence, sovereignty, freedom and peace.

45. I state without any fear of being mistaken that no nation committed to peace and justice can believe for a moment that the team of quislings in Phnom Penh, brought there in the wake of foreigners and living at all levels under the permanent control of the Vietnamese authorities of occupation, represents any part, however small it might be, of the Kampuchean people, and still less that that team could form an independent and sovereign Government. Nevertheless the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea wishes solemnly to declare here that it will welcome as a patriot, regardless of his or her past, any Kampuchean who, having been forced to serve the Vietnamese aggressors, abandons the latter to join the national community either as a simple citizen or as a fighter for the cause of the liberation of the motherland. That Government will also welcome as a partner any other entity or political party provided that such entity or political party does not serve, or ceases to serve, the Vietnamese aggressors and unites itself with the nation and with our people to fight the Vietnamese aggressors in all ways possible and drive them all out of Kampuchea.

46. I should like to request all delegations present here to see to it that the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, a fully-fledged Member of the United Nations and therefore morally and politically bound to observe its rules, finally agrees to sit down with us at the International Conference on Kampuchea held under the auspices of the United Nations, for the purpose of finding a just and honourable settlement of the problem of Kampuchea.

47. After the total withdrawal of the Vietnamese armed forces from Kampuchea and in implementation of the United Nations resolutions and the Declaration on Kampuchea,¹ all Kampucheans will participate in general and free elections under the supervision of the United Nations.

48. The three patriotic movements which are participating in the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea and their armed forces solemnly commit themselves never to use those forces to exert any influence whatsoever on the choice made by the Kampuchean voters, both men and women, during those general elections. They commit themselves in advance to respecting the free choice of our compatriots with regard to the leaders and political parties they choose to form the Government and

rule the country, as well as the political and economic system that they prefer.

49. If Viet Nam continues to act as it has done and if it persists in disregarding the United Nations and the elementary international rules of conduct it will be increasingly trapped in an impasse and will lose what remains of the respect it had gained in the world not long ago through its struggle for liberation.

50. Permit me to request all other justice-loving Member States to be so kind as to speak out in favour of the return of Kampuchea and its people to independence, sovereignty, freedom and peace. In this connection I should like, on behalf of the people and the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, to reiterate our warm congratulations and our profound gratitude to the countries members of ASEAN which, through their tireless and most noble efforts in support of our just cause, have shown and are showing how much they respect the independence and freedom of other nations and peoples and how much they are committed to peace, security and stability in the world, and particularly in South-East Asia. I would like also to express our great gratitude to the States which have sponsored the draft resolution in document A/38/L.2, which I am convinced will surely meet with the unanimous support of the friends of the Kampuchean people, those who are committed to the defence of the freedom, independence and sovereignty of the Kampuchean people as well as those who cherish peace, justice and the law. To all I extend our most sincere thanks.

51. The Kampuchean people threaten no one. They want only to live peacefully under their own laws.

52. With regard to the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, our attitude will become friendly, in conformity with the five principles of peaceful co-existence (*Panca Sila*) as soon as it accepts its obligation to implement fully the just United Nations resolutions on Kampuchea, resolutions which alone are capable of ensuring stability, peace and progress in South-East Asia.

53. In conclusion, my delegation is very pleased to express, on behalf of Democratic Kampuchea, its profound gratitude to Mr. Massamba Sarré of Senegal, Chairman of the *Ad Hoc* Committee of the International Conference on Kampuchea, as well as to the other members of the *Ad Hoc* Committee, for their admirable and tireless devotion to the cause of peace and justice. We are confident that their noble efforts to find a just and lasting solution to the problem of Kampuchea, in conformity with the mandate entrusted to them by the International Conference on Kampuchea, will be successful. We also wish to reaffirm here our high esteem for Mr. Willibald Pahr of Austria, President of the International Conference on Kampuchea, for his noble efforts in favour of an independent Kampuchea. Lastly we wish to express our profound gratitude to the Secretary-General and to his special representatives, for the active and eminent part they have played, on behalf of the General Assembly, in strengthening the role of the Organization and in the maintenance of international peace and security.

54. Mr. KURODA (Japan): Mr. President, since this is the first time I have had the honour of addressing the Assembly, allow me first of all to extend to you my warm congratulations on your election to the presidency of the thirty-eighth session of the General Assembly. I wish to assure you that my delegation is ready to co-operate to the best of its ability as you discharge the awesome duties of your office.

55. I am pleased also to have the opportunity to express our appreciation to the President of the thirty-seventh

session for the effective manner in which he carried out his responsibilities.

56. This is the fifth successive year that the General Assembly has addressed the problem of Kampuchea. It is a problem that remains unresolved. The Kampuchean people are still being denied their right of self-determination, and large numbers of them have been forced to seek food, shelter and safety in neighbouring Thailand and in the area along the Thai-Kampuchean border.

57. According to a report of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, approximately 65,000 Kampuchean displaced persons are in camps in Thailand, waiting for either resettlement in third countries or the assurance that they may safely return home to Kampuchea. And a report of the United Nations Border Relief Operation indicates that nearly 230,000 people are encamped along the Thai-Kampuchean border, their very survival dependent on the humanitarian assistance of the international community. The report further states that this massive influx of refugees and displaced persons into Thailand has directly affected approximately 80,000 Thai villagers in the border area and has imposed a heavy social and economic strain on that country. It is deplorable that in its military offensive during the dry season this year Viet Nam even attacked the refugee encampments. In fact, Vietnamese shelling and bombardment caused heavy casualties among innocent civilians and resulted in a renewed flow of refugees, seriously hampering international relief operations. The Government of Japan fervently hopes that armed attacks against the civilian refugee camps will never again be repeated. It is regrettable that the occupation of Kampuchea by Vietnamese forces continues and that the present situation in Kampuchea that I have just described does not appear to be heading towards the restoration of peace and stability to the region.

58. The international community remains firm in its insistence that a military solution to the problem of Kampuchea is not acceptable.

59. My Government appeals to Viet Nam to respond positively to the voice of the overwhelming majority of Member States, which is reflected in the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and in the Declaration¹ and resolution 1 (I)² of the International Conference on Kampuchea, and which calls upon Viet Nam to enter into negotiations that will lead to a peaceful and comprehensive political settlement of the problem in the interests of both regional and international peace and security.

60. I wish to repeat briefly the position of the Government of Japan on the Kampuchean problem.

61. Military intervention by one country in the affairs of another country and the obstruction of that country's right of self-determination violate the principles of international law and must not be allowed. The Kampuchean people must be ensured the opportunity fully to enjoy the right to choose their own political future without outside interference. During the past four years my country has joined the member countries of ASEAN in sponsoring successive General Assembly resolutions on the Kampuchean situation. Japan also contributed positively to the International Conference on Kampuchea in July 1981 and has participated in the activities of the *Ad Hoc* Committee of the International Conference on Kampuchea since its establishment.

