



CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
Agenda item 25: Restoration of the lawful rights of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia in the United Nations .	1083

**President: Mr. Abdelaziz BOUTEFLIKA
(Algeria).**

AGENDA ITEM 25

**Restoration of the lawful rights of the Royal Govern-
ment of National Union of Cambodia in the United
Nations**

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): This morning the General Assembly will begin its consideration of agenda item 25, entitled "Restoration of the lawful rights of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia in the United Nations". The Assembly has before it two draft resolutions, in documents A/L.733 and Add.1 and 2 and A/L.737/Rev.1, and a letter from the Permanent Representative of Thailand [A/9875]. Uganda has now been added to the list of sponsors of draft resolution A/L.733 and Add.1 and 2.

2. Before calling on the first speaker, I should like to propose that the list of speakers in the debate on agenda item 25 be closed this afternoon at 6 o'clock. That is absolutely necessary for the organization of our work. If I hear no objection, I shall take it that the Assembly agrees to close the list of speakers this afternoon at 6 o'clock.

It was so decided.

3. Mr. RAHAL (Algeria) (*interpretation from French*): Since I am the first to speak in this debate, I must express the grief that we have all felt on learning of the death of U Thant. The personality of U Thant had become so familiar in this house and so much identified with the United Nations that even after his retirement and his departure he seemed always to be here among us with his smile so full of humanity and bearing the mark of greatness in humility. I wish to associate my delegation with the Assembly in its mourning, and also with the condolences that have been expressed here to the family of the deceased, to the Permanent Mission of Burma, and to the people and Government of Burma.

4. The General Assembly is today resuming the debate that it began at its twenty-eighth session on the "Restoration of the lawful rights of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia in the United Nations". That debate, it will be recalled,

was adjourned¹ just when it was about to end and when the Assembly was about to take a decision on the draft resolution that we had introduced from this very rostrum.

5. The procedural manoeuvre that was employed to prevent the Assembly from taking a decision may perhaps represent good tactics, and it is certainly not the first time that the settlement of an important political problem has been delayed by subterfuges of this kind. But it has brought no advantage to those who are against our initiative and it has in fact served to demonstrate all the more the correctness of our position.

6. No one can claim here that the situation as it is today is more favourable to a satisfactory solution, at a time when tension is on the increase in Cambodia and discontent is spreading through ever-widening strata of the Cambodian people, whose opposition to the illegal régime of Lon Nol is now beginning to assert itself openly despite the police system that has been installed in Phnom Penh.

7. It is not necessary for me to remind you of the arguments that I set forth at some length during the twenty-eighth session, in order to justify our initiative and appeal to the Assembly to take a decision in keeping with its responsibilities and in conformity with the genuine will of the people of Cambodia.

8. I shall content myself with repeating what I said at the end of my statement on 4 December 1973:

"The issue before the General Assembly is in fact a very simple one, in spite of the complexity of the concepts it brings into play and in spite of the attempts made by some to introduce elements of confusion.

"If I may be permitted to sum up in succinct terms the conclusions that can be drawn from an analysis of the situation which is the subject of our debate, I would state the following.

"First, until March 1970, Cambodia had practised a policy of neutrality which exposed it to pressures on the part of the United States, to multiple aggressions, as well as to violations of its sovereignty. Apart from these external difficulties, the Government of Prince Sihanouk did not meet the kind of internal opposition that might have presaged its overthrow.

"Secondly, the March 1970 coup d'état was obviously of foreign inspiration and, moreover, occurred during Prince Sihanouk's absence.

"Thirdly, the change of régime which resulted therefrom was accepted neither by Prince Sihanouk, who formed a Government of National Union and embarked upon a struggle for the liberation of his country, nor by the Cambodian people, which rallied in total support of this struggle, nor by numer-

ous countries throughout the world which have continued to accord their recognition to the Sihanouk Government alone.

“Fourthly, the Sihanouk Government, whose members are all within Cambodian territory, with the exception of the Minister for Foreign Affairs, now controls 90 per cent of the territory and 80 per cent of the population of Cambodia.

“Fifthly, in this situation, the delegation of the illegal Lon Nol régime represents in our Organization only the group which still holds power in the city of Phnom Penh and cannot speak with validity or act in the name of the Cambodian people. It must also be emphasized that the credentials of that delegation are challenged each year by an increasing number of delegations to this Assembly.

“Sixthly, the Assembly thus has the duty to restore to the seat of Cambodia the representatives of the Sihanouk Government as the only authentic spokesmen of the Cambodian people. In taking this decision the Assembly will not be taking the place of the Cambodian people in the choice of its leaders; it will only be confirming the choice already made by the Cambodian people itself, a choice that cannot be ignored except by those to whose advantage it is to prolong the present crisis and place Cambodia at the service of foreign interests. In adopting that decision, moreover, the Assembly will be facilitating the solution of the Cambodian problem by putting an end to the equivocal situation underlying this tragedy. Finally, in so doing, the Assembly will be restoring its authority and prestige by ensuring the authentic representation of the peoples composing our Organization.”²

9. That is what I said a year ago. Today I see nothing in that statement that needs changing. In the course of a year, the development of the situation in Cambodia, and events there, have only served to confirm the analysis which I have just repeated.

10. With regard, first, to the people of Cambodia, its opposition to the Lon Nol régime is clearer and stronger than ever. Corruption, dictatorship, repression, incompetence and the scandalous enrichment of the leaders of the country, against the background of indescribable and unprecedented poverty of the masses of the people, are causing growing demoralization. Protest demonstrations are multiplying, particularly among students and the university population; and even those sectors of the press most favourable to the Phnom Penh leaders have not been able to conceal the significance or scope of those demonstrations.

11. In the course of this inevitable disintegration, the administration created by the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia in the liberated territories is being organized at all levels and in all sectors, together with the military effort, which is continuing to thwart the Lon Nol forces in spite of the support, leadership and military equipment from the United States.

12. It was surely not necessary to impose upon the people of Cambodia an extra year of suffering and struggle in order to understand the unequivocal choice it had already made when an illegal régime took power in Phnom Penh, putting an end to the independence of the Cambodian people and to Cambodia's policy

of non-alignment, both sacrificed to the pursuit of American imperialist aggression in Viet Nam.

13. The war in Cambodia, in fact, is not a Cambodian civil war. It is a war of neo-colonialist aggression against an independent, sovereign and non-aligned Cambodia. The revelations in the American press itself leave no doubt as to the role played by the Nixon Administration in the overthrow of the Sihanouk Government, in order to extend to Cambodian territory military operations against Viet Nam. That is why the situation which was thus created in Cambodia is a matter of concern to the whole international community and, in particular, to our Organization. It is the duty of our Assembly, not only to consider this problem and to take a decision on it, but also to adopt an attitude in keeping with its own objectives. The Assembly has no right to hesitate for a single moment in deciding which side to take as between foreign aggression and the will of the people. Justice, in this case, is not equidistant between those two positions.

14. And that is why we call upon the Assembly to help the Cambodian people to exercise its right to make a free choice inside our Organization, although it is now represented in it by a régime whose submission to foreign interests is both the *raison d'être* and the condition of its survival. This usurpation of the representation of the Cambodian people is a reflection, inside the United Nations, of the foreign aggression to which it continues to be subject. By remedying this situation and restoring to the people of Cambodia the seat of which it was unjustly dispossessed, the Assembly, of course, will not be resolving the Cambodian problem; but it will certainly be discarding any element of complicity with criminal aggression, and will thus have made possible, at least inside our Organization, the free expression of a people whom others seek to reduce to silence.

15. Attempts have been made to tell us here in this Assembly that we should not concern ourselves with the Cambodian problem because primarily it is of interest to neighbouring countries, which are in a better position than we are to understand all the facts of the case and to look for solutions. We replied last year to those claims, which might have some validity if they related to an exclusively local problem, a problem geographically localized. But they are unacceptable, if not suspect, when we are dealing with a situation that calls into question the very freedom and sovereignty of a people, and the very principles upon which we have based our participation in international life. Aggression against the people of Cambodia is not just the business of the countries in the area; it affects us all; we are all entitled to be concerned about it and we are all in duty bound to express our whole-hearted solidarity with Cambodia.

