



CONTENTS

Agenda item 22: Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples: report of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (continued)	Page 1
Agenda item 72: Supplementary estimates for the financial year 1972 Report of the Fifth Committee	1
Agenda item 3: Credentials of representatives to the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly (concluded): (b) Report of the Credentials Committee	1

President: Mr. Stanisław TREPCZYŃSKI (Poland).

AGENDA ITEM 22

**Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of
Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples: report
of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to
the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of
Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (con-
tinued)***

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I should like to draw the attention of members of the General Assembly to the question of the vacancies in the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. In addition to the vacancy that existed at the twenty-sixth session, two additional vacancies have occurred as a result of the resignations of Madagascar [A/8655] and Ecuador [A/8846].

2. I have nominated Chile and the Congo to fill two of the three vacancies on the Special Committee. May I take it that the General Assembly wishes to confirm these nominations?

It was so decided.

AGENDA ITEM 72

Supplementary estimates for the financial year 1972

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/8931)

3. Mr. PASHKEVICH (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic), Rapporteur of the Fifth Committee (*translation*

* Resumed from the 2078th meeting.

from Russian): On behalf of the Fifth Committee, I have the honour to present to the General Assembly the report of the Fifth Committee on agenda item 72 [A/8931]. In paragraph 21 of the report, the Fifth Committee recommends to the General Assembly the adoption of draft resolutions A and B on this agenda item.

Pursuant to rule 68 of the rules of procedure, it was decided not to discuss the report of the Fifth Committee.

4. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): We shall now take a decision on the draft resolutions recommended by the Fifth Committee in paragraph 21 of its report [A/8931]. I put to the vote first draft resolution A, entitled "Budget appropriations for the financial year 1972".

Draft resolution A was adopted by 62 votes to 6, with 4 abstentions (resolution 2947 A (XXVII)).

5. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I now put to the vote draft resolution B, entitled "Income estimates for the financial year 1972".

Draft resolution B was adopted by 78 votes to none, with 6 abstentions (resolution 2947 B (XXVII)).

AGENDA ITEM 3

**Credentials of representatives to the twenty-seventh session
of the General Assembly (concluded):****
(b) Report of the Credentials Committee

6. Mr. SALIM (United Republic of Tanzania): Challenging the credentials of the *apartheid* régime in Pretoria, the representative of Somalia stated in the plenary meeting of the General Assembly on Monday, 20 December 1971:

"The challenge is based on the fact that the issuing authority, the so-called Government of South Africa, represents only a small minority group; it does not represent the 15 million Bantus, or the 500,000 Asians, or the 1.5 million Coloured people who together make up over 70 per cent of the population. The so-called Government of South Africa is composed of white men, it is elected only by white men, it is responsible only to white men, and it is obliged primarily to promote and uphold the interests of white men. Our challenge is also based on the unprecedented record of violations of human rights by the nationalist leaders of South Africa, a record with which this Assembly is all too familiar." [2027th meeting, para. 124.]

** Resumed from the 2032nd meeting.

7. The General Assembly, in its wisdom, decided to uphold this challenge and rejected the credentials of the *apartheid* régime. This decision of the Assembly was not a hasty one, nor was it made without due deliberation, taking all factors into consideration. Above all, it is significant to note that the Assembly last year approved the report of the Credentials Committee, with the exception of the credentials of the representative of the *apartheid* régime [resolution 2862 (XXVI)], by a resounding majority. In doing so, the Assembly did not reject the right of South Africa to be represented in our Organization, but the international community, by its decision, clearly served warning to the Fascist rulers in Pretoria that they cannot claim to have the right to represent the people of South Africa.

8. What the Assembly must now be asking itself is whether, in the light of the solemn warning addressed to the South African racists, the Pretoria régime has paid any heed to the concern of mankind and in any way desisted from practising its barbaric policies, and whether the non-representative nature of the *apartheid* régime has in any way changed for the better so as to warrant a reconsideration by the General Assembly of its decision of last year. In other words, can the régime of Mr. Vorster now claim to represent the 15 million Africans? Can it claim to represent the 500,000 Asians? Can it claim to represent the 1.5 million Coloured people of South Africa?

9. Has that régime in any way relented in its cruel and repressive policies geared to the perpetual oppression and subjugation of those people who, as the Assembly is aware, constitute the overwhelming majority of South Africa's population? Has that régime shown any relaxation of its massive violation of the fundamental human rights of its population, or of its intransigent policies towards this very Organization?

10. The answers to these and many other questions which led the Assembly to take the important decision, in both 1970 and 1971, not to accept the credentials of Mr. Vorster's representatives are very obvious to my delegation, as they must be to all delegations, not excluding perhaps the delegation of the *apartheid* régime itself. Indeed, if there has been any change in the situation in South Africa since the Assembly's decision last year, it is that the Pretoria clique has rebuffed the rebuke and warning we gave them last year not only by holding adamantly to its base values and policies but also by intensifying the wicked practices under the obnoxious system of *apartheid*, a system which the United Nations General Assembly has rightly characterized as a crime against humanity. There is really no need to labour this point; nor do I find it necessary to recite examples of South Africa's mounting record of defiance and systematic barbarism.

11. Thus, if the non-representative character of the régime in Pretoria has not changed, and if violation of human rights as well as defiance of this Organization's recommendations and decisions continue to be part of the daily monstrosities committed by the racist authorities, is there any alternative left to the Assembly but to be consistent with our previous decisions?

12. To accept the credentials of South Africa this year would be tantamount to capitulating to the illegal policies of the South African régime and this would be a great moral setback to the liberation struggle of the people in South Africa, a struggle in which the United Nations has joined forces and is determined to pursue to a victorious end. A reversal of our last year's decision could indeed give the impression that our opposition to the South African régime has softened, if not changed. This is by no means the impression we can afford to give to the world watching us.

13. Guided by these considerations and by our obligations to assume fully our responsibilities as faithful Members of this Organization, the Tanzania delegation, like the delegations of Senegal, China and the Soviet Union, challenged in the Credentials Committee the credentials of the Vorster régime. Pursuant to the same principles, I have come to this rostrum to press this challenge.

14. Indeed, the Assembly would have been spared the need to discuss this problem had the Credentials Committee drawn the necessary conclusions from last year's Assembly decision and logically rejected the credentials of the *apartheid* régime. But since we now have a report from that Committee which has approved all the credentials, we would be failing in our duty if we did not rectify this serious anomaly. In this connexion, my delegation, speaking also for the delegations of Algeria, Burundi, Cameroon, Congo, Dahomey, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Kenya, Mali, Mauritania, Morocco, Niger, Nigeria, Rwanda, Senegal, Somalia, Sudan, Uganda, Upper Volta, Zaire and Zambia, wishes to move an amendment to the draft resolution contained in paragraph 22 of the report of the Credentials Committee [A/8921]. The amendment would add the following phrase to the draft resolution: "except with regard to the credentials of the representatives of South Africa".¹ The proposed draft resolution as thus amended would read:

"The General Assembly

"Approves the report of the Credentials Committee, except with regard to the credentials of the representatives of South Africa."

15. Conscious as we are of the non-representative character of the *apartheid* régime in Pretoria and aware, as we must all be, not only of the continued repugnant and inhuman racial policies of that régime, but also of its outlaw nature, my delegation, as well as the other sponsoring delegations, are confident that our amendment will receive the support of all the freedom- and peace-loving members of the Assembly.

16. Allow me now very briefly to express my Government's position with regard to the credentials of the representative of the so-called Khmer Republic. As we pointed out in the Credentials Committee, we do not find those credentials acceptable. The régime in Phnom Penh does not represent the Cambodian people. It is a régime whose existence and survival depends on its foreign mentors, principally the United States. Without the active

¹ Subsequently circulated as document A/L.687.

backing of the United States the authorities in Phnom Penh would be in no position to maintain even a small semblance of being representative. It is common knowledge that that régime neither enjoys the support of the Cambodian people, nor exercises control over the greater part of that country. That authority is rightly exercised by the only genuine Government of the people of Cambodia, the Royal Government of National Union led by the Head of State, H. R. H. Prince Norodom Sihanouk.

17. My Government, which recognizes the Government of Prince Sihanouk as the only legitimate Government of the people of Cambodia, firmly believes that the representatives of the authorities in Phnom Penh have neither legal nor political right to occupy the Cambodian seat in the Assembly. That seat rightly belongs to the lawful Government of Cambodia. I should only like to recapitulate the fact that, recognizing the realities of the situation in Cambodia, the non-aligned States, at their Conference last August,² proceeded to a logical conclusion and decisively rejected the illegal Lol Nol régime and restored the rights of the Government of Prince Norodom Sihanouk in the group of non-aligned States, thereby once again giving the great people of Cambodia a voice in the councils of a movement which, led by its truly national leader, Prince Sihanouk, had made a great contribution to its growth. While expressing our opposition to the credentials of the representatives of the illegal authorities in Phnom Penh, my delegation wishes to express its confidence that this injustice done to the Cambodian people will soon be rectified and that the authentic voice of that ancient land will soon return to our Organization.

