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GENERAL ASSEMBLY

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE THIRTY-SEVENTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,  
on Tuesday, 13 October 1987, at 3 p.m.

President: Mr. KOUASSI (Togo)  
(Vice-President)

later: Mr. LEGWAILA (Botswana)  
(Vice-President)

later: Mr. PETERS (Saint Vincent and the Grenadines)  
(Vice-President)

- The situation in Kampuchea: [24]

- (a) Report of the Secretary-General
- (b) Draft resolution

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In the absence of the President, Mr. Kouassi (Togo), Vice-President,  
took the Chair.

The meeting was called to order at 3.15 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 24

THE SITUATION IN KAMPUCHEA:

- (a) REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (A/42/608);
- (b) DRAFT RESOLUTION (A/42/L.1)

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): Before calling on the first speaker, I should like to propose that the list of speakers in the debate on this item be closed this afternoon at 5 o'clock.

May I take it that there is no objection to my proposal?

It was so decided.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I therefore request those representatives wishing to participate in the debate to inscribe themselves as soon possible.

I now call on Mr. Massamba Sarré of Senegal, who will also speak in his capacity as Chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee of the International Conference on Kampuchea.

Mr. SARRE (Senegal) (interpretation from French): During the past three weeks, we have been engaging in a responsible and constructive debate on all the issues before the international community. As representatives have been able to note, the situation in Kampuchea has not been left out. Indeed, every statement we have heard has touched on that issue.

The situation in Kampuchea has for nearly nine years been a subject of serious concern to the whole international community. That conflict, stemming from the intervention of foreign troops, continues to bring suffering to the Kampuchean people. It also constitutes a major obstacle to the restoration of peace and

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stability in the South-East Asian region and in some ways constitutes a threat to international peace and security.

Our Assembly has been discussing this question since 1979. From the beginning, the Assembly has taken a clear position on this problem and on the means of resolving it. In particular, it proposed the convening of an International Conference on Kampuchea. That Conference, held in July 1981, set forth the basic principles for a comprehensive political settlement. The Declaration adopted by the Conference specifies that such a settlement should lead to the complete withdrawal of foreign troops, respect for the right of the Cambodian people freely to decide its future and the restoration of independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity in Kampuchea.

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The settlement must also meet the legitimate concerns of the countries of the region with regard to their security and should include an undertaking by all States not to interfere or intervene in the internal affairs of Kampuchea.

Senegal supported the adoption of that Declaration and Senegal accepted the task of presiding over the Ad Hoc Committee established by the International Conference on Kampuchea because my country is convinced that the comprehensive settlement proposed by the Conference is in conformity with the basic principles of the United Nations Charter and those of the non-aligned countries. It was also because, like most Member States of our Organization, we take the view that the problem of Kampuchea arises from the violation of those principles.

The position of my Government - and this cannot be overemphasized - does not stem from any hostility towards any of the parties to the conflict, for my country enjoys excellent relations with them. Our position is based simply on the fact that, no matter what the pretext, we cannot accept the use of force to overturn the Government of a neighbour country. To permit or endorse such action could compromise the security of many States, particularly small countries that do not have substantial military resources. It would be tantamount to recognizing and accepting the concept that might makes right. It would, in the long run, call into question the standards that govern international relations.

I should point out, however, that my country does not sanction the atrocities committed by a faction against its own nationals. Senegal joined in the condemnation of those practices by the international community and we believe that everything possible should be done, within the framework of a comprehensive settlement, to prevent a repetition of such abuses.

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We very much regret that, since the adoption of the last resolution on this question by the General Assembly, the situation in Kampuchea has not changed fundamentally, although this year there have been a number of developments that we should highlight in order better to appreciate their scope and significance.

Last May Prince Norodom Sihanouk decided to relinquish his duties as President of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea for a period of one year. During a visit to Pyongyang in June, as Chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee of the International Conference on Kampuchea, I had an opportunity to speak with the Prince about the reasons that led him to that decision. I also met with him during his recent visit to New York, together with members of the Ad Hoc Committee.

The Prince explained to me that his decision was prompted particularly by the desire to be available to make a personal contribution to the search for a solution to the Kampuchean question. He declared himself ready to begin dialogue with the opposite party, but none the less stressed that he remained President of the Coalition Government. He also emphasized that the support of the international community, particularly through the General Assembly resolutions, should continue to play a decisive role in ensuring the success of his initiatives. My delegation respects and understands that view and believes that the efforts exerted by the Prince on behalf of peace and national reconciliation in an independent, neutral and non-aligned Cambodia deserve our understanding and support. We also believe that the support of the international community, through the resolutions regularly adopted by a large majority remains a positive factor in the search for a negotiated settlement of this question.