16. Among the countries that have associated themselves with that initiative, some have ties of friendship with us, which we should like to emphasize and which make it impossible for us to doubt their sincerity. But I hope they will not object if I say to them that, if they consider our intervention in the problem of Cambodia harmful, although they are well aware that our initiative is based only on principles that they share with us and is related solely and exclusively to the interests of the Cambodian people itself, how were they able to accept, if not approve, indeed assist, American

intervention not only in Cambodia but throughout their region? Furthermore, is that attitude itself all that independent of the American intervention which is still going on? We would wager that if the draft resolution they are submitting to the Assembly is put to the vote, it will naturally win the support of the United States.

17. That draft resolution, let no one be misled, is nothing but another attempt to defer the debate, to prevent the Assembly from taking a decision and to make it possible for the Lon Nol group to keep a seat in our Organization where it obviously represents no one but itself. The question of the representation of Cambodia in the United Nations was included in the agenda last year, by a majority of 68 votes to 24, with 29 abstentions,³ because the members of this Assembly considered that we had to discuss the matter and it was up to the Assembly to take a clear-cut decision on it. The motion for adjournment put forward at our previous session and the draft resolution submitted this year have no other purpose but to prevent the Assembly from exercising its own prerogatives.

18. The request for priority made by the sponsors of that draft resolution so that their text should be put to the vote "before any other draft resolution under the above item or any other substantive or procedural matter relating to the item" [A/19875], is quite revealing as to the state of mind and the intentions of those delegations. We shall come back to that when, at the end of this debate, the Assembly comes to deal with the procedure of voting. We cannot refrain, however, from stressing now that this initiative certainly reveals an uneasy conscience.

19. We therefore denounce those manoeuvres and we call upon the Assembly to thwart them and to take an unequivocal stand on the draft resolution we submitted for its approval, a year ago, now contained in document A/L.733 and Add.1 and 2.

20. Mr. FALL (Senegal) (*interpretation from French*): Yesterday afternoon the representative of the United States, speaking as the representative of the host country, said, in connexion with the death of U Thant, the third Secretary-General of the United Nations: "Today we have lost one of the great men of our age" [2297th meeting, para: 31]. Never has so obvious a truth been spoken in this hall. U Thant was a great man who sacrificed his life to the pursuit of the great ideals of peace and justice which are the very basis of the United Nations. History will one day tell what the work of this courageous man was—a man of integrity who was profoundly human.

21. My delegation fully associates itself with the tribute which you yourself, Mr. President, and the various representatives of the geographical groups paid yesterday to the memory of the late, illustrious U Thant. On behalf of the Government and people of Senegal, I request the delegation of Burma to be so good as to accept and transmit to the Government and people of Burma, to Mrs. Thant and to his family the expression of our most heartfelt condolences. May he rest in peace.

22. During the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly, certain delegations, including mine, requested and obtained the inscription on the agenda of the Assembly of the item entitled "Restoration of the

lawful rights of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia in the United Nations".⁴ In so doing, the Assembly wished to put an end to an abnormal and scandalous situation represented by the presence among us of the representatives of the illegal régime installed at Phnom Penh after the coup d'état of 18 March 1970, a situation that was a consequence of the American-Vietnamese aggression against the territory of the Khmer Republic.

23. The debate on this question, which started on 4 December 1973, continued until the next day, 5 December, when, as a result of obscure manoeuvres, the Assembly was led to decide to postpone the item until its next session. This is why we are again called upon to discuss this question today.

24. By promoting the adoption of such a decision, some thought they could thus give an additional period of grace to the Phnom Penh puppets so as to enable them to correct the desperate situation in which they found themselves—and this because of the massive and ever-growing aid of the United States. They did not count on the determination and will to sacrifice of the Cambodian people, struggling for its national freedom and independence, because since then the situation has deteriorated, thereby aggravating the terrible suffering of that heroic people.

25. In the course of the debate last year, speakers who had an opportunity to address the Assembly irrefutably proved the flagrant and permanent interference of the United States in the internal affairs of Cambodia and vigorously denounced the armed aggression perpetrated by that super-Power against a small, peaceful, neutral and non-aligned country.

26. Along these lines of thought, we must, alas, emphasize that the decisions then taken on this question seem to have encouraged certain customs of international piracy, of which the coup d'état against the legal Government of Cyprus was one of the most deplorable manifestations.

27. Since 18 March 1970, on which date a coup d'état instigated abroad overthrew the legitimate Government of Cambodia, the situation has become considerably clearer. Indeed no one doubts that the decision of the Cambodian Parliament to depose Prince Norodom Sihanouk was a tragic act of imposture, since it was carried out under the threat of machine-guns, and the Cambodian Constitution of 1947 gave the Parliament no power to depose the Chief of State. Furthermore, if there is some claim that this Parliament, without any foreign interference, brought to power Marshal Lon Nol, why did he hasten to dissolve that Parliament so as to replace it later with another assembly which was more docile and malleable? Nor does anyone dispute that the invasion of Cambodia less than six weeks later, on 30 April 1970, by 110,000 men of the American and Saigon armed forces was ordered only to save from elimination a puppet régime against which an entire population had risen up in wrath.

28. In his statement from this rostrum, Mr. Long Boret, the Prime Minister of the so-called Khmer Republic, dispelled the doubts which may have remained in some minds by confirming, without any scruples, the reality of the United States-Saigon invasion of 30 April. He even stretched naïveté, if not cynicism, to the extent of justifying the cruel and

blind bombings of the first part of 1973, and in this connexion I quote his own words:

“It is true that until 15 August 1973 we enjoyed American tactical air support. It enabled our army to organize and to equip itself, and to grow to 250,000 men. . . . It was not cheerfully but out of harsh necessity that we accepted this air support, for those on the other side who were falling under these bombs were our own brothers.” [2263rd meeting, para. 35.]

29. If we consider that between the end of the month of January 1973, the date of the conclusion of the Paris Agreement on Viet Nam,⁵ and 15 August of that same year, the tonnage of bombs dropped on Cambodia was higher than the tonnage of bombs dropped both on Japan and the United Kingdom during the entire Second World War, one is led to consider that Mr. Long Boret has a singular notion of “the family spirit” and that this dramatic “need” which led his “Government” to sanction such an act of barbaric genocide must have been a particularly vital requirement for his Government.

30. While the bombing of Cambodia officially stopped on 15 August 1973, American intervention in that country continues its ravages under the pretext of giving logistical support to the Khmer army and technical assistance to the Government of Phnom Penh.

31. The American Secretary of Defense himself admitted, speaking on 5 June last before a Congressional committee, that units of the United States Air Force were carrying out 690 missions a month over Cambodia—a figure that is, of course, far below the real figure—and the United States Embassy in Cambodia, with its 5,000 officers disguised as “civilian counsellors”, is the real centre of decisions at Phnom Penh. Those American officers participate directly in the operations carried out against the national forces of liberation.

32. So it is that no one of good faith can any longer maintain that the problem of Cambodia is a simple “internal question”, a “problem of civil war”, and that United Nations intervention in this affair would be an “inadmissible interference”. Those who speak thus well know to whom they should address themselves if they really wish to put an end to all foreign interference in the internal affairs of Cambodia.

33. Our Assembly for its part has a right—a duty even—to express its disapproval at this deliberate and destructive aggression by a super-Power against a small country situated more than 10,000 kilometres from its frontiers—and this the Organization can only do by starting to restore the lawful rights of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia, headed by Prince Norodom Sihanouk.

34. Some would have us believe that the United Nations does not have the right to impose any Government on any Member State of the United Nations. We completely agree with that opinion, but that is not the question. In fact, the people of Cambodia have already made their choice; they have chosen courageously and finally. The stubbornness and determination with which that heroic people has fought for more than four years against the aggression of one of the greatest countries of the world is the most stinging and irrefutable reply possible to any who doubt the nature of that choice.

35. I must furthermore add that that choice of the Cambodian people is dictated not only by the illegal circumstances in which the Government of Phnom Penh took power, but above all by the fact that that Government has proved itself to be incapable of resolving any of the many problems facing that country.