18. There is only one more point to which I wish to refer before concluding my address. This relates to the responsibilities of this Assembly over the question of credentials of representatives. And although the issue is very clear to my delegation, I consider it necessary to make reference to it since I am aware, judging from the experience of last year, that some delegations, wishing to avoid their responsibilities, may attempt once again to use frivolous arguments.

19. If there is any purpose in rules 27 and 28 of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly, it is that the right of Member States to be lawfully and properly represented should be scrupulously observed and that only lawful representatives of Member States should be permitted to participate in the sessions of the General Assembly.

20. The view has been suggested that these two rules of procedure require nothing more than that the issuing authority be the head of the State or government or the foreign minister of a Member State and that the General Assembly is not entitled to satisfy itself that in fact the author of the credentials is the head of State or government or the foreign minister. To entertain such a view is tantamount to saying that any piece of paper that has the form and appearance of credentials is all that is required under these two rules. The two rules of procedure could never convey this meaning, nor were they intended to convey such a shallow meaning.

21. An examination of the credentials required under rule 28 of the rules of procedure can only mean a verification that these credentials are in fact issued by the true and lawful Government of the Member State.

22. We are therefore not in the least impressed by the argument that the question of credentials is purely a technical business requiring nothing more than that they are issued by a head of State or a foreign minister. We reject the assertion that it is simply a question of formalities. We take our responsibilities seriously and thus we urge this Assembly not to shirk its own responsibilities.

23. Mr. FALL (Senegal) (*interpretation from French*): A number, not to say the majority, of African delegations have introduced an amendment [A/L.687] to the draft resolution which the majority of the members of the Credentials Committee decided to submit to the General Assembly with a view to the approval of the credentials of the various delegations members of the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly and which appears in paragraph 22 of document A/8921.

24. As regards this amendment, we wish to stand by General Assembly resolution 2862 (XXVI), which was adopted by 103 votes to 1, with 16 abstentions. It should be noted that in this matter the General Assembly wished to be true to itself by acting in conformity with the decision taken on the same question at the twenty-fifth session which was the subject of resolution 2636 A (XXV).

25. At the two meetings devoted to the credentials of delegations to the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly, several members of the Committee recalled these pertinent decisions of our Assembly which, in spite of everything, is still the supreme organ of the United Nations.

26. The Committee, therefore, by a majority—a majority of one vote, it should be emphasized—decided not to take these considerations into account. Naturally, we drew the attention of the Committee to the danger of such an attitude. The fact that certain Member States, dissatisfied with the resolutions of our Assembly, should decide not to take account of them is a matter for regret. But when it comes to a body appointed by the General Assembly itself, as in the case of the Credentials Committee, then the matter becomes grave indeed and constitutes a particularly dangerous precedent for the smooth functioning of the United Nations.

27. We consider these facts as all the more deplorable since jurisprudence now established—which we, for our part, regret—lays down that the rejection of a delegation's credentials can in no way entail that delegation's exclusion without the machinery provided for in Chapter II of our Charter having been applied.

28. That being the case, the decision we have to take is merely one of principle in order to conform to the almost unanimous opinion of our Assembly to the effect that the racist Government of the white minority of South Africa is in no way qualified to represent the people of that territory.

² Conference of Foreign Ministers of Non-Aligned States, held at Georgetown, Guyana, from 8 to 12 August 1972.

29. We have accordingly been moved to remind the Assembly that if the African delegations are opposed to the presence of the representatives of Pretoria in the United Nations it is not because that Government is controlled by whites but rather because it is under the authority of a minority and that that minority is based first and foremost on the inequality of men and based solely on the fact that they belong to a particular race.

30. If the representatives of South Africa, although belonging to the white race, had been freely appointed by a majority of the population of the country without any racial discrimination, we would beyond question have been the first to recommend the approval of the credentials they have presented.

31. It is true that those who have upheld the validity of the credentials of the South African delegation have all professed their anti-*apartheid* views, but we regret that they did not also see fit to avail themselves of so timely an opportunity to give practical effect to these fine sentiments. They stated that it would be contrary to rule 27 of our rules of procedure, which provides that: "The credentials shall be issued either by the Head of the State or Government or by the Minister for Foreign Affairs."

32. For our part we say that there is no incompatibility between our proposal and the provisions of rule 27. While rule 27 of our rules of procedure indicates precisely which authorities should issue the credentials of delegations, the fact of the matter is that those authorities should be the lawful representatives of the peoples on whose behalf they claim to issue such credentials. We would add that those who accept the credentials issued by the racist and illegal authorities of South Africa are giving implicit approval to the *apartheid* régime of the minority government of Pretoria.

33. Furthermore, the rules of procedure of our Assembly are the expression of a decision which is in no way irrevocable. Our Assembly is the master of its procedure and can at any time revoke that decision under the legislation which it has freely laid down for itself.

34. We therefore consider that by adopting resolution 2862 (XXVI) by 103 votes to 1, thus in effect rejecting the credentials of the South African delegation, our Assembly clearly decided to exclude the Pretoria Government from the field of application of rule 27 of its rules of procedure.

35. In consideration of all those elements we have submitted the amendment in document A/L.687, sponsored by a majority of the African delegations.

36. We hope that the Assembly will remain true to its own ideal, to its Charter and to its earlier resolutions by adopting this amendment, if not unanimously then at least by a very large majority.

37. During the discussion in the Credentials Committee my delegation, supported by other members of the Committee, entered reservations about the validity of the credentials of the representatives of the Khmer Republic. Cambodia is a Member of our Assembly—that is beyond dispute—but my Government does not recognize the régime

of the so-called Khmer Government of Marshal Lon Nol as the true representative of the Cambodian people. My delegation considers that the Royal Government of National Union, headed by Prince Norodom Sihanouk is the sole lawful representative of Cambodia.

38. The representative of the United Republic of Tanzania. Mr. Salim, told us earlier from this rostrum of the decision taken by the Conference of Foreign Ministers of Non-Aligned countries at Georgetown, and I shall not repeat what he has said.

39. Nevertheless my delegation would like to reiterate its most explicit and strong reservations concerning the validity of the credentials of the delegation of the so-called Khmer Republic. We are in any case persuaded that this problem is not going to be one of the continuous concerns of our Assembly. The freedom-fighters of Cambodia, who now control nine-tenths of Cambodian territory, will soon put an end to the tragic situation which now prevails in that part of South-East Asia.

40. Mr. ONGAGOU (Congo) (*interpretation from French*): The delegation of the People's Republic of the Congo intends to make two separate comments in this debate on the report of the Credentials Committee.

41. First of all, we should like to state once again, and as firmly as ever, that there can be no question, as far as our delegation is concerned, of accepting, powerlessly, the contemptible régime of the racists of Pretoria, who, today as in the past, are exercising their wits, helped by many complicities as we know, to bring about the disintegration of the authority of the United Nations, and in particular that of one of its principal bodies, the Security Council, whose many resolutions it tramples under foot with impunity.

42. There can be no question either, as far as my delegation is concerned, of giving our endorsement to a government which, in the name of outmoded puritanism, tortures and kills thousands of our brothers in South Africa and Namibia and brings them down to the level of beasts of burden. There cannot be any question, for a moment, of my country's being the silent and acquiescent accomplice of that policy, which consists in leading our countries to tolerate the presence of the wolf in the sheepfold.

43. Like other States which love peace and justice, we want to work for the force of law and not for the law of force; therefore we refuse to endorse the presence within this Organization, created for building and improving peace and understanding among peoples, the presence of the racist Government of South Africa, which is a true bridge-head for imperialist aggression in Africa, which seriously threatens our independence and terrorizes unceasingly the peace-loving populations of our towns and villages.

44. For all those reasons, and others which I need not go into now, my delegation is opposed to the taking into consideration of the credentials which emanate from the racist Government of South Africa so long as that Government has not put an end to its shameful policy of *apartheid*.

45. My delegation is convinced that the majority of the Member States will vote in favour of the amendment of which we are a sponsor, in order to demonstrate to South Africa that this year once again we can see the resentment felt by all free and peace-loving men of the world, as expressed to the Assembly, at the barbarous and inhuman policy of *apartheid*.

46. Secondly, I am authorized to inform the General Assembly of the strongest reservations entertained by my Government on the validity of the credentials submitted by the representatives of Lon Nol. Everyone knows they represent only themselves, more than 80 per cent of the territory of Cambodia being under the effective control of the valiant troops of the National United Front of Cambodia. It is therefore dangerous to persist in using this Organization as a 'smoke-screen', giving some people a comfortable alibi for failing to face the truth.

47. So far as my delegation is concerned, the only Government that represents the deep-rooted aspirations of the people of Cambodia, our friends, is the Royal Government of National Union presided over by Prince Norodom Sihanouk.

48. In the view of my delegation, those reservations should be made without any weakness.

49. Mr. PLAKA (Albania) (*interpretation from French*): My delegation would like to explain briefly its position concerning the recommendation of the Credentials Committee submitted for adoption at the present session of the General Assembly. This recommendation recognizes as valid the alleged powers of the Phnom Penh clique, which does not represent the people of Cambodia. That recommendation, which is designed to give that clique an air of legality, constitutes an intolerable injustice to the peace-loving people of Cambodia and a serious interference in their domestic affairs. That is why it is unacceptable to the Member States that respect the sovereign rights of peoples and the fundamental principles of the Charter. We reject it categorically and consider it null and void.