62. The Government of Japan wishes to thank the Chairman of the *Ad Hoc* Committee, Mr. Massamba Sarré of Senegal, and the other members of the *Ad Hoc* Committee, for their continuing efforts to promote a process of negotiation for the implementation of the

Declaration on Kampuchea and the relevant General Assembly resolutions.

63. When a mission of the *Ad Hoc* Committee visited Japan in June of this year it was stressed that a just and lasting settlement must be based on two basic principles. These are the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea and the right of the Kampuchean people to determine their own destiny. The mission also stated that such a settlement should take into account the legitimate security concerns of the States in the region, including a commitment by all States to non-interference and non-intervention in the internal affairs of Kampuchea.

64. In response, my country reaffirmed its support for the principles and objectives laid down by the Declaration on Kampuchea and the various General Assembly resolutions, and encouraged the mission to continue the efforts it had undertaken in accordance with the mandate entrusted to it.

65. At the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly, Japan proposed that a representative of the Secretary-General be sent to the countries concerned. We are gratified that this suggestion was followed up, and would like on this occasion to express our deep appreciation to the Secretary-General and his special representatives and staff for their efforts to bring about a negotiated solution of the Kampuchean problem. We would request that they continue their efforts to foster a peaceful resolution of this pressing international issue.

66. I wish also at this time to comment on the efforts of the member countries of ASEAN. They have never faltered in their efforts to find a comprehensive political settlement of the Kampuchean problem. They have made repeated proposals which would assure both the right to self-determination of the Kampuchean people and the legitimate security interests of all the countries of South-East Asia.

67. In particular, Japan highly values the statement entitled "An Appeal for Kampuchean Independence" [A/38/441], which was issued by the ASEAN countries on 21 September 1983 and which has been circulated to the members of the General Assembly.

68. It is indeed regrettable that in spite of the efforts of the international community aimed at a comprehensive political settlement of the Kampuchean problem, foreign forces remain in Kampuchea and the solution of the problem through negotiations does not appear to be close.

69. Japan fully supports and has once again joined the ASEAN countries in sponsoring draft resolution A/38/L.2.

70. We urge all Member States which respect international justice and seek world peace to support this draft resolution, in the recognition that armed intervention in another country must be categorically rejected and the right of self-determination restored to the Kampuchean people.

71. My Government is of the view that the formation and development of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea is a positive step toward a comprehensive political settlement and national reconciliation in Kampuchea. We hope that Democratic Kampuchea will further widen and consolidate its base of support under the presidency of Samdech Norodom Sihanouk.

72. Japan recognizes the seriousness of the situation surrounding the Kampuchean refugees and displaced persons, and the enormous burden which is being shouldered by the Government of Thailand. We are deeply grateful for the selfless devotion of all those who are engaged in the humanitarian refugee assistance programmes of UNBRO, WFP, UNHCR, the International

Committee of the Red Cross, and a number of voluntary agencies.

73. For its part, my Government has contributed energetically to those activities for humanitarian reasons and also in the hope of alleviating the burden borne by Thailand, and will continue its efforts to the best of its ability. Japan would like to call upon other countries in a position to do so to continue and further strengthen their present assistance to the refugees who are still in need, especially along the Thai-Kampuchean border and in the holding centres in Thailand, as well as to the affected Thai villagers, thus relieving the difficulties confronting the Thai Government.

74. In closing, I would stress that the refugee problem can only be resolved through the eradication of its root cause. Japan thus renews its appeal to Viet Nam to take part in negotiations aiming at a peaceful solution of the Kampuchean problem.

75. Mr. KASEMSRI (Thailand): We have before us the report of the Secretary-General [A/38/513] on the situation in Kampuchea, in which he outlined his mandate and functions on this item. My delegation is gratified to learn of the Secretary-General's continued active interest in both the political and humanitarian aspects of this problem. At the same time, we welcome the role of his Special Representative, Mr. Rafeuddin Ahmed, in undertaking a mission to South-East Asia in June and July of this year. While the co-ordination of international relief operations has proceeded under the direction of Sir Robert Jackson, we note the relevant paragraphs in the Secretary-General's report, which read in part as follows:

“as a result of substantial assistance provided by the international community . . . the food situation in Kampuchea can be regarded at present as acceptable.

“The Kampuchean people who have sought refuge along the Thai-Kampuchean border and those in the UNHCR holding centres in Thailand will continue to remain dependent upon relief assistance provided by the international community. The present year has been one of much difficulty for the United Nations Border Relief Operation, principally as a result of the armed incidents on the border.” [*Ibid.*, paras. 14 and 15.]

On the political situation, the report of the Secretary-General states:

“despite the emergence of tentative elements of convergence on some of the main issues involved, the parties concerned have yet to achieve decisive progress towards overcoming the significant differences that still exist between their respective positions. At the same time, the situation in the region has remained relatively tense, particularly along the Thai-Kampuchean border, where a number of serious armed incidents occurred during the dry season, thereby imposing further hardship and suffering on the afflicted Kampuchean people.” [*Ibid.*, para. 11.]

Mr. Bhatt (Nepal), *Vict-President*, took the Chair.

76. The armed attacks along the border referred to by the Secretary-General in his report have become frequent incidents and an important consequence of the Vietnamese military occupation of Kampuchea. Such incidents not only jeopardize the survival and precarious existence of Kampuchean civilian refugees, but also constitute the cause of border tension, as well as the source of danger to the security and well-being of the neighbouring country, namely Thailand.

77. The root cause of the problem is the five-year-long Vietnamese military occupation of Democratic Kampuchea, a sovereign State and a Member of the United Nations. It may be recalled that on Christmas Day of 1978

Vietnamese armed forces invaded Kampuchea, overthrew its Government, and set up a new régime in the capital. At present, there are approximately 180,000 Vietnamese troops occupying Kampuchea against the will of the Kampuchean people.

78. The Vietnamese invasion and military occupation of Kampuchea represent a flagrant violation of the norms of conduct in international relations and of the Charter of the United Nations. It has created many specific problems for Thailand and other countries, the most apparent and tangible of all being the refugee problem. The occupation of Kampuchea by Vietnamese troops has caused hostility and instability in South-East Asia, upsetting the existing power balance, and intensifying major-Power rivalry, thereby posing serious threats to the peace and stability of the international community. The very existence of Kampuchea and the Kampuchean people is being seriously threatened. Vietnamese military operations against Kampuchean refugee encampments near Ban Non Mak Mun in Thailand on 23 and 24 June 1980, and other attacks such as those in March and April this year, are illustrative of that threat.

79. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Thailand recently stated that

“The Association of South-East Asian Nations has to oppose the Vietnamese invasion and occupation of Kampuchea. For to accept the Vietnamese *fait accompli* in Kampuchea would contravene the dual security concerns of ASEAN, namely, the elimination of adverse external Power interference in the region and the peaceful settlement of intraregional conflicts through respect for the rule of law.”