36. Militarily, the Lon Nol troops besieged at Phnom Penh and at a few provincial headquarters occupy only isolated enclaves, and communication among them is possible only because of the air assistance of North American armed forces.

37. That desperate military situation naturally led to a political crisis, only equalled by an economic and social stagnation of such catastrophic proportions that it has now reached the point of no return.

38. Of the 7 million inhabitants of the country, 5.5 million live under the banner of the Royal Government of National Union and, side by side with its armed forces, wage the heroic battle for national liberation.

39. Those who remain under the provisional control of the Phnom Penh Government express themselves through those who are in the vanguard—workers, intellectuals, youth organizations and officials at every level—and despite ferocious and pitiless repression they express in every possible way their sympathy with and support for the legitimate Government of the country and for the valiant army of national liberation.

40. Thus it is that the General Association of Teachers declared in a resolution:

“The teachers will make no further sacrifices for traitors and corrupt people in the Phnom Penh Government.”

41. The Association of Khmer Students published the following in Phnom Penh itself:

“Since the coup d’état of 18 March 1970, prepared and organized by the American Government, we, the young Cambodians, have been kept in a dictatorial and fascist morass.”

42. Meanwhile, corruption is flourishing at all levels; prostitution and banditry have appeared in the capital of a country which was considered, less than five years ago, as one of the least decadent and safest cities in the world. That is the situation that is summarized by the French journalist François Devinot, writing in the newspaper *Combat* of 21 June 1974:

“Today, it is the persistence of an unpopular régime, corrupt to the core, which seems inexplicable. The economic strangulation of Phnom Penh is alarming. This unanimously rejected régime survives only because of an immense waste of munitions. Cloistered within his palace, Marshal Lon Nol appears determined to bring about complete and total disaster.”

43. The Government of Phnom Penh finds itself in such a situation first and foremost because it exists in a country it does not control and whose resources it has no means of exploiting. All usable land is in the hands of the National United Front, which cultivates it for the benefit of the people under its control.

44. Thus, at a time when those besieged at Phnom Penh lack everything and are compelled to import 300,000 tons of rice supplied by their American pro-

tectors so as to meet an ever-increasing shortage of primary commodities, the abundant harvests in the liberated areas, on the other hand, have made it possible not only to meet all the needs of the population but even to export, this year, a large amount of foodstuff, thus renewing a tradition that made Cambodia, less than five years ago, one of the major rice exporters in South-East Asia.

45. The Royal Government of National Union administers the part of Cambodia which works and produces. It has all the attributes of sovereignty, and organizes the life of the country in accordance with the genuine interests of the people, without any foreign interference or dependence. Its ministers are all within the country with the exception of the Minister for Foreign Affairs, and we can readily understand why he is installed in a centre where his action can be more effective. The strength and representative character of the Royal Government of National Union are recognized by all, even by those who have illegally attempted to usurp its power. It benefits from the support and sympathy of the non-aligned countries, the Socialist countries, and practically all men and women throughout the world among whom the word "freedom" still maintains its noble meaning—including, obviously, the American people, whose sons and daughters have demonstrated since the very first days of the Cambodian drama, on the campuses of Kent State University and of Jackson State College, endorsing with their blood their solidarity with the Khmer people.

46. Sixty-two countries belonging to all continents and political and ideological families have recognized the Royal Government of National Union as the sole legal representative of Cambodia.

47. Just before the opening of the present session of the Assembly, the Phnom Penh Government launched an appeal for peace addressed to those whom it calls the "Khmers on the other side". By this hypocritical manoeuvre it obviously intended only to portray the leaders of the Royal Government of National Union as impenitent warmongers, and thus to obtain increased aid from the American Congress, enabling it to prolong the agony further. But the response of Prince Norodom Sihanouk, head of the legitimate Government of Cambodia, left no room for any misunderstanding. He said:

"Peace, that is all we want, and at once. But we cannot accept a peace unless Cambodia recovers 100 per cent of its sovereignty, national independence, territorial integrity and national and State unity."

48. Thus peace in Cambodia is perfectly possible, and to this end it would suffice to put an end to American intervention in the internal affairs of the country. Our Assembly, for its part, must take a clear stand on the question whether we can further tolerate the presence among us of representatives of a régime that is abhorred by its people and is no more than a tool in the service of a foreign aggressive Power. Equity, legality and morality urge us, in a way more pressing than ever, to do justice to the heroic people of Cambodia; and, by restoring its lawful rights to the authentic Government of that hard-working and peaceful people, of that martyred people, whose sole crime is to be passionately and jealously devoted to its free-

dom, independence and national sovereignty, we shall have made an inestimable contribution to the prestige of our Assembly and to the maintenance of peace and security throughout the world.

49. Mr. ADJIBADÉ (Dahomey) (*interpretation from French*): I should like to associate my delegation with the grief of our Organization in connexion with the passing away of former Secretary-General U Thant. To the United Nations, to the Government of Burma through its Permanent Mission, and to the family of the late lamented U Thant we should like to extend our deepest condolences.

50. Coming to the item on our agenda entitled "Restoration of the lawful rights of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia in the United Nations", the Dahomey delegation feels it is duty-bound to protest vigorously against the smear campaign organized here last year at the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly, and being shamelessly continued this year, for the obvious purpose of discrediting African delegations that have committed themselves resolutely to the cause of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia, the only authentic representative of the Cambodian people. These birds of ill-omen were astonished last year, and continue to be this year, at the fact that the majority of African States felt it their duty to express their solidarity with the tragedy that has been afflicting the Cambodian people for almost five years. At most, they have ventured to claim that this is essentially an Asian matter, and that the African countries, by the attitude they have adopted, are interfering in a matter that is not their business, a matter that only Asian countries are properly placed to understand and to find a solution for.

51. This is certainly a curious and childish conception of the role of our Organization, and my delegation would not even trouble to respond to it. We also feel it is futile to spend too much time dwelling on such a narrow-minded outlook, which, were it adopted by a majority of our Assembly, would mean that henceforth the only people entitled to discuss a question on the agenda would be the countries directly concerned or countries coming from the relevant geographical area. To accept such an idea would be to sign the death-warrant of our Organization, because the United Nations would then have no further reason to exist.

52. The question of Cambodia is of concern to Dahomey, just as it is of concern to most African countries, for more than one reason. First, it is of interest to most African countries because, like them, Cambodia has had a colonial past, with the shameless exploitation of its natural resources and foreign domination that that entails. It is also a matter of interest to most African countries because, like them, Cambodia—the Cambodia we speak of—is a member of the non-aligned movement and ever since it achieved independence in 1953, under the dynamic leadership of its lawful head of State, Prince Norodom Sihanouk, that country has been the standard-bearer and the resolute champion of non-alignment in South-East Asia. As such, Cambodia has chosen to resist all forms of hegemony and neo-colonialism, regardless of its source and nature. And finally, it is a matter of concern to most African countries because, like them, Cambodia has had to resist the aggression of a foreign

Power that does not find to its liking the policy that has been adopted and so often affirmed by the Royal Government of National Union of Prince Norodom Sihanouk.

53. The similarity of this case to another case the Assembly has already had occasion to discuss is considerable and easy to demonstrate. Just a few weeks ago, in fact, the General Assembly discussed the question of Cyprus, and the tragic situation in which the Cypriot people alone are paying the price, and attempted to find a solution. The recent Cypriot crisis resembles the odious plot aimed at replacing the lawful régime of Prince Norodom Sihanouk with a régime of usurping traitors and their foreign paymasters, represented by the puppet clique of Lon Nol. Just as in Cyprus the policy adopted by Archbishop Makarios of joining the non-aligned movement was not to the liking of a certain Power because in that way it removed Cyprus irretrievably from the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO] zone of influence, a similar policy adopted by Prince Norodom Sihanouk was not to the liking of a certain great Power because it thus dealt a harsh blow to its policy in Indo-China, inasmuch as it compromised the influence of the South-East Asia Treaty Organization [SEATO] on Cambodia. In Cyprus, as in Cambodia, there were people who were prepared to accept foreign pay to carry out a plot conceived and designed elsewhere. In both cases the great sin, presumably, was having chosen to resist hegemony and neo-colonialism. In the particular case of Cambodia, the aggravating circumstance, in the eyes of the "masters", was that Prince Norodom Sihanouk had become a fervent champion of non-alignment, which was the only way of escaping neo-colonialism and imperialism.