50. The undeniable reality in Cambodia shows that the Royal Government of National Union is the only legitimate Government of that peaceful country. It has emerged from the heart of the National United Front of Kampuchea, which expresses the sacred aspirations to freedom, independence and neutrality of the Cambodian people at all the levels of society and all the patriotic forces of the country. The Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia enjoys the confidence and support of the entire Cambodian people, exercises its prestige and authority over 90 per cent of the national territory and is directing the struggle of the Cambodian people for complete liberation from the foreign invaders and traitors to their country.

51. However, its place in this Organization has continued to be unjustly usurped by the illegal representatives of the detested clique of Lon Nol ever since it carried out the perfidious coup d'état and was placed in power by the American imperialists to serve their aggressive purposes against the people of Cambodia and all the other peaceful peoples of Indo-China. The United States aggression against that country, which was unleashed one month later,

demonstrated to all the peoples of the world that the American imperialists were the real organizers of that coup d'état, through which they attempted to stifle the struggle of the Cambodian people and stab in the back the struggle of the peoples of Viet-Nam and Laos.

52. The people of Cambodia have resolutely condemned the coup d'état and aggression of the United States. They have not accepted the Lon Nol clique and the manoeuvre which gave the seat in the United Nations to the representative of the puppet Government. They have unanimously responded to the appeal of the rightful head of State, Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, who founded the National United Front and the Royal Government of National Union and continues firmly the heroic struggle both to crush the plot worked out by the American imperialists and to overthrow the Lon Nol clique and expel the foreign invaders from that country. The people of Cambodia and their armed forces of liberation have struck death blows at the puppet régime and the aggression of the United States imperialists and their Saigon servants. This has placed the Lon Nol clique in a deplorable situation from which it has no hope of emerging, and this is the logical end of traitors and servants of the imperialists. This handful of traitors, taking refuge in a small portion of the country, finds itself under the continuous pressure of the popular struggle for national survival. The entire world knows that the Lon Nol clique is doomed and is imposed on the Cambodian people only thanks to the support of the United States, its military aircraft and the troops of the puppet régime in Saigon. This support and this interference on the part of the United States imperialists in the domestic affairs of the people of Cambodia constitute an intolerable violation of the sovereignty and the territorial integrity of an independent and neutral State Member of the United Nations and a violation of the fundamental principles of the Charter. Their large-scale American aggression of 1970 and its continued persistence have caused incalculable destruction and suffering to the freedom-loving Cambodian people.

53. In this connexion, we must note that the Soviet revisionists, too, in accordance with their policy of collaboration with the United States imperialists against the struggle of the peoples and for the dividing up of zones of influence, not only have not condemned the coup d'état of the Lon Nol clique that was worked out by United States imperialism but have supported it and opposed the liberation struggle of the people of Cambodia led by the National United Front of Cambodia. The Soviet Government continues to recognize and maintain diplomatic and other relations with the puppet Government of Lon Nol and has not recognized the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia, which is the only authentic representative of the Cambodian people. All this shows the animosity of the Soviet revisionists towards the liberation struggle of the people of Cambodia and all the other peoples of Indo-China against the Yankee aggressors and their tools.

54. However, the Cambodian people will never draw back in the face of aggression by United States imperialism and the plots of the two super-Powers. In this just struggle it enjoys the support of the revolutionary peoples and the peace-loving States of the entire world. Recent evidence of this is the decision of the Georgetown Conference which accepted the Royal Government headed by Samdech

Norodom Sihanouk as the sole representative of the Cambodian people, a decision which also shows the ultimate isolation of the Lon Nol clique on the international level also. Such a clique, which does not enjoy the confidence of the people and which is steeped in its blood, which has deprived that people of its independence, peace and neutrality and which has sold out completely to United States imperialism to serve its acts of aggression against the peoples of Indo-China—such a clique, we believe, cannot have the necessary powers and attributes to represent the Cambodian people in international relations, and this applies to the United Nations and other international bodies. In the opinion of the Government of the People's Republic of Albania, that seat belongs rightly and solely to the Royal Government of National Union, which is the only legitimate representative of the Cambodian people.

55. In accordance with these considerations, my delegation expresses the most categorical reservations on that portion of the report of the Credentials Committee which concerns the illegal credentials of the Lon Nol clique.

56. Moreover, we support firmly the position taken by the delegations of African countries on the credentials of the racist régime of Pretoria, which should not be recognized as valid, and we shall vote in favour of the amendment presented by 22 African countries in document A/L.687.

57. Mr. WANG Jun-sheng (China) (*translation from Chinese*): The Chinese delegation holds that the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia led by Prince Norodom Sihanouk is the sole lawful Government of Cambodia and that it alone has the right to represent the Cambodian people. The Lon Nol traitorous clique is a puppet régime. It is entirely illegal for its representative to usurp Cambodia's seat in the United Nations.

58. For many years, the Kingdom of Cambodia led by the Head of State, Prince Sihanouk, has consistently pursued a policy of peace, neutrality, independence and non-alignment; has safeguarded State sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity; has opposed imperialist interference and subversion; and has supported the just struggle of the people of various countries. It is a State Member of the United Nations and has made unrelenting efforts for the implementation of the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter. It is well known that Prince Norodom Sihanouk and the Royal Government of Cambodia under his leadership enjoy the support of the people in Cambodia and command wide respect in the international arena.

59. In March 1970, in further expanding its war of aggression in Indo-China, the United States Government, in flagrant violation of the sovereignty and independence of the Kingdom of Cambodia, instigated the Lon Nol clique to stage a military coup d'état and establish an illegal puppet régime. In these circumstances, the Cambodian people were forced to take up arms and established their own Royal Government of National Union under the leadership of Prince Sihanouk. They have valiantly resisted United States aggression and interference and dealt telling blows at the Lon Nol puppet clique. In the vigorous war of resistance against United States aggression and for national salvation over the past two years, the Cambodian people's armed

forces for national liberation have already liberated a population of over 5 million and close to 90 per cent of their territory. The Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia has established political power at various levels in the liberated areas in exercise of its authority. The Cambodian people's just struggle has won increasingly wide sympathy and admiration from the people of various countries. The Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia enjoys the support and respect of an ever greater number of countries. The Conference of Foreign Ministers of Non-Aligned Countries, held last August in Georgetown, adopted a just decision to accept the delegation of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia as the sole lawful representative of Cambodia to the Conference. All this shows that the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia led by Prince Sihanouk enjoys the warm support of the Cambodian people at home and the recognition and support of many justice-upholding and peace-loving countries abroad.

60. As is universally known, the Lon Nol clique is a puppet régime and a product of the United States Government's aggression against and interference in Cambodia. It has been imposed on the Cambodian people by imperialism and is, therefore, entirely illegal. The Lon Nol clique is enforcing a bloody Fascist rule and carrying out brutal repression and wholesale massacre of the Cambodian people. In its daily dwindling areas of control, corruption is rife, prices are soaring, the food crisis is acute, and the people can hardly live. The Lon Nol puppet régime has become ever more isolated politically, its economic conditions are daily deteriorating and it has suffered one military defeat after another, finding itself heavily besieged by the powerful Cambodian people's armed forces. Now it can only entrench itself in a few cities and the narrow areas surrounding them, relying totally on United States military and economic support for its precarious existence. Even in those areas, the Cambodian people of various strata are developing a mounting struggle against the United States puppet régime. The facts have eloquently proved that the Lon Nol clique has been repudiated by all the Cambodian people and definitely cannot escape its fate of utter collapse.

61. The Chinese delegation firmly maintains that the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia under the leadership of Prince Norodom Sihanouk is the sole lawful Government representing the Cambodian people, and that the Lon Nol puppet clique is not qualified at all to represent the Cambodian people.

62. At this rostrum, the Chinese delegation would also like to point out in all seriousness that the South African white colonialist authorities are a minority racist régime dominating over the great majority of the South African people and are not qualified at all to represent the South African people.

63. Mrs. Jeanne Martin CISSE (Guinea) (*interpretation from French*): Because it refused to participate in the Viet-Nam war of the Thieu clan and gave its moral, political and diplomatic support to the patriots of Viet-Nam, the Cambodian Government of Prince Sihanouk was the victim of the traitorous Lon Nol coup d'état in March 1970. Since that time the people of Cambodia have refused to accept

the Fascist, anti-national and anti-constitutional régime that emerged from that coup d'état perpetrated under barbarous imperialist pressure by the traitor Lon Nol. Immediately afterwards, that valiant people, in mass demonstrations in Phnom Penh and the provinces, rose up in opposition to the traitorous clique which is the servile instrument of international imperialism and called for the return of Prince Norodom Sihanouk, the head of State of Cambodia. The savage repression of these unarmed demonstrations led the people to organize armed resistance.

64. Thus for over two years now a struggle for national salvation has been continued by the Cambodian people under the enlightened leadership of Prince Sihanouk and has inflicted heavy defeats on the enemy. The partisans of Prince Sihanouk, his valiant fighters, are every day inflicting bloody defeats on the Lon Nol clique and the imperialist usurpers.