80. Furthermore, Viet Nam's trampling on Kampuchean sovereignty and independence is an obstacle to the establishment of a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in South-East Asia. Before such a zone can be established in South-East Asia, the national identity, independence and integrity of the individual States within the region, including that of Kampuchea, must be preserved and maintained.

81. As far as Thailand is concerned, we have no material or economic interest in Kampuchea; nor do we have any territorial designs. Our only interest is to see peace and order restored there. Once peace and stability return to Kampuchea, peace and stability will be possible in South-East Asia. And only when there is total withdrawal of foreign troops from Kampuchea, can peace and stability return, and the Kampuchean people will then be able to rebuild their country and bring back the prosperity which once it enjoyed.

82. Thailand and ASEAN welcome the declared intention of Viet Nam to conduct partial troops withdrawals from Kampuchea if—and only if—they are within the framework of total withdrawal. We are of the view that such partial withdrawals should take place on a territorial basis, beginning with a 30-kilometre withdrawal from the westernmost territory of Kampuchea along the Thai-Kampuchean border. These withdrawals would be seen as a confidence-building measure which could lead to a comprehensive political settlement of the Kampuchean problem and as a sign of a sincere desire on the part of the Vietnamese to solve the problem. In this context, a cease-fire should be observed in the areas already free from foreign military occupation, which should then be constituted as safe areas for uprooted Kampuchean civilians, under the supervision of UNHCR. In addition, peace-keeping forces or observer groups should be introduced to ensure that the areas are so respected. International assistance programmes should also be encouraged in these safe areas.

83. In this connection, Thailand and other ASEAN countries, conscious of the plight of the Kampuchean people resulting from the ravages of war, and mindful of the need for the economic reconstruction of Kampuchea and the rehabilitation of the social and cultural life of the Kampuchean people, are of the opinion that as part and parcel of a comprehensive political settlement of the Kampuchean problem the mobilization of resources from the international community for a programme of assistance should be encouraged. An international conference on the construction, reconstruction and rehabilitation of Kampuchea should be convened at an appropriate time.

84. In his address to this Assembly on 4 October, Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, President of Democratic Kampuchea, stated:

“The present situation in Kampuchea is worsening as a result of the fact that in addition to the 200,000 Vietnamese soldiers and the thousands of ‘technicians’ and ‘advisers’ from Hanoi who control a part of our country, there are about 600,000 Vietnamese settlers who have been sent to our country to exploit our lands and rice fields, our villages, forests, lakes, rivers, coasts and other natural resources.” [17th meeting, para. 24.]

85. On 15 October, in an interview given in Bangkok, Mr. Al Santoli, the well-known American journalist and scholar on South-East Asian affairs, said:

“Early in 1978 to 1979 the Cambodian people might have thought that Heng Samrin and the Vietnamese would help relieve them of Pol Pot. They know by now that what the Vietnamese want to do is to occupy their country, as they are moving in more and more Vietnamese settlers. In Cambodia women are forced to marry Vietnamese men. They try to change what used to be Cambodia. They are changing it through intermarriage. They are changing it by the massive influx of Vietnamese farmers and military personnel.”

86. My delegation feels that this development is a matter of serious concern. It adds a new and ominous dimension to the foreign military occupation of Kampuchea. The Kampuchean people rightly fear that the influx of Vietnamese civilian settlers marks the revival of long-standing Vietnamese expansionism. Over the last millennium the steady southward movement of the Vietnamese population has inevitably been accompanied by an extension of Vietnamese political power. Since unification Hanoi has been continuing this tradition inside Viet Nam itself. Over 2 million people have been resettled in new economic zones in southern Viet Nam in regions that previously had been populated by hill tribespeople. The puppet régime in Phnom Penh can be regarded as a product of Viet Nam’s southward expansion. Vietnamese control of the administrative structure is all-pervasive. According to accounts provided by refugees, defectors from the Phnom Penh régime, journalists and international relief workers, Vietnamese “advisers” dictate the day-to-day working of the régime and no action can be taken or decision made without their agreement. The 20 July 1983 border treaty between Viet Nam and the régime in Phnom Penh underscores Phnom Penh’s subordination to Hanoi. This so-called treaty ceded to Viet Nam territory on the Vietnamese-Kampuchean border that had been in dispute for several decades. Another treaty, signed on 7 July 1982, handed over to Viet Nam several islands that Kampuchea had held or claimed previously. Viet Nam now asserts the “right” of over 500,000 of its nationals, who it says lived in Kampuchea prior to 1969, to return to Kampuchea. It admits that there are already over 56,000 Vietnamese civilian settlers in Kampuchea. On this point, it has been noted that the Geneva Convention relative to

the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949, specifically states in article 49 that “The Occupying Power shall not deport or transfer parts of its own civilian population into the territory it occupies.”³

87. Estimates of how many Vietnamese nationals have moved into Kampuchea vary. However, it is evident that large numbers are involved. According to the statement issued on 13 October 1983 by the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea:

“the Vietnamese settlers in question are no ordinary immigrants. They are organized in units, divided into family groups and armed and they are being used by the Vietnamese occupation forces to implement their policy of systematic Vietnamization of Kampuchea.”

The statement also says:

“This population transfer which was acknowledged by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam in his address to the United Nations on 7 October 1983, even although he disputed its scale, is assuming greater proportions every day and has already, as of now, reached the level of several hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese settlers.” [See A/38/510, annex.]

88. A certain percentage of these new arrivals may well be ethnic Vietnamese who lived in Kampuchea prior to 1969. However, the fact that the settlers, who have moved into widely separated parts of the country, such as Prey Veng, Sisophon and the fertile lands around the Tonlé Sap Lake, do not speak Khmer, do not speak Cambodian and are causing ethnic and social strains, suggests that newcomers form a large proportion of the Vietnamese immigrants. The claim by Viet Nam that its nationals moving into Kampuchea are merely former residents is also contradicted by a document [A/38/490] released by its own puppet régime in Phnom Penh and distributed as an official document of this Assembly by the Permanent Mission of the Lao People’s Democratic Republic. That document lists three groups of Vietnamese immigrants: the first, “former Vietnamese residents”; the second, “Vietnamese people who have come to Kampuchea since liberation”; and the third, “Vietnamese people who with assistance of friends or relatives wish to move to Kampuchea to live and work”.

89. In that document, we are also told that “Chinese residents or ethnic Chinese” who have been “authorized” to return to Kampuchea numbered 61,400 by November 1982, with 40,000 in Phnom Penh alone. This admission is indeed ironic. It may be recalled that Viet Nam itself has cast out several hundreds of thousands of its own Chinese minority, many of whom were forced to flee by boat on to the high seas. Viet Nam has also given as one of its reasons for continuing the military occupation of Kampuchea the so-called Chinese threat to Kampuchea and to the other Indo-Chinese countries. But, in order to justify its settlement in Kampuchea of Vietnamese nationals, Viet Nam now admits that more people of Chinese origin have been “authorized” to settle in Kampuchea.