54. Thus placed in its real and proper context, it is easy to see that the coup d'état of 30 April 1970, which led to the overthrow of the régime of Prince Norodom Sihanouk and his replacement by a puppet régime, with its foreign paymasters, is not a purely domestic issue: it is the direct consequence of a series of plots hatched and promoted from the outside, we all know by whom, and carried out by a handful of local stateless traitors already well-known to the Cambodian people. It was because this was an act of open and direct aggression by foreign forces, with the purpose of transforming independent, peaceful and, furthermore, non-aligned Cambodia into a neo-colony of a super-Power that my country, whose policy is one of non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States, felt obliged to take a very clear-cut stand.

55. In the view of my delegation, the only question that arises here is whether a foreign Power, no matter how great or rich it may be, has the right to dictate to a whole people and to impose its policy upon it, in disregard of the interests of that people. The answer is No. After more than four years of resistance, struggle and privation, the Cambodian people are entitled to aspire to peace and a free choice of their own destiny. Those are the reasons why we have taken an interest in the Cambodian question.

56. The facts are clear, and reports in the international press, particularly the American press, endorse them. It was by an overwhelming majority that the Cambodian people, united and resolutely committed to the cause of its only lawful head, gave a flat

"No" to attempts to dictate to them from outside. They resisted with courage, and continue vigorously to resist, the stateless traitors who have chosen so shamefully to become the lackeys of imperialism, to betray their countries, rather than to take a stand in favour of national pride and honour. In their fierce resistance, the Cambodian people have taken up arms, because they refuse to resign themselves to a *fait accompli*.

57. We can see the results, and everyone knows them. The people of Cambodia have liberated almost all Cambodian territory, leaving under the control of the Lon Nol puppets nothing more than the immediate environs of Phnom Penh and a few other places of no great importance, isolated and surrounded by the armed forces of liberation under the orders of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia.

58. Today everyone admits that this Government directly administers all the liberated territory and that its members, except for the Minister for Foreign Affairs, are in Cambodia. In the circumstances, it would not be honest or true to claim that we are dealing now with a government-in-exile, and it would be a serious matter to prevent our Assembly from reacting to the facts, which speak for themselves. The Assembly has no right to disregard this tangible reality, namely, that the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia remains the only lawful Government, accepted by the overwhelming majority of the Cambodian people, whose only mistake was that of having chosen loyally to serve its people—and hence the whole of the third world—in their aspirations towards true independence and non-alignment.

59. We can no longer procrastinate. The time has finally come when the Assembly must cease to accept in its midst a delegation sent by a Government that no longer represents anything in Cambodia. It must take the necessary measures to restore the rights of the lawful representatives who will be sent by the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia. Such an action on the part of our Assembly is more than ever necessary because—and this is highly significant—the clique of traitors in Phnom Penh no longer attempts to conceal its disarray. In spite of the unconditional support it enjoys from the "masters" who put it in power, this clique of traitors, under the fierce pressure of a people resolved to recover its independence, is disappearing in a flurry of conjecture and says that it is prepared to enter into negotiations without pre-conditions. It is because of this disarray that an attempt is being made to fly to their aid by means of draft resolution A/L.737/Rev.1, which the Assembly should reject because it aims at giving its blessing to the Lon Nol clique and attempts to suggest that it still represents something.

60. It is wrong to ask a people that so flatly rejected the traitors' plot to negotiate with a Government that governs nothing but its own shadow. The Royal Government of National Union controls the whole country, and this handful of stateless persons has no other choice but to lay down their weapons. We should not become accomplices in the manoeuvre, this face-saving manoeuvre—if there is any face left to save—of the gang of traitors led by Lon Nol.

61. After having fought so fiercely, the Cambodian people can no longer be satisfied with a peace without independence and without national unity, a peace that

would mean the restoration of the neo-colonial system against which it took up arms. We should not lose sight of the fact that the will of the Cambodian people must be the guiding principle of our debate, and the will of that people is to free itself from foreign domination, colonialism, and imperialism and, above all, to banish this band of traitors and the corrupt and ineffective régime incarnated by Lon Nol and his clique.

62. In supporting draft resolution A/L.733 and Add.1 and 2, of which my country is a sponsor, my delegation would like to stress that the single provision of that draft resolution would open the way to a just, reasonable, equitable and realistic solution to the Cambodian problem. Morality itself dictates that our Organization should first of all ask those who have chosen to thwart the interests of the Cambodian people, by setting up and maintaining at great expense a régime the people does not want, to allow the Cambodians to decide their own fate themselves and to establish a political régime of their own choice, namely, that of the Royal Government of National Union. Morality dictates that our Assembly should display realism and reason by restoring its lawful rights to the Government of National Union of Cambodia, by restoring to it its seat after having expelled the delegation of usurpers now claiming to represent this people.

63. In the view of my delegation, the solution to the question before us is simple, if only we are willing to show some realism and courage. By taking the courageous decision to expel the representatives of the Lon Nol clique, our Assembly would be contributing to the restoration of peace in Cambodia. We should not give way to pressure of any kind from whatever source. If sheer blindness permits some Powers to accord the status of a political concept to the prostitution of a whole people, if those Powers can believe that it is natural, far from their national territory, to sow terror and death and trample under foot the aspirations of peoples, our Organization cannot allow itself to become an accomplice in such a blind policy. We must act swiftly before it is too late. The authentic representatives of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia must come now and take their seats in our Assembly, seats now being usurped by the representatives of the clique of traitors in Phnom Penh.

64. There are many attempts, and they appear in many guises, to delay the Assembly's verdict on the question of Cambodia. Last year, at the twenty-eighth session, the meeting was adjourned after the suspension of the debate, although there were still about 20 speakers left. This year, at this session, diversionary tactics in this Assembly have taken the form of a request for absolute priority. In fact, in the letter of 21 November 1974 [A/9875], the Permanent Representative of Thailand requests that the draft resolution in document A/L.737/Rev.1 be put to the vote before any other draft resolution or any other substantive or procedural matter relating to the item. This is an absolutely blatant delaying tactic, because only ulterior motives could justify an attempt to have the draft resolution in document A/L.737/Rev.1, dated 13 November 1974, voted upon before that in document A/L.733 and Add.1 and 2, dated 1 October 1974, which is in fact the same as draft resolution

A/L.714, which was before the Assembly at the twenty-eighth session.

65. Our Organization should not be taken in by the manoeuvres of influences alien to the principles of the Charter. That is why our Assembly should be courageous and realistic enough to reject the Thailand request, and decide on the draft resolutions before it chronologically, in the order of their submission. The Cambodian people await our decision; let us not fail them.

66. Mr. HUANG Hua (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): At the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly, many countries upholding justice put forward the proposal on the restoration of the lawful rights of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia in the United Nations. However, during the debate, someone moved to postpone the discussions on this question until this year, by resorting to a procedural trick. This was totally unjustified. The Chinese delegation shares the view of the other sponsors that the current session of the General Assembly should adopt a decision to restore immediately the lawful rights of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia in the United Nations and to expel the representatives of the traitorous Lon Nol clique, which brooks no further delay under any pretext.