65. In his statement on 23 March 1970, Prince Sihanouk, head of State of Cambodia, announced the dissolution of the Cambodian Parliament and the Government of Phnom Penh, directed by the Lon Nol clique in high treason. At the same time, to undertake the struggle, he created the National United Front of Kampuchea and an army known as the "People's Armed Forces of National Liberation of Kampuchea". On 5 May 1970, he set up a new Government called "Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia", whose foreign policy is that of neutrality and non-alignment, a policy reaffirmed in the political programme of the National United Front of Kampuchea.

66. Today the United Front embraces all patriotic social classes in a broad, solid and fruitful union. In its struggle for national salvation, the Cambodian people enjoy the firm support of peace- and justice-loving peoples and Governments all over the world. The Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia is recognized by more than 30 Governments, including those of 20 non-aligned countries. It has diplomatic relations with friendly countries of Asia, Africa, Europe and Latin America. Must it then be emphasized that the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia, under the direction of Prince Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State—which enjoys broad support from a majority of Governments, including 20 non-aligned countries of Asia, Africa, Europe and Latin America, which recognize it as the only lawful and legitimate Government of Cambodia—is the only Government qualified to continue to represent Cambodia at the United Nations? For those reasons, my delegation has reservations concerning the credentials of the delegation from the Khmer Republic in our Organization, whose seat still belongs to the Royal Government of National Union, of which Prince Norodom Sihanouk remains the uncontested leader.

67. My Government has repeatedly denounced the racist régime of South Africa from this rostrum, and it also rejects the credentials of that régime, which continues to defy the international community. My delegation hopes that the amendment in document A/L.687, which was submitted by 22 African countries and which my country would have wished to sponsor, will command a unanimous vote.

68. Mr. BENYAHIA (Algeria) (*interpretation from French*): The report of the Credentials Committee has been

sufficiently reviewed by the various delegations that have spoken here, so my delegation need not dwell on it at unduly great length. Algeria's position on problems of the kind we are reviewing today is well known. However, we should like to spell it out once again.

69. Algeria is opposed to the granting of any representative status whatsoever to racist-minority-régime types of Government and régimes imposed by subversion and imperialist intervention, particularly United States imperialism. In explaining its position on the report of the Credentials Committee, the Algerian delegation would like to recall that it is a sponsor of the amendment in document A/L.687, on the credentials of the representatives of the racist authorities of South Africa. In this connexion my delegation could never recognize the validity of the credentials of the representatives of the racist authorities of Pretoria, which, as we know, have set up *apartheid* as the policy of a government, which, in violation of all the resolutions on the subject adopted by the Organization, continues illegally to occupy Namibia, helps to strengthen the racist-minority régime of Salisbury and, as everyone here knows, constitutes one of the pillars of the system of domination prevailing at the present time throughout all southern Africa.

70. For all those reasons, we could not recognize for the Pretoria régime any right whatsoever to represent here or elsewhere the people of South Africa or South Africa itself. There is no more obvious illegality than that of the régime of South Africa, which is so cynical that it even brags about the hateful system of *apartheid* and no less openly asks for the extension of that system in order to maintain the whole of southern Africa under the iron rule of the racists, colonialists and imperialists.

71. In the same fashion, the Algerian delegation is steadfastly opposed to the representation of Cambodia by the delegation of the puppet régime of Marshal Lon Nol. My delegation has serious reasons for challenging the representatives of the Government still in power in Phnom Penh. All delegations know that it was as a result of subversion and intervention from abroad that the legitimate régime of Prince Sihanouk was overthrown and that traitors were set up in power in Phnom Penh. My delegation therefore cannot recognize as representative those representing the régime of Marshal Lon Nol here.

72. Despite the installation in Phnom Penh of the régime of Marshall Lon Nol, the lawful representatives continue to be the Royal Government of National Union of Prince Sihanouk. In our opinion, only that Government is entitled to represent the Khmer people. It is all the more entitled to represent it here because, since the sequence of events following the installation of the clique of Marshal Lon Nol in Phnom Penh, the national patriotic forces have, under the direction and leadership of Prince Sihanouk, been controlling more than 80 per cent of Cambodian territory. They exercise control over 70 per cent of the population.

73. What is more, in its struggle the Cambodian people, under the leadership of Prince Sihanouk, enjoy the support of my country and of all the countries throughout the world which continue to cherish peace, freedom and justice. Thus the Royal Government of National Union in

Cambodia is recognized today by about 30 Governments, most of which, as a matter of fact, are non-aligned countries. And in this connexion my delegation would like to draw the attention of the Assembly to the fact that it is precisely because of their devotion to the policy of non-alignment that the régime of Prince Sihanouk was overthrown by those who, by virtue of I do not know what kind of prerogative, have arrogated to themselves almost everywhere the right to intervene in the domestic affairs of Cambodia. Furthermore, it was as the lawful representatives of the Khmer people that the Royal Government of Kampuchea participated quite recently in the Conference of Foreign Ministers of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Georgetown, where it was admitted on a footing of equality along with the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Viet-Nam.

74. Accordingly, my delegation cannot accept the credentials of the representatives of the pseudo-Khmer Republic, and we insist that the most explicit reservations should be included in the records of this meeting with respect to the representativeness of those who are sitting unlawfully in Cambodia's seat in the General Assembly.

75. Mr. CONSTANTINESCU (Romania): I should like to present very briefly the position of the delegation of Romania with regard to the report of the Credentials Committee.

76. First, the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania recognizes as the sole legitimate and lawful Government of Cambodia the Royal Government of National Union headed by the United National Front of Cambodia. In that respect we welcomed the decision adopted by the Conference of Foreign Ministers of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Georgetown, to accept the Royal Government of Prince Sihanouk as the lawful Government of Cambodia.

77. The Romanian people has followed with deep sympathy and strong solidarity the just struggle of the courageous Cambodian people against foreign intervention in the defence of its sacred rights to national freedom and independence. We cherish the highest regard for the action undertaken by the Royal Government of National Union and aimed at the unification of all patriotic forces in Cambodia in the defence of their national being and their national freedom and in the defence of their inalienable right freely to decide their fate in accordance with their legitimate interests.

78. Romania has consistently stood for unabated respect for the independence and sovereignty of Cambodia, for its neutrality and territorial integrity, as provided for in the Agreement on the Cessation of the Hostilities in Cambodia, signed at Geneva on 20 July 1954, and for the cessation of intervention and of all acts of imperialist aggression against that country.

79. The attitude of the Romanian delegation with respect to the credentials of the representatives of Cambodia must be viewed in the light of the abovementioned considerations. Consequently, my delegation would like to state that it does not recognize the credentials of the representatives now occupying the place of Cambodia at the United

Nations, for they do not emanate from the legitimate Government of that country, the Government of National Union headed by Prince Sihanouk.

80. Secondly, the position of my country towards the minority racist régime of South Africa and its policy of *apartheid* is well known. We condemn that policy and the arrogant disregard shown by the South African Government for all United Nations decisions calling for the immediate termination of the policy of *apartheid* and the recognition of the inalienable rights of the people of South Africa to self-determination and freedom.

81. My delegation, therefore, supports the amendment in document A/L.687.

82. Mr. KOMATINA (Yugoslavia) (*interpretation from French*): My delegation supports the amendment submitted by 22 African countries to the draft resolution recommended by the Credentials Committee. The amendment has been fully explained and I do not think that I need to add any further arguments in favour of it.

83. South Africa is opposed to the elementary principles on which our Organization is based. Its policies represent the very negation of our Organization. The present authorities in South Africa represent only the white minority and their power is based on oppression of the majority of the population. That is why my delegation will vote for the amendment.

84. There is another problem, no less essential, to which I should like to draw the Assembly's attention, and that is the question of the representation of Cambodia. My country recognizes the Royal Government of National Union of Prince Sihanouk as the sole legitimate representative of Cambodia. The Government of Prince Sihanouk represents all the Khmer people. According to recent reports, the national liberation forces, under his direction, are in control of more than 80 per cent of the national territory. As we know, at the last Conference of Foreign Ministers of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Georgetown in August, Prince Sihanouk's Government was almost unanimously, with very few exceptions, recognized as the only legitimate representative of that country. We know the circumstances in which the non-aligned independent Government of Prince Sihanouk—which was a factor of stability in that troubled area—was overthrown by foreign intervention and we know what the Phnom Penh authorities, from the standpoint of both legality and political substance, represent today. So I do not need to expatiate on these matters.

85. For all these reasons, my Government enters the most explicit reservations on the part of the report which approves the credentials of the Phnom Penh authorities and expresses its conviction that the representatives of the only legitimate Government of Cambodia, the Royal Government of National Union, will soon occupy their rightful seat. Moreover, the national liberation fighters of the Cambodian people will surely see to it that this anomaly is soon corrected.

86. Mr. OGBU (Nigeria): The Nigerian delegation fully supports the stand taken in the Credentials Committee by

the representatives of Senegal and the United Republic of Tanzania, supported by other delegations, with respect to the credentials of the delegation that purports to be representative of South Africa. We have accordingly become a sponsor of the amendment to the draft resolution proposed by the Credentials Committee.