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The countries of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) have continued during the past year to play an active, responsible and positive role in promoting a comprehensive political settlement of the Kampuchean problem. Thus, Indonesia, in its capacity as the ASEAN spokesman, continued its contacts with Viet Nam in seeking a mutually acceptable basis for dialogue.

Following an official visit by the Indonesian Minister for Foreign Affairs to Viet Nam, the two countries announced, in a joint communiqué dated 29 July, that the idea of an informal meeting between the Cambodian factions had been accepted. The communiqué pointed out that the meeting should be held "on a footing of equality, without pre-conditions and without political labels", and that Viet Nam would be invited to participate at a later stage with other countries concerned. The text also indicated that Viet Nam had undertaken to give favourable consideration to this proposal.

In an explanatory note published on 28 September and circulated as General Assembly document A/42/593, the countries of ASEAN indicated that Viet Nam had confirmed that it was prepared to participate in that informal meeting, on the understanding that it would initially be between the Cambodian factions. We have also noted the position of the Phnom Penh authorities, who reported recently that they were prepared to discuss national reconciliation with Prince Norodom Sihanouk and his colleagues in the Coalition Government.

My delegation believes that these declarations of intent are a positive development. They are welcome to the extent that they proceed from a real desire to find a negotiated settlement and not from the hope of gaining any tactical advantage, which would be fatal and illusory. We are convinced that a just and lasting settlement of the Kampuchean question requires national reconciliation and

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that this cannot be achieved in the framework of a régime installed by force. It is for the Cambodian people, in the final analysis, to decide its own future freely and without any coercion or external interference.

It is also important not to lose sight of the fact that the withdrawal of foreign troops constitutes a fundamental aspect of any solution of this problem. Viet Nam affirms that it will proceed to a total withdrawal of its troops in 1990. It states, moreover, that it is prepared to advance the date of that withdrawal if there should be agreement on a political solution. But such an agreement cannot be achieved without Viet Nam. Therefore, we can only encourage Viet Nam to agree as soon as possible to participate in the proposed dialogue.

My delegation has read with interest the report of the Secretary-General on the Situation in Kampuchea (A/42/608). We note with satisfaction that, having defined the elements that could serve as a basis for a comprehensive political settlement of the problem, the Secretary-General is now addressing himself to the development of a scenario that would facilitate the implementation of these elements.

The Secretary-General points out in his report that this scenario must be in keeping with the fundamental principles of the United Nations Charter and must permit the Kampuchean people to decide its own fate. He adds that it must take into account the legitimate interests of all the parties. My Government therefore supports the efforts of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative, Mr. Rafeeuddin Ahmed. We again offer our congratulations and appreciation to the Secretary-General, a great messenger of peace, for all his efforts in seeking a solution to this problem. We also congratulate his Special Representative, Mr. Rafeeuddin Ahmed, on his discreet and effective work, with the dedicated assistance of Mr. Hedi Annabi.

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Meanwhile, the humanitarian assistance provided to Cambodian refugees by the United Nations and other governmental and non-governmental organizations remains indispensable. My delegation welcomes the excellent work of the United Nations in assisting these refugees and helping them to satisfy their basic needs. We also pay a tribute to Thailand for the humanitarian spirit it has shown in welcoming into its territory the some 270,000 Cambodian refugees residing in the camps near its border with Kampuchea.

As in previous years, in 1987 the Ad Hoc Committee of the International Conference on Kampuchea, over which my country has the honour to preside, carried out consultations with a number of the Governments concerned in fulfilment of the mandate entrusted to it by the Conference. The purpose of the consultations was to stress the continuing concern of the international community with regard to the question of Kampuchea and to rally the greatest possible support for efforts to settle this problem. The Committee reaffirmed that one of its principal objectives was to contribute to the opening of negotiations on the implementation of the Declaration adopted by the International Conference on Kampuchea. I wish to express here, on behalf of the members of the Ad Hoc Committee, our appreciation of the understanding and encouragement we were shown in the countries the Committee visited this year. I am happy to be able to stress also the usefulness of the talks that the members of the Committee had with Mr. Leopold Gratz, President of the International Conference on Kampuchea and to express our gratitude to him once again.