67. The so-called question of Cambodia has been created solely by the United States aggression against Cambodia. This is a fact which cannot be dodged. As is known to all, Cambodia is a developing third-world country and a non-aligned country. It has always loved independence and freedom and cherished peace. As early as 1955, the Kingdom of Cambodia became a Member State of the United Nations. Over the years, it actively defended the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter, consistently pursued policies of peace, neutrality and non-alignment, and supported the just struggle of the people of the third-world countries. It made positive contributions to the cause of peace in South-East Asia and the world, and thus enjoyed broad recognition and high prestige in the international arena. Nevertheless, in March 1970, in its deliberate effort to extend the war of aggression in Viet Nam to the whole of Indo-China, the United States instigated the puppet clique of Lon Nol and Sirik-Matak to stage a reactionary military coup d'état, which subverted the lawful Government of the Kingdom of Cambodia. Subsequently, in collusion with the Saigon authorities, the United States brazenly dispatched large numbers of troops to invade Cambodia, thus seriously undermining the peace, independence and neutrality of that country. The United States has not only tried to impose on the Cambodian people the traitorous Lon Nol puppet clique fostered by it, but also supported the clique in usurping and occupying the lawful seat of the Kingdom of Cambodia in the United Nations for as long as four years. It can thus be seen that the essence of the Cambodian question lies in the gross violation of the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter by a super-Power, its flagrant subversion and aggression against a sovereign State of the third world which pursued a policy of non-alignment, and its illegal deprivation of the lawful Government of that victimized country of its rights in the United Nations. Such an absurd situation absolutely cannot be tolerated by the numerous

third-world countries or any country and people that uphold justice and earnestly defend the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter.

68. The Cambodian people are a heroic people. They are not in the least cowed by super-Power interference, subversion and aggression. From the day of their being subjected to aggression and subversion, they took up arms in resistance. In the past four years and more, the broad masses of the patriotic Cambodian army and people under the leadership of the National United Front of Cambodia, with the head of State, Prince Norodom Sihanouk, as its President, and the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia, with Prince Penn Nouth as the Prime Minister and Mr. Khieu Samphan as the Deputy Prime Minister, have waged a vigorous, just war for national salvation to defend the national independence and sovereignty and restore the lost peace and neutrality. As a result, great victories have been won. The Cambodian People's Armed Forces of National Liberation have already liberated 90 per cent of the total territory and 80 per cent of the population. The Cambodian people's armed forces, growing ever stronger in the fight, have become a powerful people's army with excellent military training and rich fighting experience. The liberated areas under the leadership of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia have been daily expanded and consolidated and have been linked up into a contiguous area, where Government organs have been established at various levels. In the spring of 1973, Prince Sihanouk and his party returned to Cambodia for an extensive tour of inspection in the liberated areas. In November of the same year, the ministries of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia carrying out tasks abroad were moved back to Cambodia, effectively exercising Government power over the vast expanse of territory. They have established a flesh-and-blood relationship with the people and have won their warm support. They have now mobilized the broad masses of the people to support the liberation war, while working to heal the war wounds, restore industrial and agricultural production and rebuild education, culture and public health. Under the leadership of the Royal Government of National Union, the soldiers and civilians in the liberated areas, with soaring spirits and full confidence, are launching extensive offensives on all fronts to wipe out the remnants of the forces of the Lon Nol clique—the agent of imperialism.

69. The Cambodian people's struggle constitutes an important component of the struggle of the third-world peoples against imperialism, colonialism and hegemony in defence of independence and sovereignty. The Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia, as always, has faithfully pursued a foreign policy of independence, neutrality and non-alignment and actively assisted and supported the just struggles of the Asian, African and Latin American countries and peoples. On their part, the Cambodian people have received the sympathy and support of the numerous third-world countries and all the justice-upholding countries and peoples in their struggle for national liberation. Not long ago, the head of State, Prince Sihanouk, and the delegation of the National United Front of Cambodia and the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia, headed by Mr. Khieu Samphan, made separate trips to a number

of Asian, African and European countries, which further enhanced the mutual friendship and solidarity and brought them extensive support and sympathy. The Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia is enjoying increasingly high international prestige. It has now been recognized by more than 60 countries. It has friends all over the world. These facts are the most eloquent refutation of the malicious lies spread by imperialism, within and outside this hall, to the effect that the Royal Government of National Union is a "government-in-exile".

70. The liberation cause of the Cambodian people is advancing victoriously. On the other hand, the traitorous Lon Nol clique, entrenched in Phnom Penh, under the heavy blows of the people's armed forces is in the midst of mass desertion and heading for doom. The few towns and cities in which it is besieged are like lonely islands in the vast ocean of liberated areas, on the point of being submerged. The Phnom Penh traitorous clique itself is rent by disunity and riddled with contradictions. In the areas under its temporary control, the economy is in a mess, prices are soaring and the people are destitute. Workers, peasants, soldiers, students and even monks have risen to wage unceasing mass struggles against hunger, oppression and national betrayal. In its last-ditch struggle, it has resorted to the most barbarous fascist means for its rule, including even the dispatch of tanks for bloody repression of the people. However, the heavier the oppression, the stronger the resistance. The tide of demonstrations for subsistence, democracy, freedom and liberation waged by the workers, soldiers, students and teachers is rising vigorously, with increasing momentum, forcefully pounding away at the reactionary rule of the traitorous Lon Nol clique. Neither the enormous military and economic "assistance" received by this puppet clique annually from the United States Government nor the large numbers of United States "advisers" sent to participate directly in its decision-making can in the least change its deplorable plight of imminent extinction. This is an objective fact that no one can deny. This is also convincing evidence that the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia, representing the true interests of the Cambodian people and having the firm support of the entire people, is the sole lawful Government of the Cambodian people, while the Lon Nol clique is but a group of Cambodian quislings, a handful of traitors, national scum, which has been imposed on the Cambodian people by outside forces and is, therefore, totally illegal.

71. Since the Cambodian question originated from the interference, subversion and aggression against a non-aligned third-world country by foreign forces, its true settlement requires that the United States Government should immediately stop all its support and assistance to the traitorous Lon Nol clique so that the Cambodian people may settle their own affairs, free from outside interference. However, the United States Government has been doing exactly the opposite. Thus far it has not ceased its interference and aggression against Cambodia; what is more, it has tried in a thousand and one ways to force a great number of Member States to agree to retain the traitorous Lon Nol clique, which has usurped the seat of the Kingdom of Cambodia in the United Nations. Its purpose is to cover up the facts about its aggression, intervention

and subversion and to gain time for a continued blood transfusion to this puppet clique to prolong its precarious existence. The so-called "peace talks" proposal dished up by the Lon Nol clique not long ago is a clumsy farce, stage-managed by its foreign boss to that end. The draft resolution recently submitted to the current session of the General Assembly by certain countries urging the parties directly concerned in Cambodia to hold talks is also suited to the needs of the policy of the United States. In plain language, the true intent of draft resolution A/L.737/Rev.1, like the so-called proposal of the traitorous Lon Nol clique, is to continue the usurpation of the lawful seat of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia in the United Nations by the traitorous Lon Nol clique and legalize the continued United States aggression and intervention in Cambodia. Completely ignoring the basic fact that the United States aggression is the sole root-cause of the war in Cambodia, it attempts to force the lawful Government of Cambodia to hold so-called talks with the imperialist puppet through the instrumentality of the United Nations. Under the banner of "free from outside interference", it actually tries hard to defend the imperialist interference in the internal affairs of Cambodia. According to this draft resolution, there would be no need to stop the United States aggression and interference in Cambodia. On the contrary, the United Nations would be asked to interfere in a question that falls entirely within the internal affairs of a Member State. It can thus be seen that this draft resolution not only contravenes the principles of the United Nations Charter, but runs diametrically counter to a correct solution of the Cambodian question.

72. As everyone knows, the question of Cambodia is a cardinal issue which concerns the upholding of the principles of the United Nations Charter and the defence of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of a Member State of the United Nations. This is a question that must be looked into by all the Member States of the United Nations and all the peoples of the world and must not be arbitrarily disposed of by a super-Power or a small number of countries.

73. It may be recalled that the Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries adopted a resolution condemning the United States for its aggression against Cambodia and its support of the Lon Nol clique and expressing firm support for the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia.⁶ This resolution gave expression to the just voice of the numerous non-aligned and third-world countries and peoples. It is obvious, however, that the afore-mentioned draft resolution directly contravenes and violates the resolution adopted by the Fourth Summit Conference of Non-Aligned Countries. Hence it is only natural that this draft resolution has been categorically rejected by the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia and the numerous non-aligned and third-world countries. In his statement of 5 October this year, Prince Sihanouk pointed out:

"To urge the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia to negotiate peace with the Lon Nol clique means to make the Cambodian people accept 'American peace', which will no

longer lead to the restoration of genuine independence in Cambodia and the re-establishment of unity of the Cambodian State, territory, administration and nation."