87. The unrepresentative character of the Government of South Africa is no longer a matter of doubt to the Members of the United Nations. It was in recognition of that well-established fact that our Organization created the Special Committee on *Apartheid*, of which I have the honour and privilege of being Chairman. That Committee, whose report was considered by the Special Political Committee during this current session of the General Assembly [A/8722 and Add.1], underlined once again, as in previous years, that the Government in Pretoria represents everything that is abhorrent to our Charter. Indeed, to call the band of racists in Pretoria a Government is to clothe them in a cloak of respectability which they do not really deserve. For when a small group organizes the greatest terrorism in the world known to man, against the great majority of its countrymen and contrary to the ideals of our Charter, we cannot close our eyes and sit side by side in silence with such terrorists. They are the terrorists.

88. To hide behind a narrow interpretation of rule 27 seems to my delegation an attempt not to face facts. Rule 27 cannot be divorced from Article 4 of the Charter, which prescribes conditions for membership in our Organization. That Article says that membership in the United Nations is open:

"...to all... peace-loving States which accept the obligations contained in the present Charter and, in the judgment of the Organization, are able and willing to carry out these obligations."

89. One of the fundamental obligations is the affirmation of a Member's faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small.

90. The group in Pretoria violates these obligations daily. Indeed, the whole philosophy on which it sustains itself is based on the denial of fundamental human rights to 15 million Africans. At this time, when we are celebrating the twenty-fourth anniversary of the Adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the least that this Assembly can do is register its abhorrence of the violation by the Pretoria clique of its obligations, and this can well be done by an overwhelming majority voting for the amendment in document A/L.687, which challenges the credentials of the South African delegation.

91. Mr. EL-FATTAL (Syrian Arab Republic): The delegation of the Syrian Arab Republic approves the draft resolution recommended by the Credentials Committee in paragraph 22 of document A/8921, but it would like to express its objections to the credentials of the following delegations.

92. First, we object to the approval of the credentials of the representative of the racist régime of South Africa. We

shall therefore vote in favour of the amendment in document A/L.687.

93. Second, we object to the approval of the credentials of the representatives of the Zionist authorities, as those authorities represent nothing but a situation created by force and maintained by force, a situation based on the usurpation of both the land of Palestine and the natural rights of the people of Palestine.

94. Third, we do not recognize the credentials of the Lon Nol representative. We consider the Government of National Union, headed by Prince Sihanouk, which controls 90 per cent of the territory of Cambodia and commands the support of the entire population, as the sole legitimate representative of the State of Cambodia.

95. Mr. KANTE (Mali) (*interpretation from French*): The report of the Credentials Committee makes it necessary for my delegation to make a substantive comment which concerns the representative nature, within our Organization, of the racist Pretoria régime and that of the emissaries of the puppets of Phom Penh.

96. In the case of South Africa, we consider that it has no place in the United Nations. The policy of *apartheid* practised by that Government has been recognized by the international community as a crime against humanity and has been condemned as such by relevant resolutions of the General Assembly.

97. Indeed, the criminal purposes pursued by that régime are contrary in every respect to the purposes and principles of the United Nations. What is more, if the provisions of the Charter were correctly applied the supporters of *apartheid* would certainly not be sitting in this hall.

98. Does not the Preamble to the Charter proclaim: "We the peoples of the United Nations..."? Therefore, in the name of which people does the racist régime of Pretoria claim to speak? In our opinion, it could not in any case speak in the name of the people of Azania, whose country it has seized, whom it has oppressed and reduced to a state of slavery, and whom it has prevented in that way from setting themselves up as an independent and sovereign nation. We here in the United Nations have recognized that the different resolutions adopted both by the General Assembly and by the Security Council on this painful question testify to the point.

99. With respect to the puppet régime which prevails in Phnom Penh, we cannot recognize that that régime has any representative character at all, because in fact we are dealing with puppets, traitors to their country who have been put in power by external forces with a view to subjugating the Khmer people. The coup d'état perpetrated in 1970 against Samdech Norodom Sinanouk is part of the broad plot worked out by the imperialists with a view to obtaining their hegemony throughout the world. The Lon Noll-Sirik Matak clique has served only as a vanguard. The dirty war which has been imposed on the Khmer people violates the Geneva Conventions of 1954 and 1962, as well as the lofty principles of the United Nations Charter. Despite their infernal war machine the forces of aggression have not been able to impose their domination on this

heroic people, which, at the appeal of its historic leader, Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, has mobilized within the National United Front of Cambodia to defend its freedom.

100. Today, under the leadership of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia, the patriotic forces control more than two thirds of the national territory and 77 per cent of the people of the country. The Lon Nol-Sirik Matak clique is disintegrating. Insecurity is widespread even in Phnom Penh where the puppets are harassed daily by the patriots.

101. The Khmer people—I mean “the people of the smile” as they are called by the poets—have behind them centuries of heroic traditions and they have displayed this to the world and have shown that liberty and dignity cannot be bought. The same is true of the Viet-Nameese people.

102. The historic conference of the Indo-Chinese people held in April 1970 brought together in the same liberation struggle the peoples of Laos, Khmer and Viet-Nam and we should like to reaffirm to these people once again our solidarity, which is militant and active.

103. The evidence proves that Samdech Norodom Sihanouk and his policy of neutrality has the support of Cambodians as a whole. The important contribution that the régime which he led so ably and with such enlightenment has made has brought strength to the movement of the non-aligned countries, of which he is a founding member, and to the consolidation of peace in South-East Asia and throughout the world, and in the painful process that his country has been going through since March 1970, the diplomatic, moral and political support of dozens of peace-loving, justice-loving and liberty-loving Governments have been accorded to him.

104. Our Assembly could not take into consideration the alleged credentials of the representatives of a clique which does not even control the city of Phnom Penh, despite the vast military and financial resources that their masters shower daily on Cambodia, while some two thirds of the members of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia exercise effective action in the territory liberated by the patriots.

105. Rather than recognize the mandate of the Phnom Penh usurpers, our Organization should demand that the forces of aggression be withdrawn unconditionally from the Cambodian territory that they have violated. Such action falls within the normal framework of the lofty mission entrusted to our Organization by the Charter. In the opinion of my delegation the United Nations should have begun by expelling the representatives of the puppets of Phnom Penh and restoring to the Royal Government of Prince Sihanouk its lawful rights, as did the Conference of Foreign Ministers of Non-Aligned Countries which brought together almost 70 States of the world in August last at Georgetown, Guyana.

106. But whatever the passiveness of the United Nations, the victory of the Khmer people which is fighting for its national health is unavoidable.

107. Having regard to everything I have said, my delegation expresses the most explicit reservations about the

emissaries of the racist régime of Pretoria and of the puppet clique of Phnom Penh. For the Government of Mali, the Royal Government of National Union is the only legitimate Government of the Khmer people in Cambodia.

108. Mrs. GONZALEZ DIAZ DE VILLEGA (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): In this context my delegation would like, as we have done on other occasions, to confirm our recognition of the Royal Government of National Union presided over by Prince Norodom Sihanouk as the only lawful representative of the just aspirations of the people of Cambodia. It is for that reason that we cannot agree that the Cambodian people's own firm voice should be usurped in the international community by the puppet and imperialist régime of Lon Nol.

109. Equally, we denounce the absurd and painful claim that 15 million black Africans in Africa should be represented in this Organization by a racist white minority which oppresses them and has contempt for them.

110. Mr. DIAZ-CASANUEVA (Chile) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I only wish to say a few words as the representative of a non-aligned country.

111. First of all, in keeping with our solidarity with the Cambodian people—and we expressed this position at the Georgetown Conference—we regret that because of a formality Cambodia is not legitimately represented here in the United Nations. The delegation of Chile takes this opportunity to express its desire that the sufferings of the people of Cambodia should be brought to an end, that foreign intervention should cease and that the people of Cambodia should be able to express itself freely and in sovereign fashion so that we may know its will. We are sure that before next year is out the true representatives of the people of Cambodia will be seated here in our midst.

112. In addition, we shall vote in favour of the amendment submitted by a group of African countries [A/L.687]. We think that it does not just contain a moral sanction but, rather, completely repudiates any attempt by South Africa to represent itself, not only in its own capacity, but also as allegedly representing a people like the people of Namibia, whose territory it retains unlawfully and whose inhabitants are deprived of the right to exercise their freedom and to accede to independence.

113. Mr. MAZARI (Pakistan): I wish to state that, my Government having recognized the Royal Government of National Union headed by His Royal Highness Prince Sihanouk as the legitimate Government of Cambodia, my delegation reserves its position on the credentials of the Cambodian delegation to this session of the General Assembly.

114. I wish also to state that, for the reasons so eloquently expressed by its authors, my delegation will support the amendment in document A/L.687 on the credentials of the South African delegation.

115. Mr. LONG BORET (Khmer Republic) (*interpretation from French*): My purpose in making this statement is to give additional clarifications following my earlier state-

ments from this rostrum, in reply to the tendentious allegations of a number of delegations which, in good or bad faith, have deliberately violated the Charter of the United Nations by interfering in the domestic affairs of the Khmer Republic, an independent and sovereign State and a full-fledged Member of the United Nations.