I draw the Assembly's attention to the annual report of the Ad Hoc Committee, in which the Committee reiterates its appeal to Member States which did not participate in the International Conference to co-operate in any suitable way with

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the efforts to achieve the goals of the Declaration on Kampuchea and the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly. It also appeals to all parties concerned to take specific steps to overcome the obstacles that still stand in the way of a truly constructive dialogue." (A/CONF.109/12, para. 29)

Senegal will continue to fulfil its obligations in the Ad Hoc Committee and to support all efforts likely to lead to a solution in keeping with the principles defined by the International Conference on Kampuchea and the General Assembly. My country is convinced that the true interests of all the parties to the conflict lie in the adoption of a negotiated settlement leading to the establishment of an independent, neutral and non-aligned Cambodia. Such a settlement would make it possible to create the conditions needed for peace and stability in South-East Asia and would respond to the deepest aspirations of all the peoples and States of the region.

After nine years of misunderstanding with the resultant useless suffering, it is high time to bring about an honourable peace. It is our duty and responsibility to assist the parties to the conflict to begin an open, sincere dialogue designed to leading to a just and lasting peace consistent with the purposes and principles of our Charter.

Draft resolution A/42/L.1, on which the General Assembly is asked to take a decision, fortunately contains all these fundamental objectives. It is in that spirit that my delegation has become one of the sponsors of the text, and we warmly recommend its adoption. My delegation is convinced that by voting for this draft resolution the Member States will, as in previous years, contribute to progress in the search for a solution based on dialogue and negotiation.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I now call on the Prime Minister of Democratic Kampuchea, Mr. Son Sann, who has expressed the wish to address the Assembly on the item under consideration.

Mr. Son Sann, Prime Minister of Democratic Kampuchea, was escorted to the rostrum.

Mr. SON SANN (Democratic Kampuchea) (interpretation from French): Today I once again have the great honour of delivering to the Assembly the message of His Royal Highness Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, President of Democratic Kampuchea, on agenda item 24, "The situation in Kampuchea", of the forty-second session of the General Assembly. The message is as follows:

"The fundamental importance of the debate on 'The situation in Kampuchea' which is starting today in our Assembly should be stressed. Every year, for the ninth year now, the debates have shed light on the intricacies of the war of aggression and occupation launched by Viet Nam against my country, Cambodia. They have given the international community a better understanding of the problem and led it to give increasingly firm and broad support to the valiant struggle for national survival waged by my people under the leadership of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea.

"Every year the resolution adopted at the end of the debate by an increasingly overwhelming majority reaffirms the determination of the international community to defend the sacred principles of the United Nations Charter concerning the maintenance of international peace and security, and not to allow any person or any country to interfere, under any pretext whatever, in the internal affairs of others, or to impose its diktat. Together with the sustained and favourable development of the struggle on the

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ground, those resolutions have greatly contributed to checking the Vietnamese allegations and manoeuvres aimed at making people accept its fait accompli in Cambodia.

"Those debates and resolutions have brought to light the repressive system installed in Phnom Penh, the scale and range of Vietnamese crimes against the Cambodian people, the devastation sown throughout the country and the installation of more than 700,000 Vietnamese settlers in place of Cambodians who were killed or expelled from their native villages and ancestral lands to make this possible. Those debates and resolutions have exposed to everyone the cynicism of the Hanoi leaders, who claim to behave as masters and to care for and determine the fate of the Cambodian people, while they can offer to the Vietnamese people only the choice between the misery of a hopeless life and the despair of "boat people". Finally, those debates and resolutions have stressed that the Vietnamese invasion and occupation have sharpened to the highest degree the anger of the exasperated Cambodian people and stepped up the irresistible dynamics of national resistance.

"As far as Viet Nam's security is concerned, it is obvious to everyone that international law and the United Nations Charter authorize no country to invade another for the so-called defence of its own security, and that the pretext given by Viet Nam for its invasion of Cambodia stems from the law of the jungle. Finally, who could still believe that small Cambodia could pose a threat to Viet Nam, which has 10 times its population and an army - ranked third in the world - of more than 1 million men, backed by 1.5 million others in paramilitary units.

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"Past and present experience indicates that it is rather Viet Nam which poses a threat, not only to the security but also to the very existence of Cambodia, through its annexation in the past of some 65,000 square kilometres of Lower Cambodia - Kampuchea Krom - which now forms present day south Viet Nam, and through its current occupation and Vietnamization of Cambodia.