90. The movement of large numbers of civilian settlers from Viet Nam into Kampuchea is a serious threat to the demographic composition and social structure of that nation. It is a development that will have a significant bearing not only on the food situation in that country but also on any eventual political solution to the Kampuchean problem, and it should therefore be condemned by the international community. Indeed, the report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee of the International Conference on Kampuchea on its activities in 1982-1983, expresses the hope that “all parties concerned will refrain from taking any action or measure which would complicate further

the situation in Kampuchea and jeopardize the chances for a fair and peaceful solution of the problem".⁴

91. My delegation therefore wishes to reiterate its grave concern about the demographic changes being imposed in Kampuchea by the occupying Power and demands that Viet Nam desist forthwith from taking such action in violation of the 1949 Geneva Convention.

92. In the light of this situation, what is the prevailing attitude of Viet Nam? Despite occasional appearances of flexibility, the hard line seems to prevail up to this point in Hanoi. Despite the meeting between my Minister for Foreign Affairs and the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Viet Nam on 1 October this year, where they reached an agreement not to engage in polemical attacks, in his statement of 7 October the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Viet Nam proceeded to single out Thailand for vituperative attacks and abuses. In that statement, he presented to us Viet Nam's own version of history while casting invectives in other directions. Let me, however, quote from two authoritative sources concerning Viet Nam's historical record of expansionism and hegemonism.

93. In a recent interview, Samdech Norodom Sihanouk stated that

"Viet Nam remains as tough as ever, since it is still determined to stay in Kampuchea . . . The Vietnamization shows that Viet Nam is still determined to annex Kampuchea, as north Viet Nam had done with former southern Kampuchea in the fourteenth century. North Viet Nam occupied the Kingdom of Champa, or the Moslem Kingdom, and turned it into part of Viet Nam, known as Annam, which extends to south Viet Nam."

94. In a recent statement, Mr. Son Sann, Prime Minister of Democratic Kampuchea, stated:

"Hanoi's dream of a mandate to rule the region began with the expansionism and annexation of the leaders of a territorial entity called Dai-Co-Viet or Annam—later called Viet Nam—in the year 939. Its dream has been reinforced since then through the successful Vietnamese moves southward beginning in the tenth century, during which time Viet Nam encroached on neighbouring territories, annexed the ancient independent Islamic Kingdom of Champa in the fifteenth century and completely absorbed the Cambodian territory of Kampuchea Krom, or Cochin China at the start of this century."

95. A historical debate is hardly relevant to the present situation. If we delved deep enough into any historical record, few countries would come out in the best of light. Besides, times and circumstances have changed, and history only reflects our past accomplishments and follies. The present questions, however, are: how much has the Cambodian adventure cost the brave Vietnamese people and what further toll would it exact from the long-suffering Cambodian people and the international community? The answer to the last question rests with the Vietnamese Government. On the first question, however, it is unlikely that the Vietnamese Government is willing or able to provide an objective assessment to its own people. From all the indications, one can draw one's own conclusions.

96. First, the Cambodian adventure has severely undermined Viet Nam's economy. It has not only delayed reconstruction but also diverted a large part of resources to non-productive purposes and heavily taxed the outdated infrastructure, especially its transport system. Moreover, it has curtailed external sources of economic assistance, partly because of the stigma attached to Viet Nam's lawless adventurism and also because of its bureaucratic management system.

97. Secondly, the Cambodian adventure has made Viet Nam increasingly dependent on the assistance of one country, namely, the Soviet Union. This further forecloses any other option. Since it is the path chosen by the Vietnamese leadership, it may be asked whether Viet Nam has retrogressed by its own choice from an independent status to that of a client State of the Soviet Union.

98. Thirdly, the Cambodian adventure has embroiled Viet Nam in a long-drawn-out conflict with China, a country which was once its closest friend and ally.

99. Fourthly, the Cambodian adventure has interrupted the emerging co-operation between Viet Nam and the member countries of ASEAN, as well as progress towards the establishment of a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in South-East Asia.

100. Fifthly, the Cambodian adventure, as the foregoing amply demonstrates, has compelled the brave Vietnamese people to pay through the nose. They are being asked to endure more war and more hardships, all in the service of adventurism. This undoubtedly incurs greater difficulty for the enlisted men and their families, whose pain and sacrifice can no longer be justified by the call for patriotism or national salvation. Even the outcry against Pol Pot will acquire a hollow ring in the ears of ordinary Vietnamese. For how can so much sacrifice be made in the interest of the Cambodian people while the daily needs of the Vietnamese people are not adequately met?

101. In conclusion, the Cambodian adventure is the result of a policy which is morally and legally untenable and impedes Viet Nam's economic reconstruction and development to the detriment of its own people.

102. The resolutions adopted by this Assembly over the past four years by large and increasing majorities, as well as the Declaration on Kampuchea¹, adopted by the International Conference on Kampuchea, held in 1981 under United Nations auspices, offer a reasonable and practical framework for a peaceful settlement of the conflict in Kampuchea that takes into account the legitimate interests of all concerned. The Declaration calls for negotiations on a cease-fire and withdrawal under United Nations supervision of all foreign forces, appropriate measures for the maintenance of law and order in Kampuchea and the holding of free elections under the supervision of the United Nations.

103. On 21 September this year, the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the ASEAN countries issued a joint statement entitled "An Appeal for Kampuchean Independence" [A/38/441]. This appeal proposes possible initial steps that could be taken in pursuit of a comprehensive political settlement in line with the elements contained in the Declaration on Kampuchea. My delegation calls upon the international community, particularly Viet Nam and the five permanent members of the Security Council, as well as other States concerned, to join in intensifying efforts to achieve a just solution whereby Kampuchea can emerge once again as an independent and sovereign nation in fact as well as in law.

104. A draft resolution under agenda item 23 was eloquently introduced this afternoon by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Philippines, Mr. Carlos P. Romulo. My delegation urges all Member States to vote in favour of the draft resolution A/38/L.2, sponsored up to now by 50 Member States, in the interest of peace and security in South-East Asia and in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

105. Mr. VONGSAY (Lao People's Democratic Republic) (*interpretation from French*): May I first of all be

permitted to express the disappointment with which my delegation was prompted to take part today in the discussion on the so-called "situation in Kampuchea", disappointment because those who have requested and obtained, owing to their cunning manoeuvres, the inclusion of this item in the agenda of the sessions of the General Assembly since 1979, have no other purpose but flagrantly to interfere in the internal affairs of the glorious People's Republic of Kampuchea, an independent and sovereign country, whose seat in the United Nations has again this year been usurped by the genocidal Pol Pot's so-called Coalition Government. Is it necessary to remind the Assembly that during these four consecutive years our delegation has unambiguously expressed its opposition to the discussion of this non-existent problem, but, in a show of goodwill and in order to make the world aware of the heroic epic of the valiant Kampuchean people in its task of national recovery undertaken under the resolute direction of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, we have agreed to take part in this debate.