74. Mr. Khieu Samphan, Deputy Prime Minister of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia, once again solemnly stated on 6 November of this year that the Cambodian people

"... absolutely accept no negotiations or compromise with the traitorous clique; otherwise it would mean allowing them to continue to live, giving them a chance to go on serving as a shield for the 'Khmerization' of the war of the United States imperialists in Cambodia and to cause unparalleled suffering to the nation and people of Cambodia."

Earlier he pointed out:

"The Cambodian problem can be solved only if imperialism evacuates all its military advisers and military personnel from Cambodia, stops its aggression against Cambodia and ceases to provide the traitorous Phnom Penh clique with any form of assistance and leaves the Cambodian people to settle the Cambodian question by themselves."

The Chinese Government firmly supports this patriotic, just stand of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia.

75. It must be stressed here that the request made by the representative of Thailand on 21 November [A/9875], on behalf of Japan and the other sponsors, that their draft resolution [A/L.737/Rev.1] be given priority in voting is utterly groundless. As is known to all, the draft resolution sponsored by Algeria and 36 other countries was formally submitted at the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly and formally re-submitted on 1 October this year [A/L.733 and Add.1 and 2]. It was only after all this that Japan and the other countries originally submitted their draft resolution on the question of Cambodia on 18 October this year. According to both the rules of procedure of the General Assembly and its practice, the draft resolution submitted by Algeria and 36 other countries should be voted on first, as a matter of course. Defying the general rule and practice and using spurious arguments, Japan and the other sponsors have insisted on giving priority to their draft resolution. To be frank, this is because they have a guilty conscience, are devoid of justification, and have therefore resorted to a fresh manoeuvre in an attempt to upset the smooth progress of the meeting and obstruct the restoration of the seat of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia in the United Nations by procedural tricks. Such an attempt of gross violation of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly is absolutely impermissible. The Chinese delegation is firmly opposed to such an unreasonable request.

76. In the final analysis, Cambodian affairs must be determined by the Cambodian people themselves. The just cause of the Cambodian people is bound to triumph. The Lon Nol traitorous clique will certainly be thrown on the garbage heap of history by the people of Cambodia and the rest of the world. This is a process that no one can block. We hope that all justice-upholding countries will join us in supporting the draft resolution sponsored by Algeria, China and 35 other

countries on the immediate restoration of the lawful rights of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia in the United Nations and the expulsion of the representatives of the Lon Nol group from the seat they illegally occupy in the United Nations and in all the organizations related to it, and in firmly opposing the draft resolution designed to further interfere in the internal affairs of Cambodia through the instrumentality of the United Nations, thus defeating all schemes aimed at further delaying the restoration of the lawful rights of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia in the United Nations.

77. Mr. PANYARACHUN (Thailand): My delegation would like to associate itself with the expressions of deep sorrow and condolence made in this Assembly yesterday at the passing away of U Thant, the third Secretary-General of the United Nations. His death is mourned not only by the Burmese people but also by the peoples of the world. His achievements as Secretary-General during a momentous and eventful period in the world Organization's existence have left an indelible imprint on it, as well as on mankind. His personal qualities, embodying the essence of the Asian spirit of tolerance and wisdom, and his dedicated pursuit of peaceful coexistence among States, have rightly impressed the international community and will be long remembered by all of us. We in Thailand share with the peoples of South-East Asia the sense of pride in his achievements and mourn his untimely demise.

78. The General Assembly has recently concluded the historic debate on the question of Palestine. Its outcome was a milestone in the annals of the United Nations. My delegation, together with others from the region of South-East Asia, was able to support it because of our recognition of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people to exercise self-determination without outside interference and to live a life of freedom and independence, in accordance with the principles and purposes of the Charter and relevant United Nations resolutions.

79. The question before us, namely, the question of Cambodia under item 25, must also be predicated on the same principle of self-determination. It is the legitimate right of the Khmer people, and no one else, to decide for themselves their own Government, and there must be no derogation from this fundamental principle. It was in fact the Khmer people who, in accordance with their constitutional processes and through their elected representatives, took the decisive step on 18 March 1970 of deposing their former leader and installing the present Government in the Khmer Republic.

80. In the general debate before this Assembly, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Thailand, on 1 October 1974, stated the position of my Government thus:

“Thailand's basic approach towards the question of Cambodian representation has not changed. We continue to maintain that the Khmer people themselves should be allowed to solve their own political problems peacefully, free from outside intervention in whatever form. Such political settlement should be reached by the indigenous parties concerned, and nothing should be done in the United Nations which may prejudice the decision of the Khmer

people and which may prolong the suffering and the loss of lives and property, including cultural treasures, in the Khmer Republic.

“Our views are not based on personal preference for this or that personality. Nor do we concern ourselves with political ideology of this or that leadership. On the contrary, the attitude of my Government is governed by historical facts, the actual situation on the ground, and our firm adherence to the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of a State.

“It is a historical fact that the leader of the former Government of Cambodia was removed from power not by force but by a vote in the national Parliament in accordance with its own Constitution. It is also a fact that the present leadership came into power not by the use of force but through constitutional means.” [2251st meeting, paras. 228-230.]

81. It may be recalled that the Parliament that voted Prince Sihanouk out of power was the very same one that was declared opened by Prince Sihanouk himself on 18 October 1966, in the following words:

“You are truly elected by the Khmer people . . . It is undeniable that the significance of your mandate is strengthened by the entire freedom of choice which was left to our fellow countrymen.”

There is, therefore, no doubt as to the democratic nature of that Parliament or the constitutional validity of its actions.

82. In the debate on the same question last year, at the twenty-eighth session, some delegations voiced many myths and turned a blind eye to realities. Those old myths have been repeated here again this morning by those delegations. In December 1973, it will be recalled, they predicted the imminent downfall of the present Government. Twelve months have passed and their forecast, and their many other claims, have proved to be totally inaccurate. The Government has not fallen.

83. The actual situation tells us that the present and legitimate leadership in the Khmer Republic continues to have effective control and the support of the major portion of its population. The seat of its Government continues to be Phnom Penh, the capital of the country, whereas the other leadership is a government-in-exile with its headquarters in the capital of another State. Its sponsors have claimed that it controls practically the whole country. The fact remains, however, that it still clings to the capital of another State and apparently does not intend in the near future to deny itself the hospitality of that State. On the other hand, it is often forgotten or conveniently overlooked that the legitimate Government in Phnom Penh controls the great majority of the population. Moreover, it is performing an effective job, with the help of foreign assistance, in taking care of the enormous influx of war refugees who have exercised their choice by joining with the government side, thus adding to the total population under its control.

84. It is a generally recognized rule of international law that, in a civil-war type of situation—which the Cambodian situation represents—a government-in-exile has no status whatsoever under that law, and any third party taking its side commits an act of inter-

ference or intervention in the internal affairs of another State. In this respect, the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, adopted by the General Assembly on 24 October 1970, categorically states:

“No State or group of States has the right to intervene, directly or indirectly, for any reason whatsoever, in the internal or external affairs of any other State.” [*Resolution 2625 (XXV), annex.*]

85. It should be noted that the case of Cambodia differs fundamentally from a case where the country is under foreign occupation in times of war, as were certain West European countries during the Second World War. In the case of Cambodia, the only parts of the Khmer Republic under foreign occupation are those parts which are controlled by North Vietnamese forces. There are no other foreign forces or foreign-occupied territories in Cambodia.

86. Moreover, Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter clearly states:

“Nothing contained in the present Charter shall authorize the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any State . . .”

This important principle of non-intervention is further reinforced in the Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention in the Domestic Affairs of States and the Protection of Their Independence and Sovereignty, contained in resolution 2131 (XX), adopted by the General Assembly on 21 December 1965.