"The clearest denial of the Vietnamese allegations comes precisely from the Hanoi leaders' rejection of all the relevant General Assembly resolutions, the many reasonable proposals put forward by the member countries of the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) and our generous eight-point peace proposal. In refusing every political solution proposed so far, the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam has maintained and increased the suspicion harboured by all countries in the region, while its political, social and economic situation continues to be aggravated to the great prejudice of its own people.

"It would gain everything if, instead, it accepted a political solution on the basis of the proposals reiterated time and again by the General Assembly. Instead of being denounced, condemned and put in the dock, as it is today and as it has been for almost nine years now, the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam would recover its prestige and win back the friendship and esteem of all the countries of the region, in particular the Asian countries and China. It would then be able to mobilize all its national resources and once again receive the international aid so necessary for the reconstruction of the country and the improvement of the Vietnamese people's standard of living. It would eliminate all the threats of which it claims to be the victim and pave the way for the prosperity of its people and the strengthening of its

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security. Why does the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam obstinately reject this proposal, which is quite favourable to it?

"This refusal on the part of the Hanoi leaders confirms that the real goal of their invasion and occupation of Cambodia is quite different; it is to achieve the 'Indo-China Federation' conceived, defined and built since 1930 by the Indo-Chinese Communist Party, alias the Vietnamese Communist Party. Profuse past and present evidence of that expansionist strategy, which I have time and again raised in the Assembly, shows that for more than half a century the Hanoi leaders have been unable to conceive of a unified Viet Nam without Laos and Cambodia. For them, the three countries must form only one country with one Communist party under Vietnamese leadership. They have already, in 1977, absorbed Laos through a so-called Treaty of Friendship and Co-operation, and abolished the borders between the two countries. Now the main problem for them is to consolidate at all costs their occupation of Cambodia, that is, to complete their 'Indo-China Federation', which is later to become Great Viet Nam - before, of course, pursuing their thrust forward, a task they have assigned to their country in its capacity as a socialist outpost in South-East Asia.

"Now that their allegations have failed to deceive anyone, now that they have to cope with inextricable and increasing difficulties in Cambodia and at home, and now that the international community has stepped up its calls on them to withdraw all their forces from Cambodia, to accept a negotiated solution to the problem of Kampuchea and allow genuine national reconciliation in Cambodia, the Hanoi leaders are changing their tactics. They want to present themselves as flexible and speak of 'annual partial withdrawal', of 'total withdrawal by 1990', of 'negotiations', of a 'political solution', and

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of 'national reconciliation'. But all these formulae, which appear to be in line with the demands of the international community, are actually just traps and tricks.

"I should like to point out the following. Nobody any longer believes in the alleged partial withdrawals of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia, particularly since the national resistance forces keep intensifying their attacks throughout the country and expanding the liberated areas. The many Vietnamese soldiers who have deserted and surrendered to our forces or taken refuge in Thailand have confessed that they were forcibly enlisted quite recently and sent to Cambodia after so-called annual partial withdrawals.

"Nevertheless, some people still seem ready to lend an ear to the Vietnamese jingle of total withdrawal by 1990, mainly because it has a refrain according to which, though Vietnamese forces have in the past come to Cambodia several times, they have always withdrawn from its territory. Viet Nam has indeed invaded Cambodia several times with the purpose of annexing it completely, but every time its expansionist venture has failed.

"History shows that Viet Nam's ambition to annex Cambodia dates back several centuries, long before the 'Indo-China Federation' strategy, and that Viet Nam will withdraw from Cambodia only if it is forced to do so by the resolute struggle of the Cambodian people and persistent pressure from the international community. Moreover, who can believe that Viet Nam will of its own free will withdraw all its forces by 1990, while in the mean time the puppet Phnom Penh régime, fully backed by Vietnamese forces, keeps disintegrating year after year? Who can believe Viet Nam's propaganda while its protector, the Soviet Union, keeps increasing its military aid to enable

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it to consolidate its occupation of Cambodia? All this shows that the Vietnamese jingle of total withdrawal by 1990 aims only at deceiving the world community, so as to tone down its condemnation of Viet Nam.

"The Hanoi leaders propose several kinds of 'negotiations', all of them quite artful. They propose 'negotiations' between what they call 'the three Indo-Chinese countries' - that is, including the puppet Phnom Penh régime - and the ASEAN countries; between Viet Nam and the ASEAN countries or China; and among Cambodians, that is, between the puppet Phnom Penh régime and three or so components of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea.