116. The Khmer Republic is among those small countries whose problems and misfortunes flow from their status as developing countries. Like many small nations, we also experienced a period of colonial domination before recovering our independence in 1953. Like all the peoples of our brother States in the process of development which have suffered the same fate, the Khmer people, while belonging to one of the oldest and most flourishing civilizations, has not been spared many vicissitudes, sometimes most painful ones, in the course of its history. Like them the Khmer people has no other aspiration than to maintain its new-found independence and sovereignty, its neutrality and territorial integrity, and to live in peace with all peoples in conformity with the fundamental principles of the United Nations Charter and international law.

117. It is that line of conduct that has always prevented the Khmer people from interfering in the domestic affairs of other States, even those that are politically hostile to it for reasons of self-interest. It would not be difficult for us to make criticisms or reservations concerning the governments represented by those representatives who have expressed reservations about our credentials. But as a Member of the United Nations we are perfectly well aware of the limits of our rights and the significance of our duties in the international community.

118. Every State, no matter how powerful and developed it may be, has its history and its problems, but in an age when colonialism has passed into history it is for the sovereign people of each State to decide its own destiny, its own political régime and what form of government it wishes to adopt. It is inadmissible for States which, we know, themselves have just as many problems, if not more, to try to take the place of another State or impose their will on any sovereign and independent people.

119. The Khmer people, for its part, thus entirely rejects interference in its domestic affairs, no matter what form it may take, whether that interference is by a small or a medium-sized nation, or by any great Power.

120. It is regrettable that, instead of giving assistance, sympathy or understanding to a people fighting for its survival, independence and freedom, some Members have resorted to campaigns of threats and intimidation in order to discourage it in its struggle, a campaign which, if it were to succeed, would in the long run result in the destruction, the disappearance and the enslavement of that people for the benefit of a militarily stronger Power, thus enabling that Power to satisfy its imperialist dreams.

121. Some representatives have expressed reservations or doubts about the legality of our Government. Others have gone further, cynically affirming that the exiled government of Sihanouk, now based in Peking, is the legal government of Cambodia, that it controls 90 per cent of the country, and so on and so forth. They even stooped to

attack the President of our Republic, Marshal Lon Nol, in outrageous terms incompatible with the dignity of this Assembly. Yet Marshal Lon Nol was duly elected by universal direct ballot by all the Khmer people.

122. It is in order to reply to those gratuitous and entirely groundless accusations that my delegation finds itself obliged here and now on this occasion to recapitulate the historical facts of the many stages of the Khmer revolution.

123. The former head of State, Norodom Sihanouk, was stripped of his powers on 18 March 1970 by the unanimous vote of the two Houses of the Khmer Parliament in Congress assembled. Since 18 March 1970, then, Sihanouk has been nothing more than a mere citizen, having no power to represent his country in any capacity whatsoever. Furthermore, he is under indictment in the courts for crimes of abuse of authority and high treason. The causes of his downfall were many, and they were brought out clearly in the course of a lengthy and historic debate which preceded the vote in the Khmer Parliament.

124. I am aware that the great majority of Member States which have had occasion to follow closely the development of the situation in my country will need no further explanations in order to recognize the reality and the existence of the Khmer Republic, a free, independent and democratic country which is today headed by a democratically elected President, Government and Parliament.

125. But for the benefit of certain delegations for which the situation may be less clear, for want of adequate and objective information, I regard it as my duty to recapitulate once again the historic course of events in my country since shortly before the proclamation of the Republic. I will confine myself to presenting the true facts about what took place before and after the fall from power of the former head of State, Sihanouk. Those facts—which no amount of lying propaganda can distort or eliminate—prove that the cause which the Khmer people is now upholding is just and lawful. They will also help certain delegations that have not had sufficient objective information about my country's situation to form a fair and well-founded judgement on the basis of correct interpretations and authentic facts.

126. Early in March 1970, a part of the Khmer territory measuring 3,500 square kilometres was still under *de facto* occupation by Viet-Cong and North Viet-Nameese units. These were not just areas close to the Khmer-South Viet-Nameese border but also parts of the country well inland, particularly in the vicinity of the great lakes. The areas occupied were principally in nine of our 22 provinces and municipalities and were the following: Ratanakiri, Mondulhiri, Kratié, Kompong Cham, Svay Rieng, Prey Veng, Kandal, Takeo and Kampot.

127. Our soldiers, seeking to penetrate the areas that had been invaded, often were ambushed and killed. In 1969, a year before Sihanouk's fall, Marshal Lon Nol himself, at that time Commander-in-Chief of the Army, came under Viet-Cong fire during a tour of inspection in the north-east of the country. In these occupied zones, these alien forces set up small arsenals, munitions and weapons factories, repair shops, food supply depots, training and instruction centres for their soldiers, hospitals and so forth. Powerful

defensive systems were set up for military purposes. A network of tunnels was built in order to camouflage this military build-up.

128. While the effective occupation of certain portions of Khmer territory represents an undeniable and spectacular fact, the establishment of a considerable network of Viet-Cong and North Viet-Nameese subversion in the towns and over a large part of the country was doubtless a more discreet but ultimately just as serious encroachment. In Phnom Penh, where there is a large Viet-Nameese colony, our security services disclosed the existence of a powerful Viet-Cong and North-Viet-Nameese organization, a fifth column poised to go into action against us as soon as it got the green light from Hanoi. Similar organizations were uncovered in almost all the urban centres in the east, centre and south of the country, as well as in the rubber plantations and big industrial enterprises.

129. What is more, these foreign forces were using Khmer territory in order to get supplies to their troops fighting in South Viet-Nam. Arms, medicines and other goods bought by the Viet-Cong arrived at our ports and airports addressed to various quarters which subsequently dispatched them to Viet-Cong and North Viet-Nameese bases. Supplies of rice, fish and other foodstuffs arrived for the most part in the form of smuggled cargoes, despite the trade agreements between our country and those concerned. These smuggled purchases were effected outside all administrative control on the part of the Khmer authorities, which led to serious difficulties. Thus, for example, while we were suffering a serious rice shortage in the second half of 1969 as a result of insufficient rain, Viet-Cong purchases estimated at 130,000 tons created grave fluctuations in the rice supply intended for consumption by the Khmer population.

130. This occupation, of course, gave rise to many incidents with the elements of our armed forces and civil population. On the eve of Sihanouk's expulsion in March 1970, 122 incidents were recorded, with 54 dead, 98 wounded and 25 kidnapped. This occupation was a reality. But in order to remove an embarrassing witness to the installation of these foreign forces, Sihanouk called for the dissolution of the International Control Commission in Cambodia towards the end of 1969. The International Control Commission, which was established by the Geneva Agreements of 1954, consisted of three members, India, Canada and Poland, and its very purpose was to supervise the application of the Geneva Agreement on the Cessation of the Hostilities in Cambodia.

131. Despite the authorization given by Sihanouk for the Viet-Cong to make free use of our territory, serious warnings had been given since 1969, a year before Sihanouk's fall, to the authorities of Hanoi and the National Liberation Front. These warnings came from various Government figures, particularly Marshal Lon Nol, at that time President of the Council of Ministers and Commander-in-Chief of the Army.

132. Our members of Parliament—who realized the encroachment of Khmer sovereignty being perpetrated by the occupiers and also the complicity of Sihanouk and his entourage, which greatly profited from the situation

through smuggling and other clandestine activities—on several occasions publicly denounced this state of affairs.

133. Numerous scandals exposed by the Parliament early in 1969 finally shook the pride of this Prince, who, having held the highest office in the country for 30 years, could never stand the slightest criticism of his despotic personal rule.

134. The infiltrations of Communist Viet-Nameese forces into Khmer territory were constantly increasing, to the point where Sihanouk himself finally had to admit that these infiltrations were a reality, after having denied this for years both nationally and internationally, although he himself was the one mainly responsible.

135. Thus in 1969, the last year of his rule, he repeatedly and publicly denounced the growing infiltration of the Viet-Cong and the North Viet-Nameese and the crimes committed by those troops, as well as the grave danger resulting therefrom for the independence and territorial integrity of the country. These public revelations were made at the press conferences he gave in 1969, on 26 March, 16 and 30 April, 3, 17 and 23 May and 11 June, and in his speech of 19 June 1969, at Svay Rieng (this comes from dispatches of the United Press International, Agence France-Press, Associated Press, Reuters and the publication of Sihanouk's speeches supervised by himself).

136. The following year, however, on 18 March 1970, Sihanouk did not hesitate to deny his own statements or to side with those he had earlier denounced—and this for the sole reason that the Khmer people had put an end to his dictatorship, and that, moved by personal hatred of the revolutionaries and no longer enjoying popular support, he counted only on the armed intervention of the North Viet-Nameese to restore him to power, gaily accepting the destruction and ruin of his country.

137. The North Viet-Nameese and Viet-Cong troops behaved more and more as if they were in a conquered country. The situation became more and more intolerable for our clergy, our youth, our civil population and our army.