87. Paragraphs 4 and 5 of that Declaration give even deeper insight into the minds of those who helped to draft it during the twentieth session of the General Assembly. The paragraphs read as follows:

“4. The strict observance of these obligations is an essential condition to ensure that nations live together in peace with one another, since the practice of any form of intervention not only violates the spirit and letter of the Charter of the United Nations but also leads to the creation of situations which threaten international peace and security.

“5. Every State has an inalienable right to choose its political, economic, social and cultural systems, without interference in any form by another State.”

88. Thus it is the considered view of my delegation that the United Nations has neither the authority nor the jurisdiction to exercise self-determination for the Khmer people. The choice is theirs and theirs alone. Any United Nations action that is tantamount to a change of national leadership in the Khmer Republic is sheer interference in the domestic affairs of the Khmer nation and would create such an undesirable and dangerous precedent that a government-in-exile of any sovereign and independent State may challenge the legally-constituted Government within that State.

89. Instead, the United Nations would do well to respond, in a constructive manner, to the appeal made by the Government of the Khmer Republic in Phnom Penh on 9 July 1974, by giving support to the Khmers of all sides, and assisting them in bringing about the talks, without prior conditions, with a view to achieving

a just and lasting peace that will guarantee the independence, neutrality and territorial integrity of the Khmer nation.

90. Coming to the two proposals before the Assembly, it is patently clear that draft resolution A/L.733 and Add.1 and 2 holds the rigid and extremely dangerous view that this Organization should decide to impose on the Khmer people the leadership of a government-in-exile. This proposal, if adopted, would violate a Charter principle and the two United Nations declarations to which I referred earlier. It would constitute a flagrant interference in the domestic affairs of a Member State and would create a precedent fraught with grave danger, while offering no alternative whatsoever to the internecine war and the heavy toll being exacted by the fighting now raging in Cambodia. Not only would it violate the fundamental principle of self-determination, but it would also irrevocably condemn the Khmer people to suffer prolonged agony and further bloodshed, while humanity cries out for the cessation of hostilities and a serious effort at peaceful solution to the conflict. The negative and destructive course consistently pursued by one side, which is seemingly oblivious to the humane side of human nature, should not discourage the world Organization from redoubling its efforts to persuade the parties to make contact and come to the conference table. That is why my delegation has joined with 22 other like-minded delegations in submitting draft resolution A/L.737/Rev.1, which we commend for adoption by this Assembly. We resolutely reject the approach advocated by the sponsors of the other draft resolution [*A/L.733 and Add.1 and 2*], which is utterly inconsistent with our endeavour and which my delegation will oppose, should it be put to the vote.

91. In the view of the sponsors of draft resolution A/L.737/Rev.1, namely, Australia, the Bahamas, Barbados, Bolivia, Canada, Colombia, Costa Rica, the Dominican Republic, Fiji, Grenada, Guatemala, Haiti, Indonesia, Japan, Malaysia, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Paraguay, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and Uruguay, the situation in Cambodia is of concern to all Member States of the United Nations and especially to the countries situated close to the area. That is why there are five countries of South-East Asia and several others in the Pacific among the sponsors of our draft. It should also be pointed out that three of the five South-East Asian States faithfully adhere to the non-aligned policy in the conduct of their foreign relations. On the other hand, among the sponsors of the other draft resolution contained in document A/L.733 and Add.1 and 2, the only country situated close to the area happens to be the major Power that is playing host to the government-in-exile in question.

92. It has consistently been the practice of the five South-East Asian countries to take into account the views of the great majority of countries situated close to the area in any issue before the United Nations. It is, therefore, our hope that, when it comes to a matter affecting our own region, other countries will manifest a willingness to show similar goodwill and understanding.

93. Draft resolution A/L.737/Rev.1, of which my delegation is among the 23 sponsors, is based on the

conviction that the Khmer people themselves should be allowed to solve their own political problems peacefully, free from outside interference, and that such political settlement should be reached by the indigenous parties concerned, without any precipitate action by the United Nations which would prejudge the decision of the Khmer people themselves, particularly on the question of their national leadership. This belief is made explicit in the preamble of the draft.

94. In order to promote peaceful settlement of the present conflict in Cambodia, the operative part of this draft resolution would urge the parties to hold talks, request the Secretary-General to lend appropriate assistance to the parties, and call upon all Member States to respect the outcome of the talks. Moreover, since the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly is now nearing its end, and in order to give the Secretary-General sufficient time and to avoid any action that might prejudice such efforts, it would not be possible or desirable for the Assembly at this session to take any further action on the item.

95. It is also the view of the sponsors of draft resolution A/L.737/Rev.1 that it is incumbent on this Organization to exert efforts in the direction of peaceful solution of the conflict. Unfortunately, it has not been possible to de-emphasize the international dimension of the Cambodian question, which continues, therefore, to be a source of international tension and conflict. Nor has it been possible to extend the benefit of *détente* to this unfortunate part of the globe, despite professions of the intention to promote the policy of accommodation in many quarters. One of the purposes of the United Nations, as enshrined in Article 1, paragraph 3, of the Charter, is:

“To develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, and to take other appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace”.

That important aim can be better fulfilled if draft resolution A/L.737/Rev.1 is given the chance that it deserves by being put to the vote before any other proposal on this item. Therefore, on behalf of its sponsors, I formally request priority for draft resolution A/L.737/Rev.1, in accordance with rule 91 of the rules of procedure, so that it will be put to the vote first.

96. My delegation would like to assure this Assembly that we are serious and steadfast in our endeavour to promote peace and harmony in the region where we live. In this respect, the Thai people were encouraged by the recent political developments in Laos. In his statement during the general debate, my Minister for Foreign Affairs said:

“Recent developments in the political field in the Kingdom of Laos have been more encouraging. The political will, so lacking in other political conflicts, appears to be the motivating force which has moved the Lao factions to engage in serious talks and reach a compromise agreement on the formation of the Provisional Government of National Union and the National Political Coalition Council in Laos . . . under the effective and impartial leadership of Prince Souvanna Phouma . . .

It is the cherished hope and belief of the Kingdom of Thailand, as a sister nation, that with its present set-up Laos will have a greater chance of success in preserving its independence, neutrality and territorial integrity. My Government extends its support and full co-operation to the Government and people of Laos in their efforts to achieve peace and stability, which cannot fail to have a positive impact on neighbouring States.” [2251st meeting, para. 226.]

97. It is, therefore, the earnest hope of the Thai Government and people that the political problems facing the Khmer Republic will be solved peacefully by the Khmer people themselves, without any outside interference. Only a few weeks ago the General Assembly decided, on the question of Cyprus, to pursue the course of peaceful solution and urged the parties concerned to continue their negotiations leading to a political settlement. The representative of one non-aligned country very appropriately made the following statement during the debate on Cyprus:

“. . . it is my delegation's conviction that no solution of an internal problem can be imposed by outside forces. The internal problem between the Cypriots, whether they belong to the one community or the other, will have to emerge from within. It will be up to them to decide on the form of government they believe will be best suited to them . . .” [2273rd meeting, para. 82.]

98. We would accordingly join in an appeal to all States to refrain from interfering in the internal affairs of Cambodia. The tragic suffering endured by the Khmer people is a source of deep concern not only to Thailand, but also to all other States in the region. The Thai people, which has close historical and cultural ties with the Khmers, has no other wish but to see peace and tranquillity return to that country.

99. Finally, I should like to conclude with the following quotation from the statement of my Minister for Foreign Affairs:

“Thailand will continue its policy of good-neighbourliness and peaceful co-operation with all States in the area, irrespective of their political inclination or economic orientation. The security interests of each State in the region can only be safeguarded by strict compliance with the five principles of peaceful coexistence. In this respect, Thailand will not be found wanting.” [2251st meeting, para. 233.]

Mr. Banda (Zambia), Vice-President, took the Chair.

100. Mr. BARREIRO (Paraguay) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The delegation of Paraguay joins in the grief of the United Nations on the death of U Thant, a man who served the United Nations with faith, honour and devotion. We extend our condolences to the Secretary-General, to the Government of Burma, to its illustrious delegation to this Assembly and to the family of the distinguished deceased.