"However, they reject the only negotiations that would be positive - negotiations between Viet Nam and the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, the legal representative of Cambodia and its people, the victims of their aggression. Therefore the 'negotiations' proposed by Hanoi aim only at disguising the problem of the Vietnamese occupation of Kampuchea as an internal problem of civil war, imposing a de facto recognition of the puppet régime it installed by force in Phnom Penh, dismantling the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, and invalidating all the relevant United Nations resolutions on Kampuchea, thus putting an end to any support for our struggle for national liberation and, at the same time, to any international pressure on Viet Nam. This only attests to the fact that for Viet Nam camouflage of its expansionist strategy has become a diplomatic principle.

"Finally, the Vietnamese proposal of 'national reconciliation' within the framework of the puppet Phnom Penh régime would mean nothing other than the surrender of the national resistance forces and the renunciation by our Coalition Government of its legality and legitimacy in favour of the puppet

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régime of Phnom Penh. Viet Nam is really inviting us to forgo our respect for international law and the United Nations Charter.

"In fact, all these proposals on the part of the Hanoi leaders are only flowers of rhetoric, used in order to avoid tackling the very essence of the problem of Kampuchea, namely, exercise by the Cambodian people of their sacred right to self-determination and the restoration of Cambodia's independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, neutrality and non-aligned status. Their sham flexibility actually aims at covering up the immutability of their position, which is obstinately to pursue their 'Indo-China Federation' strategy or allegedly to 'resolve' the problem of Kampuchea according to Vietnamese conditions, through international acceptance of an 'Indo-China Federation'.

"Viet Nam's fundamental position may remain unchanged, but the struggle of the people of Kampuchea and their national resistance forces has consistently maintained its momentum and is today irreversible. The entire Cambodian people and an ever increasing number of soldiers and civil servants of the puppet régime are taking part in all forms of common struggle against the Vietnamese occupiers.

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"Thanks to the omnipresence of our national liberation forces, the enemy can no longer forcibly enlist at will enough Khmer soldiers into the puppet army or round up enough people for paramilitary forced labour within the framework of its K-5 plan; nor can it loot enough rice to feed its soldiers. Human, economic and material sources of supply for its occupying forces keep drying up as the net of our war of national resistance becomes tighter. Moreover, the puppet Phnom Penh army, on which the Vietnamese occupiers set all their hope for later relief, keeps collapsing as a result of desertions, to the extent of 80 per cent of the soldiers in some units. After having endured almost a decade of Vietnamese oppression and crimes, the population, whether in the liberated areas or in temporarily enemy-controlled areas, joins in the struggle, provides our national resistance forces with political, moral and material support, supplies them with food, sends their children to join the ranks of the national resistance forces and takes part, body and soul, in the common struggle for national survival. Our national resistance forces are digging their roots deeper among the entire people and spreading them all over the country. Of course, Viet Nam can still maintain its forces in some parts of Cambodia, but it cannot conquer the hearts of the Cambodian people.

"The morale of the Vietnamese soldiers in Cambodia is constantly declining and 'the fear of Cambodia' is spreading in Viet Nam, where well-known inextricable difficulties continue to increase in every field. In addition to Soviet aid, at least 50 per cent of Viet Nam's national budget is earmarked for the military. According to the report of the International Monetary Fund of 1 April 1987, Viet Nam's debt amounts to \$US 8.1 billion and its currency reserve to only \$US 17 million. Ten years after liberation, far

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from being the promised paradise, Viet Nam has become the fourth poorest country in the world. The first step towards freeing itself from these difficulties is undoubtedly the withdrawal of its expeditionary army from Cambodia.

"The past nine years of the Vietnamese war of aggression against and occupation of Cambodia have shown clearly that time is not on the side of Viet Nam.

"The Hanoi leaders themselves implicitly recognize that the situation in Kampuchea has developed to the detriment of their people and country. While in 1979 they denied that there was any problem of Kampuchea, today they are obliged to recognize its existence. However, they still refuse to admit that this problem was triggered by their invasion and occupation of Cambodia and that consequently the problem can be resolved only by the withdrawal of all their forces from Cambodia. It is that obstinate refusal to accept this essential fact that continues to block any process towards a political solution to the problem of Kampuchea and the elimination of the threat to peace, security and stability in South-East Asia.

"Our eight-point proposal effectively addresses the root cause of the problem. In inviting the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to enter into negotiations with the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea on the total withdrawal of its occupation forces from Cambodia, we call upon it to tackle with us the very root of the problem, for constructive negotiations can be conducted only between the aggressor and his victim.