106. In this discussion, which I would term Byzantine, it is first and foremost necessary to determine what the opponents of the People's Republic of Kampuchea seek to attain. Let us say it out loud. The goal of the hegemonists, acting in collusion with the imperialists and their allies, is to sabotage and to overthrow the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea and, after that, to reinstate the genocidal Pol Pot gang in Kampuchea, so that it may complete its criminal operation aimed at exterminating the Kampuchean race.

107. I do not believe that the representatives of the States Members of the United Nations present in this Hall wish to endorse such a dismal undertaking. But it is sad to have to recall in this connection that the hopes we expressed have not been fulfilled, and the wishes which we formulated have so far remained but pious wishes. Yet, we are not discouraged, come what may. We continue to believe that, sooner or later, justice, reason and common sense will prevail. It is the visible and tangible realities of Kampuchea which lead us to be optimistic. I believe that we must establish a parallel between the evil deeds committed by the criminal Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique when it was in power for almost four years, on the one hand, and the Herculean task of recovery accomplished by the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea since the overthrow of the genocidal régime in January 1979, on the other.

108. Rest assured that I shall not dwell unduly on the Pol Pot-perpetrated holocaust for the simple reason that you, Mr. President, and all representatives here present, as well as world public opinion, are perfectly aware of this monstrous and outrageous hecatomb. Let us simply recall the fact that 3 million Kampucheans—women and children, old people, Buddhist monks and Vietnamese residents—were massacred. Institutions for family, economic, social and cultural matters, among others, were destroyed. Schools, hospitals and monasteries were transformed into human slaughterhouses and places of torture. Currency, the instrument of trade and business in civilized society, was abolished and replaced by a barter system.

109. This wretched mass of humanity was submitted to a régime of slavery more atrocious than that inflicted upon Spartacus. Hence, it is not astonishing that those who escaped the Pol Pot holocaust united, as one man, and rebelled with the help of our brothers the Vietnamese volunteers, to overthrow this bloodthirsty clique, which in fact was condemned to death by proxy.

110. Last week my delegation, at the time when the Assembly adopted the report of the Credentials Committee, already described the scenario whereby the so-called

Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea was formed in June last year.

111. Everyone is aware of the strange and incongruous nature of this so-called entity, yet some attempt is being made to make us believe that it is demonstrating growing effectiveness. To be convinced of the upheavals which have occurred within the so-called Coalition, whose image some attempt to improve, one need merely refer to the interview which Sihanouk granted to Nayan Chanda of the *Far Eastern Economic Review* in its issue of 16 June 1983. Indeed Sihanouk, the nominal head of the Coalition, brandished his threat to leave his family home for reasons of ideological incompatibility and temperament. He openly attacked Son Sann, Khieu Samphan and even—and this is the height of irony—his Peking protector. He thus disapproves of the Chinese policy which advocates a military solution at all costs to the problems of peace and stability in South-East Asia. In the same interview, he mercilessly attacked the criminal enterprise of the Khmers Rouges. That is quite understandable in view of the fact that among the unfortunate victims of the Pol Pot holocaust there were a number of his own children and close relatives. He also, movingly, described how his own children had been physically liquidated and he peremptorily affirmed that this criminal clique had not changed its ideology by one iota. Sihanouk said in his interview: "What is changed is only the varnish, but the wood remains the same".* Recently, foreign press agencies, including Agence France-Presse, reported that military tension between the Khmers Rouges and the other elements of the Coalition is proceeding apace. Indeed, according to Agence France-Presse on 4 October 1983, "The Khmer Rouges are fighting more against their two non-communist allies within the Coalition of Democratic Kampuchea than against the Vietnamese troops." This is the truth about the situation in Kampuchea. It continues to improve noticeably day by day in all respects and it is precisely this irreversible stabilizing trend that displeases those that use all possible means to oppose the recovery of the martyred Kampuchean people. They try to foment trouble and they and their accomplices have shamelessly dared to complain of the continued fighting in Kampuchea and the instability which, they say, "persists in that country".

112. It goes without saying that the Kampuchean people are profoundly grateful for the humanitarian aid accorded to it so far by the international community, but, as was stated with regret by the Vice-President of the Council of Ministers and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea in his letter dated 25 June last to the Secretary-General, the largest share, or the lion's share, of that aid has recently been routed in one way or another to the criminal Pol Pot rabble and other reactionary Khmers who engage in acts of sabotage and destruction against the People's Republic of Kampuchea and its people in the Thai-Kampuchean border area.

113. It is disappointing to note that draft resolution A/38/L.2, sponsored by the States members of ASEAN, regarding humanitarian aid, calls upon the international community to continue committing the same injustice *vis-à-vis* the People's Republic of Kampuchea. Reference is also made in the draft resolution to so-called demographic changes in Kampuchea. My delegation would like to recall here the fact that these fallacious and deceitful allegations have already been refuted and rejected by the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea in a White Book entitled "Kampuchea's policy towards Vietnamese residents" issued

*Quoted in English by the speaker.

recently by the Press Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of that Government and distributed here a few days ago through the Secretariat [A/38/490, annex II].

114. According to that document, an agreement was signed between the People's Republic of Kampuchea and the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam governing the status of Vietnamese residents in Kampuchea, whose present number is estimated at approximately 56,000, while the Chinese residing in that country number approximately 61,000, a situation which the opponents of the People's Republic of Kampuchea and the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam have seen fit to ignore.

115. It is interesting to note here the fact that even American journalists who have visited the People's Republic of Kampuchea in recent months have spoken out against this kind of insinuation and calumny by the imperialists acting in collusion with the expansionists and some of their regional allies. Even more eloquent was the comment made in this connection on 28 June last by Mr. William G. Hayden, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Australia. He said:

"Following news about Vietnamese coming to Kampuchea, I understand they are returnees to Kampuchea since they lived there before the Pol Pot era. Kampuchea and Viet Nam have reached an agreement on this question. The number of Vietnamese in Kampuchea, including Vietnamese troops, is now still far smaller than it was in the pre-Pol Pot era."*

116. As in past years, this year again there is talk of the so-called comprehensive political settlement of the Kampuchean question, and, as before, some want this so-called comprehensive political settlement to be carried out in the framework of the United Nations and according to the terms of illegal resolutions and decisions adopted in the United Nations or under its auspices. The Lao delegation and other delegations have already opposed this situation and we continue to oppose it for the simple reason that this request constitutes a grave violation of the norms of international law and of the Charter of the United Nations. In other words, this request constitutes inadmissible interference in the internal affairs of an independent and sovereign State, namely, the People's Republic of Kampuchea. As always, some deplore, euphemistically, the armed intervention in and foreign occupation of Kampuchea.

117. On this point, my delegation would like to reaffirm its earlier statement to the effect that Vietnamese volunteers went to Kampuchea at the express request of its people in accordance with Article 51 of the Charter precisely to help rid them of the Pol Pot hangmen and prevent their possible return in future. This question after all concerns only the Government and people of the People's Republic of Kampuchea on the one hand and those of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam on the other.