138. The first demands addressed to the Viet-Cong that they respect our sovereignty were made during the official trip to Phnom Penh of President Huynh Tan Phat, between 30 June and 5 July 1969. General Lon Nol, as Chairman of the Council of Ministers, resumed discussion of this problem when he went to Peking from 27 September to 3 October 1969. There he met Prime Minister Chou En-lai three times, notably on 29 September from 6 to 8 p.m. at the People's Palace; the North Viet-Nameese Prime Minister, Pham Van Dong, twice, on 28 September from 8.30 to 9.15 a.m. and on 29 September from 8.30 to 9 a.m.; President Nguyen Hun Tho twice, on 30 September from 5.30 to 6.15 p.m. and on 1 October from 5 to 5.30 p.m.

139. The then head of the Khmer Government, General Lon Nol, was simply asking the Viet-Cong-North-Viet-Nameese forces to respect the national sovereignty of Cambodia in all its aspects and to restore his country's legitimate territorial rights.

140. Other talks took place later at the ambassadorial level in Phnom Penh. Unfortunately, no progress was made and the situation continued to worsen.

141. On 8 March 1970 the first grave signs of popular discontent appeared in the province of Svay Rieng, where demonstrators attacked the accomplices of the Viet-Cong. In the days which followed there was an explosion of popular fury among the Khmer people in various provinces of the country. But it was on 11 March that it took its most violent form. An infuriated crowd of demonstrators, consisting mainly of university students, intellectuals and workers, finally seized the North Viet-Nameese and Viet-Cong embassy buildings in Phnom Penh. On the evening of the same day, 11 March, students from the Faculty of Law and Economic Sciences submitted a resolution in the National Assembly condemning the actions of the occupiers and their accomplices.

142. On that occasion the National Assembly opened a debate on the popular demonstrations which were taking place all over the country. Informed of these events, the ex-head of State, Sihanouk, who was at that time in France, sent a telegram to Phnom Penh condemning the National Assembly, condemning the army and condemning the Government, which he accused of undertaking manoeuvres against his own person.

143. Numerous telegrams were sent by Marshal Lon Nol to the ex-head of State, Sihanouk, providing detailed explanations on the developments: a telegram on 11 March, another on 12 March, two others on 13 March, another on 15 March and the last two on 17 March 1970.

144. On 13 March it was even decided to send to Paris two emissaries: the Second Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Prince Norodom Kantol, the Director-General of the Royal Palace services. But Sihanouk categorically refused to receive those two emissaries, instead announcing that on his return to Phnom Penh he would deal with those in the Government and the armed forces who had dared to speak out against his policy as regards the Viet-Cong and North Viet-Nameese invaders.

145. Since the Parliament, the Government and the Army were clearly aware that they were acting in the national interest and in accordance with the express wishes of the sovereign Khmer people, the egoistical, despotic and anti-national position taken by Sihanouk made a political conflict inescapable.

146. That conflict came to a head on Wednesday, 18 March 1970. On that day the two Houses of the Khmer Parliament, the National Assembly and the Royal Council, in plenary meeting, decided by unanimous vote to withdraw their trust from the former head of State, Norodom Sihanouk.

147. On 23 March, Sihanouk, in exile in Peking, called on our compatriots to rise against the lawful authorities and on the Viet-Cong and North Viet-Nameese forces, estimated at 60,000 men already on our territory, to attack our country.

148. In the recent world history of fallen dictators, the case of Sihanouk is unique. A head of State, fallen after 30

years of despotic power, calls on foreign troops to make war on his own country for the sole purpose of recovering the power that the people have taken away from him!

149. If there were a few who still hesitated after Sihanouk's fall on 18 March, there were even fewer after the high treason of that invitation to foreign troops to invade his own country.

150. Later, on 9 October 1970, following mass demonstrations, the Khmer people proclaimed the Republic. On 30 April 1972, a draft republican Constitution was submitted to a national referendum and, of the 80 per cent of the electors who took part in the vote, 17 per cent voted in favour, thus marking a definitive break with the monarchy which Sihanouk continues to defend from foreign soil.

151. Under the Constitution we then held general elections to choose the first President of the Republic. Among the three candidates, Marshal Lon Nol was elected by universal and direct ballot—I repeat—as the first President of the Khmer Republic.

152. On 3 and 17 September 1972 legislative elections were held to elect members of the first National Assembly and the first Senate of the Khmer Republic.

153. Other republican institutions provided for were set up after the institution of the two chambers of parliament and followed the due constitutional procedure.

154. From 1947 to 9 October 1970 Cambodia was a constitutional monarchy. The previous constitution provided that, if circumstances did not permit the appointment of a king or council of regents, the National Assembly and the Council of the Kingdom, in joint session, could appoint an uncontested candidate to assume the functions of head of State.

155. It was under that provision of the Constitution that Sihanouk was appointed by the Khmer Parliament in 1960 as Head of State, and it was the same Parliament, 10 years later, that withdrew this expression of its confidence, after indicting Prince Sihanouk for high treason against the higher interests of the Khmer nation.

156. The situation is clear. There was no coup d'état and no usurpation of power.

157. The removal from power was legal since it was effected by the institutions empowered to do so, and in accordance with the constitutional procedure then in force.

158. To claim now that this Prince, overthrown and driven out by his own people, continues legally to represent the Government of Cambodia, runs counter to the constitutional provisions of my country.

159. On the last point, some have been cynical enough to claim that the Government in exile or the so-called Sihanouk forces now control 90 per cent of the country's capital.

160. This is the sort of lie that shocks logic and common sense. You can perhaps get people to believe such a lie if

they live in a country where leaders oppress freedom of conscience or where freedom of information is completely lacking, but not in a world forum like the United Nations.

161. First of all, and I had occasion to raise the same question in earlier statements, if Sihanouk really controls such a large proportion of our territory, why are he and his Government still based in Peking instead of coming and taking residence in the country?

162. In fact, there are only foreign forces, namely, the Viet-Cong and North Viet-Nameese forces, that forcibly occupy one third of our territory. At present, 1 million of the 7 million Cambodians are still obliged to live in enemy-controlled territory. Crimes of extortion and genocide are committed daily by the invaders against the civil and religious populations of the occupied zones. As I have said earlier, these are foreign troops which entrenched themselves in the last few years of Sihanouk's rule, and whose presence Sihanouk himself publicly admitted a year after he was overthrown.

163. As for the so-called "Red Khmers" or Khmer Communists who number 25,000, they had neither their own army nor administration, but were often used as auxiliaries responsible for supplies and logistics, as propaganda agents or spokesmen for the 60,000 North Viet-Nameese and Viet-Cong who are now occupying one third of Khmer territory. They use Sihanouk's name for the time being for want of a recognized leader. But can one believe that their ideology is compatible with the monarchy that Sihanouk seems to wish to continue to represent by calling his government in exile a "royal government"?

164. The myth that Sihanouk's imaginary forces control 90 per cent of the country's territory is, in short, invented by our enemies to conceal their aggression, and no impartial observer on the spot is unaware of the facts.

165. As Information Minister until September 1972, I have had many opportunities of inviting journalists and foreign correspondents to travel the country from end to end, to the most remote areas, more than 300 kilometres away from the capital. Furthermore, from time to time, we have produced North Viet-Nameese and Viet-Cong prisoners now held in Phnom Penh, who number several hundreds, for them to interview. Their statements, in addition to documents seized in the course of fighting, amply confirm what I have been saying.

166. Need I add that my country's situation is understood by a great majority of Member nations that really are concerned for peace and justice?

167. All the non-aligned countries of South-East Asia without exception, certain non-aligned countries of Africa, and many countries in the western and socialist blocs, with, of course, the exception, as we quite well understand, of those who are hostile to the revolution of the Khmer people recognize the Khmer Republic and have diplomatic relations with it.

168. In brief, the statements by some delegations about the legitimacy of our representation, whether they were made in good or bad faith, represent blatant interference in

the domestic affairs of a State Member of the United Nations, thus violating the fundamental principles of our Charter and undermining relations among civilized nations.

169. For our part, being consistent with ourselves, and despite the bitterness and the sadness we feel at the injustice that some have done us, we continue to respect these principles and we shall refrain from passing judgement on any Government, although there might be a great deal to say about the representativeness of régimes which, to ease their own conscience, pretend to play the role of international censors.

170. It is indeed ironic to hear the representatives of certain personal régimes, crushed under the weight of the cult of personality, or at best the spokesmen of a dwindling clique, come here to accuse us of representing a clique, when it was precisely in order finally to get rid of the dictatorship of one man and of a clique of corrupt men surrounding him that the Khmer people carried out their revolution on 18 March 1970.

171. It is, to say the least, strange, or perhaps it is only all-too-significant, that the representatives of régimes that style themselves socialist are trying to reimpose on the Khmer people, by force or by calumny, a latter-day feudal allegiance, acting as valets of a Khmer reactionary, either for selfish reasons or in pursuit of designs that may not be avowed, or quite simply through the instinctive solidarity of demagogues.