101. A group of countries brought before this Assembly the request to include an additional item on the agenda of the twenty-eighth session⁴ and has, at this session, submitted a draft resolution [A/L.733 and Add.1 and 2] whereby the General Assembly would decide “to restore the lawful rights of the Royal

Government of National Union of Cambodia in the United Nations”.

102. What is intended by the draft resolution that has been submitted? We are entitled to think that a group of countries, for reasons of ideological interest or political convenience or pure international commitment, would have the United Nations, itself an exclusively intergovernmental entity, arrogate unto itself the ability to restore the monarchy in the Khmer Republic even against the will of its people, thus, as an irreplaceable international tribunal, according legitimacy to a given government, giving it a clean bill of health while withdrawing it from the legitimate Government of a small and unfortunate country.

103. The sponsors of that draft resolution consider that the Government of the Khmer Republic is a puppet—although it is the uninterrupted successor of the political institutions of the State—because of the mere fact that it defends itself, which is the first obligation and right of every government within the classical concept of the sovereignty of States.

104. How can we then describe another alleged government, one that does not have the necessary legal continuity to give proof of legality and legitimacy, that was specifically overthrown by the Parliament, a government on foreign territory, that does not exercise imperium over the genuine Khmer people, a government that lives under the protective wing of a super-Power, and that even now claims recognition for its own status in an international Organization, which, under its own Charter, is forbidden to interfere in the internal affairs of countries?

105. If the Royal Government of National Union really exercises authority and administers its own territory, it should then move its capital there, exercise the powers of a State, and from there request recognition from all States and from the United Nations.

106. Where would the United Nations, as a supreme organization of Governments, be led if it permitted itself to violate clear-cut and specific provisions of the Charter for intervening in affairs that are exclusively reserved for the peoples of the various nations?

107. That would be a bad and dangerous precedent. The very ones who today encourage the adventure, tomorrow might be the victims of this scheme, which is intended to break the normal, logical, legal and ethical order of relations between sovereign States.

108. What would happen were we to adopt the draft resolution and the Government of Prince Sihanouk were to decide to change its capital for one reason or another? In that case, the sovereign Khmer people would be trying to defer to its Government, which is today in Peking but which tomorrow may be somewhere else in the world.

109. Were the draft resolution to be adopted, we would be facing a bankruptcy of the values that govern relations internationally, and by so pitiful a decision we would have created a witch hunt with unsuspected consequences. We would have invented a “McCarthyism” at the level of international relations. Let us allow peoples to resolve their internal problems by themselves.

110. One of the ineluctable principles of a serious and equanimous order is non-interference in the

internal affairs of countries, thus respecting the self-determination of peoples and their unrestricted sovereignty. As the representative of Uruguay, Mr. Giambruno said:

“Did I not hold in high esteem many of the States which have come forward as sponsors, and have a great deal of respect for all of them, I would say that we are confronted with an example of collective obfuscation. Poor Khmer people, who find so many volunteers to interpret their destiny!”⁷

111. The supreme values of the international community cannot be overlooked because of transitory interests, just or unjust disaffections among given Powers, or because of manoeuvres or ideological or sectarian interests. Nobody should dare to throw overboard the values that make harmony possible among nations—not even a majority of votes—because truth and morality are above conventional and changing numbers, which are here today and gone tomorrow.

112. Whichever way we look at the question, the Khmer Government is a legitimate government; it exercises authority; it has jurisdiction and control; it has a population; and it is linked to almost all countries by diplomatic relations. The guerrillas who have penetrated its territory have no real base among the authentic Khmer people. Their bases of supply and support are in neighbouring countries. The people continues to be faithful to its institutions, fights for its national unity and for the rule of liberty and democratic coexistence.

113. Rivers of ink, sweat and words, and thousands upon thousands of lives were the cost of the Korean war. Serious difficulties perhaps threaten the unity of the country. Are we seeking to do the same thing in the case of the Khmer Republic, dividing it now by means of a United Nations resolution that would recognize one part and its representatives while expelling the other?

114. Are we going to legalize an alleged government that is outside the country, and make illegal those who rule in the traditional capital of the Cambodian people? Where would this unprecedented attitude lead us? To think that many of the countries that subscribe to the draft resolution adopted a diametrically opposite criterion when the problems of continental China and the Republic of China were considered!

115. For the good of the United Nations, for the sake of its prestige, for the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of nations, for the sovereignty of countries, for an international, ethical and civilized order of coexistence, for peace and justice and for the tranquillity of the world, we must discourage this pretence, which flouts the whole fundamental legal system among countries and overthrows the structure of values that mankind has accumulated in the international sphere.

116. Mr. KOH (Singapore): My delegation would like to explain briefly why it has joined in sponsoring draft resolution A/L.737/Rev.1 and why we support the request for priority for that draft resolution over draft resolution A/L.733 and Add.1 and 2.

117. The position of my delegation on the question of the representation of the Khmer Republic in the United Nations is governed by our belief that the

Khmer people should be allowed to solve their problems and to determine their political future by themselves without any outside interference in whatever form. Our belief is grounded in the important principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries. This principle is enshrined in Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter of the United Nations, which prohibits the United Nations from intervening "in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any State".

118. In agreeing to sponsor draft resolution A/L.737/Rev.1, the delegation of Singapore has not been influenced by the question of whether we support or do not support, on the one hand, the Government of President Lon Nol in Phnom Penh and, on the other hand, the rival group led by Prince Norodom Sihanouk. Indeed, the approach of my delegation pays no regard to the question of whether President Lon Nol continues in power or whether some other person, including Prince Sihanouk, assumes the leadership of that country. Rather, the Singapore delegation bases its decision exclusively upon the fundamental principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries.

119. The strict adherence of my delegation to this important principle leads us to the conclusion that the United Nations should not decide, nor should its Members be called upon to decide, questions such as who represents whom in any independent country, or what form and composition of government such a country should take. We view it as a matter of principle that we, the Members of the United Nations, should not be called upon collectively to make judgements on the internal problems, conflicts and contests of independent nations, as these are matters that should be properly decided by the peoples of the countries concerned.

120. To do otherwise would be to establish a precedent fraught with dangerous consequences for this Organization as well as for its Members. We hold this view because situations exist, and will no doubt continue to arise in the future, in which independent nations experience internal turmoil, conflicts or contests of various dimensions. If the people of a country are not permitted to solve such problems themselves, and if the United Nations were to consider it as its proper function to impose its own decision upon the people of such a country, then this would open the door to similar United Nations involvement in the

internal affairs of every other country that may have similar internal problems.

121. The position of my delegation is therefore based upon principle and not anchored to any particular personality. It would be wrong to characterize our position as being pro-Lon Nol or anti-Sihanouk. Indeed, I should like to say that Prince Norodom Sihanouk has always enjoyed the respect and admiration of the people and Government of Singapore. We count as one of his many outstanding achievements the fact that during the period he was in power he succeeded in maintaining peace in the Kingdom of Cambodia and in preventing his kingdom from becoming embroiled in the Vietnamese war. Our positive feelings for Prince Sihanouk have not, however, blinded us to the important principle that is at stake in this debate, the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries. It is the exclusive right of the people of the Khmer Republic to decide which should be their Government; and as long as there is a Government in the capital city of Phnom Penh that is apparently in control and able to exercise its international rights and carry out its international obligations, the representatives of that Government are entitled to occupy the seat of the Khmer Republic in the United Nations. To decide otherwise would be an unwarranted and unprincipled intervention in the internal affairs of the Khmer Republic.

122. It is for these reasons that my delegation commends draft resolution A/L.737/Rev.1 to the General Assembly.

The meeting rose at 1.40 p.m.

NOTES

¹ *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-eighth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 106, "Action taken by the General Assembly".

² *Ibid.*, *Twenty-eighth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 2188th meeting, paras. 12-19.

³ *Ibid.*, 2155th meeting, para. 83.

⁴ *Ibid.*, *Annexes*, agenda item 106, document A/9195 and Add.1.

⁵ Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Viet Nam, signed in Paris on 27 January 1973 (United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 935, No. 13295).

⁶ Held at Algiers from 5 to 9 September 1973. For the report of the Conference, see A/9330 and Corr.1.

⁷ *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-eighth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 2189th meeting, para. 162.