118. In this connection we must also recall that, following the first Summit Conference of the three countries of Indo-China, held on 22 and 23 February 1983 in Vientiane, the leaders of the People's Republic of Kampuchea and of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam adopted the principle of the partial withdrawal from Kampuchea on a yearly basis of Vietnamese volunteers. In implementation of that important decision, sizable contingents of Vietnamese volunteers withdrew from the People's Republic of Kampuchea last May. As for the Lao People's Democratic Republic and other countries that cherish peace and justice, they have not failed to pay a stirring

tribute to the wisdom shown by the leaders of Kampuchea and Viet Nam in this regard.

119. Moreover, the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea reaffirmed once more its sincere desire to embark upon discussions with the Thailand side in order to solve the problem of peace and stability on the Khmer-Thai border on the basis of the principles of equality, mutual respect for independence and reciprocal advantage. We must note that this gesture of goodwill on the part of those three countries of Indo-China, and in particular of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, has not been given the consideration it merited. On the other hand, some continue to advocate a one-way solution, that is, one that clearly runs counter to the legitimate aspirations of the martyred Kampuchean people.

120. I have said enough about the various cunning manoeuvres and efforts of the opponents of the People's Republic of Kampuchea and its martyred people to oppose their recovery. I should now like to say a few words about the remarkable accomplishments of the people's power under the leadership of President Heng Samrin. I could not do better than quote Mr. Emory Swank, the Ambassador of the United States of America to Cambodia between 1970 and 1973 who, after having undertaken a study mission in Thailand, Viet Nam and Kampuchea at the beginning of this year, said:

"Because I admire the non-communists in the Coalition, I deeply regret that I must conclude, following a recent study mission to Viet Nam and Cambodia, that their aspirations to achieve a broadened Government in Phnom Penh and a timetable for withdrawal of Vietnamese forces are probably illusory. As an infantryman once observed, always look first at what is happening on the ground. What is happening in Cambodia is that a Vietnamese-protected and Vietnamese-assisted Government, the People's Republic of Kampuchea, is steadily gaining experience and consolidating its authority and influence."*

Speaking of Sihanouk, Mr. Swank said: "It is a fact that no one I talked to privately saw any place for him in Cambodia."*

121. Referring to the ongoing process of recovery of the Kampuchean nation, this former Ambassador said:

"Practically starting from scratch, Cambodia has made an astonishing and remarkable recovery. Production of rice has increased to a point at which self-sufficiency may be attained after two or three years. Industry is slowly being restored. There are 1.6 million students in primary school—there used to be none. Hospitals have reopened and medical care, though still inadequate, has improved. Cambodia's cultural institutions, including Buddhist temples, the Institute of Fine Arts and Music, the Corps de Ballet, the Royal Palace Museum and the Museum of Antiquities are open again. Phnom Penh, where fewer than 100 people remained when the Vietnamese marched in, today has a population of 500,000. And the country's population has regained the pre-Pol Pot level of 7 million. This rebirth of the country stands as testimony to the resilience of its people."*

122. The remarkable achievements that we have just indicated are eloquent testimony to the rightness of the internal as well as the external policies adopted by the People's Republic of Kampuchea ever since it was established. They are also testimony to the exemplary determination and self-sacrifice with which the martyred Kampuchean people are undertaking the gigantic task of

*Quoted in English by the speaker.

*Quoted in English by the speaker.

healing the wounds of the war of foreign aggression and the Pol Pot genocide, as well as the task of national reconstruction.

123. There is no doubt that the Kampuchean people and its people's revolutionary government continue to feel profoundly grateful for the moral and political support and assistance of all kinds granted to them by the socialist countries, particularly the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, the Lao People's Democratic Republic and the Soviet Union, friendly countries of the world that cherish peace and justice, and various international organizations, in this long-term undertaking of national recovery.

124. With regard to its foreign policy, the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea pursues a consistent policy of peace, independence, friendship and non-alignment. This country, which is on the way to recovery, and its valiant people aspire only to live in peace and understanding with all countries of the world, particularly their neighbours in South-East Asia. Unfortunately, so far the legitimate aspirations of the Kampuchean people have been sacrificed on the altar of the ill-fated policy of expansionism and hegemonism of Peking, in immoral, criminal collusion with American imperialists and some of their allies and friends.

125. These are the realities of Kampuchea. They are tangible and vivid and no one can fail to recognize them.

126. Let no one cause trouble for this martyred people, saved from the Pol Pot holocaust; let no one cast stones at or interfere in its internal affairs. We must beware of any criminal attempt to bring about the return of that genocidal gang to the sacred soil of Kampuchea to put into practice their doctrine of nihilism. There is no doubt that that art of government, to paraphrase Saint-Just, "produces nothing but monsters".

127. The time has come to stop beating about the bush. The choice, a Manichaean one, is clear: survival, the recovery of the people and of the Angkor civilization, and peace and stability for the region, or the massacre and extinction of that people and the perpetuation of a climate of tension and insecurity in South-East Asia. Draft resolution A/38/L.2, presented by the States members of ASEAN, is mercilessly designed to achieve the latter.

128. As far as my delegation is concerned, it will of course vote against the draft resolution, which, as in previous years, would lead the United Nations flagrantly to violate its own Charter and to interfere in the internal affairs of an independent and sovereign State whose legitimate representatives are illegally prevented from participating in these debates.

129. My delegation is firmly convinced that the wisest and most realistic decision which the General Assembly could take would be not to oppose the trend towards dialogue between the countries of Indo-China and those which constitute ASEAN which has clearly emerged since the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at New Delhi from 7 to 12 March 1985, but rather to make a positive contribution to that dialogue.

130. My delegation will have an opportunity to deal with this problem in greater detail when the Assembly takes up consideration of item 37 of its agenda, entitled "Question of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia".

131. Mr. LOHIA (Papua New Guinea): Over the past few years we have witnessed the resurgence of a particularly deplorable world-wide phenomenon. I speak here of the tendency of countries in recent times totally to

disregard the principles of the sovereignty and independence of other States by committing blatant acts of aggression and interference. It is indeed disheartening to note that some of those same States which have representatives at the General Assembly, freely abuse the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. The use of superior economic and military strength to invade small countries for the purpose of securing spheres of influence is a matter of the utmost concern to Papua New Guinea. A prime example was Viet Nam's invasion of Kampuchea in late 1978 and its installation of a puppet régime. The Kampuchean people have suffered intolerably. Thousands have been killed and others have fled to neighbouring countries to seek sanctuary.

132. Papua New Guinea, along with the member countries of ASEAN and most Member States of this Organization, has advocated a negotiated settlement of the question of Kampuchea, as stipulated in the Declaration on Kampuchea adopted in 1981.¹ In accordance with the principal objective of that Declaration, we believe that a just and lasting settlement of the Kampuchean problem can be achieved if the two basic principles are first implemented. These are the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea and recognition of the right of the Kampuchean people to determine their own destiny. We also believe that such a settlement must take into account the legitimate security concerns of the States in the region, and include a commitment by all States not to intervene in the internal affairs of Kampuchea.