172. They are trying to destroy our revolution, just as Sihanouk pursued and felled the Khmer revolutionaries. But let no one be mistaken. The flame that was lit on 18 March 1970 will not be extinguished, for our movement is following the direction of history and is irreversible. The abuse heaped on us by certain representatives will do nothing to change the situation in my country. But since the representatives of those régimes persist in interfering in our domestic affairs, are we not also justified, in terms of the legal equality of all countries, great and small, represented here, to question the representativity of their delegations?

173. Mr. ZAHAWIE (Iraq): The delegation of Iraq approves the report of the Credentials Committee in document A/8921, except with regard to the credentials of the representatives of the following illegal régimes: Israel, the Khmer Republic and South Africa.

174. Mr. VON HIRSCHBERG (South Africa): I shall not respond to the distorted and false accusations concerning my Government which we have heard in the debate today, since they are irrelevant to the central issue before the Assembly.

175. The opinion of Legal Counsel contained in document A/8160 of 11 November 1970³ and the statements in support thereof by numerous representatives in the debate on this item in the last two years leave no doubt that the amendment before the Assembly today is in contravention

³ *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fifth Session, Annexes, agenda item 3.*

of the rules of procedure. It is clear from paragraph 4 of the report of the Credentials Committee [A/8921] that the credentials of the South African delegation have been issued in accordance with the requirements of the rules of procedure and that they are therefore valid.

176. If the General Assembly were now to refuse to endorse the findings of the Secretary-General and the Credentials Committee, as the amendment would have it do, clearly the Assembly would have rejected the requirements of the rules of procedure and the Charter for determining the validity of credentials in favour of requirements which neither the Charter nor the rules of procedure authorize or recognize. Thus the Assembly would be acting illegally and in violation of the Charter and the rules of procedure.

177. The duly accredited representatives of the nations of this Organization are here to build bridges and to allow others in their turn to build bridges. They are here to inform and to be informed. They are here to teach and to be taught. If they are to express disapproval of the policies of other nations, let it be through legitimate debating and negotiating channels, recognized and authorized by the Charter. Let it not be through attempts, abortive or otherwise, to twist the metal of which the Charter, the very instrument of negotiation, is moulded.

178. This is an Organization within whose forum opportunities exist for representatives to come together and join in the search for solutions to world problems, whatever their nature and whatever their origin. That is what the United Nations is all about. Differences of opinion arising from differing standpoints provide barriers enough to the work of the United Nations. Let us not add to those barriers by artificially creating problems where none previously existed.

179. Unfortunately, that is what is happening today. We are being asked, whatever the motivation, to subordinate constitutionality to political expedience, and that is divisive and disruptive.

180. We should not underestimate the effects of repeated attempts to tamper with the very tools of international co-operation—tools that were designed to overcome, as far as is humanly possible, the practical difficulties of nation communicating with nation. The United Nations is an experiment in negotiation. Its success depends upon its ability to use areas of agreement among nations as the springboard towards the solution of problems on which no agreement yet exists. To assist in that task, the instrument of the Charter and the rules of procedure were carefully fashioned at San Francisco. To bend or force that instrument, or even to seem to do so, for the purpose of securing some political advantage must inevitably damage the prestige and effectiveness of the United Nations at all levels. It should be our collective aim—far from embarking on such a negative course—to do all we can to enable this Organization and those of us who work here to realize its potential as a means for resolving the many issues that divide us. It behoves us to bear those considerations in mind as we proceed to vote on the amendment before us.

181. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The General Assembly will now proceed to the vote. In accordance with rule 92 of the rules of procedure, we shall first vote on the amendment in document A/L.697 and then on the draft resolution, amended or not. I now put the amendment to the vote. A roll-call vote has been requested.

A vote was taken by roll call.

Colombia, having been drawn by lot by the President, was called upon to vote first.

In favour: Congo, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Democratic Yemen, Egypt, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Gabon, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guyana, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Jamaica, Kenya, Khmer Republic, Kuwait, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Mauritania, Mongolia, Morocco, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Syrian Arab Republic, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Albania, Algeria, Bulgaria, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China.

Against: Colombia, Costa Rica, Denmark, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Finland, France, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Iceland, Iran, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Lesotho, Luxembourg, Malawi, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Portugal, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada.

Abstaining: Ecuador, Fiji, Honduras, Ivory Coast, Jordan, Laos, Lebanon, Malta, Mexico, Nepal, Oman, Peru, Saudi Arabia, Singapore, Thailand, Turkey, Afghanistan, Bahrain, Bhutan, Botswana, Burma.

The amendment was adopted by 65 votes to 40, with 21 abstentions.

182. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I now put to the vote the draft resolution submitted by the Credentials Committee [A/8921, para. 22], as amended. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Australia, Austria, Bahrain, Belgium, Bhutan, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Canada, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Congo, Costa Rica, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Democratic Yemen, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, France, Gabon, Gambia, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guyana, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Khmer Republic, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malaysia, Maldives,

Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Singapore, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Sweden, Syrian Arab Republic, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: South Africa.

Abstaining: Argentina, Bolivia, Botswana, Ireland, Malawi, Paraguay, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Venezuela.

The draft resolution as amended was adopted by 111 votes to 1, with 8 abstentions (resolution 2948 (XXVII)).⁴

183. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I shall now call on those representatives who wish to explain their votes after the vote.

184. Mr. MOLINA (Costa Rica) (*interpretation from Spanish*): My delegation wishes to state for the record, explicitly, that for the following reasons we voted against the amendment in document A/L.687. My Government and therefore my delegation are firmly opposed to *apartheid* and the policy of racial discrimination practised by South Africa. We believe racial discrimination and any other form of discrimination are contrary to human dignity and the right to equality as well as freedom and self-determination, which are inherent attributes of mankind.

185. None the less, we consider that rule 27 of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly lays down only technical criteria for determining whether or not credentials of representatives are in order. This is a question of procedure and there is no basis in law or in fact for challenging, in the Credentials Committee, the credentials of the representatives of South Africa.

186. We determined our vote and explained it in the Credentials Committee on the basis of that position, as is stated in paragraph 8 of the report of the Credentials Committee [A/8921]. I wish merely to add, that my country, faithful to the resolutions of the General Assembly and the consensus of the Security Council, has very clear legislation enacted on the books prohibiting trade of any kind of goods or services with the Republic of South Africa, and thus we confirm our decision and our faith in the provisions laid down by the General Assembly and the Security Council in respect and support of the provisions of our Charter, which expresses condemnation against racial or any other kind of discrimination.

187. Those were the words in which I wished to explain my delegation's votes this morning on the draft resolution and on the amendment to it.

Mr. Nkundabagenzi (Rwanda), Vice-President, took the Chair.

188. Mr. CARSALES (Argentina) (*interpretation from Spanish*): With the vote that it has just cast my delegation has continued faithful to a position of principle it has supported throughout the 27 years of the existence of our Organization. This position is based on our conviction that the General Assembly cannot and should not pronounce itself indirectly through the report of the Credentials Committee on the legitimacy or illegitimacy of the Governments represented here. To concede this possibility would, in our opinion, constitute clear intervention in the domestic affairs of States in contradiction to the provisions of the United Nations Charter.

189. This position is applicable to any Government whose credentials may be questioned for political reasons—and it applies today as well as to the future. We understand full well the motives that have guided the sponsors of the amendment in document A/L.687. We regret, however, that we cannot agree with the procedure that they have followed.

190. We should also like to state for the record that our attitude by no means signifies any support or condoning of specific policies and practices of the Government of South Africa, which we have always condemned without hesitation.

191. For the reasons that I have set forth we voted against the amendment, and since it was adopted we abstained in the vote on the text as a whole and as amended, of the draft resolution originally included in the report of the Credentials Committee.

192. Mr. CHELLE (Uruguay) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The Uruguayan delegation voted consistently with the attitude it adopted in the Credentials Committee on the draft resolution in the report. We refer the General Assembly to the arguments that we advanced during the meetings of the Credentials Committee, which are recorded in document A/8921, by way of reiterating them in explanation of vote on this occasion.

193. Mr. NAKAGAWA (Japan): I should like to explain briefly the position of my delegation with regard to the amendment in document A/L.687 which has just been adopted.

194. My delegation had the fullest sympathy with the thinking underlying that amendment because the position of my delegation in opposing the policy of *apartheid* practised by the Government of South Africa is similar to the position of the sponsors of the amendment.

195. Japan has consistently opposed and will continue strongly to oppose the policy of *apartheid* as the most virulent form of racial discrimination. However, my delegation considers that the question before the Assembly is a procedural one, as is clearly explained in the statement in document A/8160 by the Legal Counsel submitted to the General Assembly on the scope of credentials in rule 27. We have some doubts about the competence of the General

⁴ The delegations of Burma and Sierra Leone subsequently informed the Secretariat that they wished to have their votes recorded as having been in favour of the draft resolution.

Assembly to reject, in effect, the credentials of representatives in spite of the fact that those credentials meet the requirements of rule 27 of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly. It was in this context that my delegation voted against the amendment in document A/L.687, in

spite of its strong opposition to the policy of *apartheid* practised by the Government of South Africa, and voted in favour of the draft resolution, as amended, as a whole.

The meeting rose at 1.40 p.m.