133. Viet Nam's continued rejection of these calls has necessitated the recent formation of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea. We consider this development to be a positive move and therefore pledge our support for ASEAN member countries in welcoming the formation of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea.

134. Papua New Guinea fully endorses the sentiments expressed in the joint statement issued by the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the member countries of ASEAN on 21 September last, entitled "An Appeal for Kampuchean Independence" as follows:

"following the total withdrawal of foreign troops from Kampuchea, the Kampuchean people must be able to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination through internationally-supervised elections in which all Kampucheans shall participate and all political groups in Kampuchea should be encouraged to work towards the goal of national reconciliation". [A/38/441, para. 4.]

135. For four successive years, the General Assembly has repeatedly called for the withdrawal of all foreign forces, respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Kampuchea, and for the free exercise of self-determination by the Kampuchean people. We regret to say that the main instigator of the Kampuchean problem has blatantly refused to accept the wishes of the majority of this Assembly of which it is itself a member. Instead of responding to these repeated calls for withdrawal, it still maintains its forces there. Therefore, while we take note of Viet Nam's declared intention to withdraw part of its troops, we wish to reiterate our firm conviction that a complete withdrawal of all foreign forces in Kampuchea is the first major step towards the attainment of a comprehensive political settlement.

136. Apart from the political and security problems that have been created, the Vietnamese invasion has resulted in causing untold suffering among the Kampuchean people. This has created enormous problems both within Kampuchea and among neighbouring States of the region.

Kampuchean in large numbers have fled to the Thai-Kampuchean border in search of food, shelter and security. In this connection, my Government would like once again to express its appreciation to those Member States and international organizations which have given assistance to the Kampuchean people. We believe that the humanitarian aspect of the Kampuchean problem can be settled if, in the first instance, a comprehensive political solution is brought about.

137. My delegation wishes to register its sincere thanks and appreciation to the Secretary-General for his good offices, for his report on this important subject, and especially for his relentless efforts aimed at bringing together all parties concerned at the negotiating table. However, we note with disappointment that little progress has been achieved thus far and that significant differences still exist between the respective positions of the parties concerned. We fully agree with the Secretary-General's sentiments that "the continued absence of concrete progress towards that goal"—that is, a peaceful solution—"can only generate further tension and bring about a new deterioration of the situation" [A/38/513, para. 17].

138. Last but not least, my delegation is particularly pleased to see Democratic Kampuchea, under the Coalition Government of President Norodom Sihanouk, taking its rightful place in this body.

139. Mr. SARRÉ (Senegal) (*interpretation from French*): The debate on the situation in Kampuchea is further evidence of the concern of the international community which, ever since the beginning of this conflict, has been exerting every effort to find a just and lasting solution to it. One of the tangible results of those efforts has been, it will be recalled, the holding, under the aegis of the United Nations, of the International Conference on Kampuchea in July 1981 here in New York.

140. That Conference, of which a great deal was hoped, defined the following conditions as essential elements for a just and lasting settlement of the Kampuchean question: first of all, the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea; secondly, the restoration and the preservation of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Kampuchea; thirdly, the commitment of all countries not to interfere or intervene in the domestic affairs of Kampuchea; and fourthly, the establishment, once the problem has been resolved, of a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in the region.

141. At its thirty-seventh session, the General Assembly, in its resolution 37/6 of 28 October 1982, reiterated its firm determination to work for the application of the four principles which had already been adopted in its resolution 36/5, at the previous session, with the object of bringing about a definitive, lasting and just solution of the Kampuchean problem in all its aspects.

142. Unfortunately, although the spirit of understanding seems increasingly to be overcoming the attitudes of rejection and the rigid stands of the various parties, the above conditions for a definitive solution of the situation have still not been met.

143. In the course of his statement to the General Assembly on 6 October, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Senegal stated:

"In Kampuchea, the initiatives aimed at starting a dialogue have been fruitless. The mediation of the *Ad Hoc* Committee of the International Conference on Kampuchea has still not been accepted by one of the parties. That party's idea of creating a zone of peace in South-East Asia is certainly praiseworthy, but that goal can be attained only if the people of Kampuchea

is first able freely to exercise its right to decide its own future.

"Here as elsewhere, the major concern of my country—which has been entrusted with the chairmanship of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on Kampuchea—is to make a positive contribution to the creation of the conditions necessary for the restoration of peace and security in that part of the world. That naturally requires the participation of all the parties concerned in the Committee's efforts, within the framework of the principles from which it derives its mandate." [22nd meeting, paras. 218 and 219.]

144. Senegal considers that the question of Kampuchea derives essentially from a principle of law in international relations. Indeed, the events which have contributed to producing this situation have come about through a failure to comply with the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States, the principle of respect for the territorial integrity and political independence of other States, and of the principle of the non-use of force in international relations, as laid down in the Charter of the United Nations.

145. The principle of the non-use of force in international relations is of capital importance for the survival of mankind in this period of profound crisis which, sad to say, the international community is going through at present.

146. Accordingly, as the representative of Senegal said last year during the debate on this same item, my country cannot condone intervention by foreign troops in a country without the consent of the legal authorities of the latter, whatever justification is claimed. The present instance represents a deliberate use of force against the political independence and territorial integrity of a sovereign State, Kampuchea. Not only is such armed intervention contrary to the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations but, if sanctioned or legalized, it could give rise to precedents that would be dangerous for the security of the world as a whole and for that of the small countries in particular.

147. The delegation of Senegal, therefore, is in favour of condemnation of the foreign intervention in Kampuchea, but wishes to emphasize once again, that our position, far from being directed against any given country, merely results from the fact that the diplomacy of Senegal is based on such inviolable principles as respect for the sovereignty and the territorial integrity of States, which must themselves freely determine their own future.

148. Senegal is determined to support the entire Kampuchean people and supports every effort to find ways and means of overcoming the present deadlock and bringing about a just and honourable political solution of the conflict.

149. In this respect, the General Assembly must do everything possible to find an approach capable of finally bringing the parties to this conflict to the negotiating table, in accordance with the principles defined and accepted by the International Conference on Kampuchea.

150. In order to do this, the General Assembly could, among other things, make judicious use of certain signals, albeit insufficient, coming from either side, such as: the attitude by the sixteenth ASEAN Ministerial Meeting, held at Bangkok on 24 and 25 June 1983; the announcement by the Government of Viet Nam of its intention to withdraw its troops from Kampuchea; above all, the formation of the Coalition Government headed by Prince Norodom Sihanouk—whom my delegation is pleased to welcome—who is trying to bring together and unite all the components of the Kampuchean people in the search

for a just and honourable solution to this conflict; or indeed the declaration of five principles by the Government of China.

151. My delegation wishes to pay tribute to the Secretary-General for his unceasing efforts to bring about a satisfactory solution to the Kampuchean question. The successful initiatives he has undertaken in this connection this year have greatly contributed to a better understanding between the parties concerned in the question of Kampuchea.

152. The *Ad Hoc* Committee on Kampuchea, over which my country has the honour of presiding, has spared no effort since it was established to arouse the awareness of the public and Governments of all States, in particular those which have a direct influence in this matter, and secure their support for United Nations efforts in the search for a solution to this question, which could affect international peace and security.

153. It is in this context that we must view the visiting missions of the *Ad Hoc* Committee to Washington, Tokyo, Peking, Bangkok and London, in conformity with the mandate entrusted to it by resolution 1 (I) of the International Conference on Kampuchea.²

154. In the course of these visits, the *Ad Hoc* Committee carried out detailed consultations with the Governments concerned on the situation in Kampuchea, taking into account the principal new happenings since the adoption of General Assembly resolution 37/6. It is also emphasized that a just and lasting settlement of the Kampuchean problem must be based on the principles of the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea and of the right of the Kampuchean people freely to decide its own future, while taking into account the legitimate concerns of the States of the region regarding their security.

155. The *Ad Hoc* Committee will continue its efforts, in accordance with the mandate given to it by the General Assembly, to help the International Conference on Kampuchea in its search for a comprehensive political settlement of the question of Kampuchea.

156. Finally, I wish to draw the attention of the Assembly to paragraphs 30 and 31 of the recent report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee, in particular to paragraph 30, which states:

“the *Ad Hoc* Committee wishes to appeal to the Member States which did not participate in the International Conference on Kampuchea to co-operate in any suitable way in the efforts to achieve the goals of the Declaration of the Conference and the General Assembly resolutions on Kampuchea. It also appeals to all parties concerned to pursue the process of dialogue and to consider steps to overcome the obstacles to a comprehensive political settlement. It is the Committee's hope that, to facilitate this process, all parties concerned will refrain from taking any action or measure which would complicate further the situation in Kampuchea and jeopardize the chances for a fair and peaceful solution of the problem”.⁴

157. In accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, and in the interest of the credibility of the Organization, the Assembly must at this session create the conditions for an international awakening from which will at last emerge the solution to the problem of Kampuchea.

158. Mr. MANOLATOS (Greece): I have the honour to speak on behalf of the 10 member States of the European Community.

159. Kampuchea was invaded five years ago and is still occupied by Vietnamese forces, which not only have

suppressed all resistance but also have attacked the camps of refugees and displaced persons with increasing frequency and intensity. The Ten's attitude *vis-à-vis* the régime that preceded the Vietnamese invasion is consistent and well known. The horror of the destruction and atrocities wrought for three and a half years by the infamous régime of Pol Pot remains a stigma on recent history. The Ten reiterate their abhorrence of this régime and are confident that, had the Kampuchean people had the opportunity of free elections, they would have rejected decisively the Khmer Rouge régime. However, this does not by any means justify the subsequent invasion and continuing occupation of Kampuchea by a foreign Power.

160. Previous resolutions passed by an overwhelming majority of this Assembly have called for the withdrawal of the Vietnamese forces, recognition of the right of the Kampuchean people to determine their own future, and a commitment by all States not to interfere or intervene in the internal affairs of Kampuchea. All efforts to end this occupation, with all its consequences for the present and the future, have foundered on the refusal of Viet Nam to comply with the relevant United Nations resolutions.

161. The Kampuchea stalemate is a matter which continues to arouse deep concern for this battered country among the Ten, for another year has elapsed without substantial progress towards a just, peaceful and durable political solution that would bring an end to the hardships of the suffering people of Kampuchea. For nearly five years the régime in Phnom Penh has been buttressed by and has remained totally dependent on the neighbouring country of Viet Nam. The Ten attach great weight to the preservation of the Kampuchean people, and respect for its identity.

Mr. Illueca (Panama) resumed the Chair.

162. Viet Nam's non-compliance with fundamental international principles in Kampuchea continues to be of profound concern to the world community, and to the countries in the region in particular. The Ten generally support regional approaches such as those of the countries members of ASEAN. They wish to congratulate those countries on their initiative concerning the convening of the International Conference on Kampuchea and consider that the Declaration adopted by the Conference,¹ with the principles on which they agree, constitutes a very good basis for a genuine political settlement. The European Community shares the concern of the ASEAN countries and regrets that their painstaking efforts to find a solution to the Kampuchean question have been blocked so far by the refusal of Viet Nam to accept the relevant United Nations resolutions.

163. The Ten have noted with appreciation the report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee of the International Conference on Kampuchea. The Ten wish to welcome the report of the Secretary-General [A/38/513] and the determination he expressed therein to continue to use his good offices in the search for a peaceful solution, based on the fundamental principles of the Charter. The Ten regard the establishment of the Coalition of Democratic Kampuchea, under the presidency of Prince Norodom Sihanouk, as a significant step.

164. The key requirement of any just and lasting solution to the Kampuchean question remains the complete withdrawal of the Vietnamese forces. Effective measures must also be taken to ensure that no armed group either seizes power by force or uses the threat of force to intimidate the people of Kampuchea and so deprive them of their right to sovereignty and the exercise of free choice in determining their own future. As the Ten have repeatedly stated, it is for the Kampuchean people to

determine who shall emerge from free elections as their new Government.

165. The Ten wish to express in general terms their deep concern with regard to the grave consequences of invasions in various parts of the world. More particularly, as far as invaded Kampuchea is concerned, they are ready to support any initiative which aims at establishing a democratic Government in a neutral and independent Kampuchea which maintains friendly relations with all the States of the region. They also reiterate their conviction that such a settlement should take into account the legitimate security concerns of the States in the region, including Viet Nam. To that end, they view positively the joint statement issued at Jakarta on 21 September 1983 by the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the ASEAN countries and entitled "An Appeal for Kampuchean Independence" [A/38/441].

166. As to the humanitarian aspect of the question, the Ten view with great satisfaction the efforts which have been undertaken over the past year by countries and international organizations to sustain humanitarian support for the people of Kampuchea. The continued general response of the international community has alleviated to a certain extent the food deficit problem.

167. Meanwhile, in the border area, the Government of Thailand continues to demonstrate its generosity by

absorbing large numbers of Kampuchean refugees who have moved to that area, in spite of the difficulties this has entailed for Thailand. The European Community is following the refugee problem in the region with profound concern. The Ten, however, have noted with satisfaction that the programmes in the border area continue to be funded. They wish to commend the assistance being given by international institutions as well as by voluntary agencies. The European Community will continue to assist in relief operations in the area as long as the need persists.

168. Let me conclude by saying that the Ten will support the draft resolution which the member countries of ASEAN have put forward, as they supported the resolutions on this question at the thirty-fourth, thirty-fifth, thirty-sixth and thirty-seventh sessions of the General Assembly.

The meeting rose at 5.55 p.m.

NOTES

¹United Nations publication, Sales No. E.81.I.20, annex I.

²*Ibid.*, annex II.

³United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 75, No. 973, p. 318.

⁴A/CONF.109/7, para. 30.