"It is essential to stress that Cambodia's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity are not negotiable and that the problem of Kampuchea can be resolved only with the total and unconditional withdrawal of Vietnamese

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forces from Cambodia. In my message of 28 September during the general debate in this Assembly I had the opportunity to point out that Viet Nam, as the aggressor, had no right whatsoever to impose conditions on and dictate its law to the Cambodian people and their legal and legitimate representative, our Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, and that the exercise by the Cambodian people, of its right to self-determination and national reconciliation could not be achieved while Vietnamese forces were present in Cambodia.

"Yet, our eight-point peace proposal offers to Viet Nam a very important concession on this principle. After the first phase of the total withdrawal of Vietnamese forces we would agree that the Heng Samrin puppet group installed by Viet Nam should participate on an equal footing in our Government, which would then become a quadripartite coalition Government of Kampuchea, and would organize free general elections under United Nations supervision, after the total withdrawal of Vietnamese forces. In other words, even before that total withdrawal, we would accept national reconciliation between all Cambodians, regardless of their past and their political persuasion. This attests to our sincere desire to arrive at a political solution as rapidly as possible. Despite the fact that in the past Viet Nam has never kept its promises, even the most solemn ones, we will trust it once more if it agrees to sign with us an agreement on the total withdrawal of its forces within a definite time-frame and under United Nations supervision. It is therefore clear that national reconciliation is not the root cause of the

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problem of Kampuchea. That problem will be resolved immediately as soon as Viet Nam ends its military presence in Cambodia.

"In obstinately insisting on the resolution of the question of national reconciliation prior to the total withdrawal of its forces, Viet Nam is putting the cart before the horse, demonstrating obvious dishonesty and unmasking the true objective of its proposals for negotiations on national reconciliation, which in fact are aimed at maintaining for ever its occupation of Cambodia.

"The Soviet Union's responsibility in the search for a political settlement of the problem of Kampuchea need not be stressed, for the Soviet Union holds the very important control levers without which Viet Nam could not persist in its occupation of Cambodia. Some people had hoped that the Soviet Union would try to persuade Viet Nam to withdraw from Cambodia. Unfortunately those hopes vanished in the wake of the peregrinations of the Soviet Foreign Minister in South-East Asia in March 1987 and the recent participation in the meeting of the so-called three Indo-Chinese States held in Phnom Penh last August in order to concoct the manoeuvre on so-called national reconciliation. Instead of trying to persuade Viet Nam to give up its policy of regional expansion, the Soviet Union comes to the rescue of Viet Nam only so that it can consolidate its occupation of Cambodia and the Vietnamese 'Indo-China Federation'. Soviet acts remind us all that Viet Nam and the Soviet Union are linked by the same ideology and by an alliance closely woven by many military, political and economic treaties and agreements. In exchange for this huge aid the Soviet Union has obtained from Viet Nam military bases in Cam Ranh and Danang, its first warm-water sea ports, which are so necessary

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to its global expansionist strategy. That strategy squares with the regional expansionist strategy of Viet Nam. For the Soviet Union, supporting the Vietnamese occupation in Cambodia means consolidating its thrust in South-East Asia and extending its influence over the South Pacific and the Indian Ocean.

"In so doing the Soviet Union confirms its own global expansionist strategy and contradicts Mr. Gorbachev's statement in Vladivostok in July 1986. By stopping aid to Viet Nam the Soviet Union would give proof of the sincerity of that statement, gain the friendship of all countries in the region and enhance its economic, political and diplomatic interests there. Glasnost in foreign policy would stem no longer from mere rhetoric but from a genuine willingness by the Soviet Union to ensure peace, security and stability in the region and in the world. Unfortunately, facts have shown that behind statements by the Soviet Union claiming that it is flexible, its position, like that of Viet Nam, remains unchanged.

"Our Coalition Government avails itself of this opportunity once again to appeal solemnly to the Soviet Union, in its capacity as a permanent member of the Security Council, to make the contribution expected of it by the international community to the political solution of the problem of Kampuchea on the basis of the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and our eight-point proposal.

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"Once again, I declare, on behalf of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, that we always stand ready to enter any time into loyal and sincere negotiations with the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to put an end to this war, which has lasted too long and sown too much suffering, misery and ruin for our two peoples and countries, and to ensure at last peace, security and stability in South-East Asia and Asia-Pacific. Our present struggle, which is imposed upon us by Viet Nam, aims only at achieving this objective.

"It is a sacred right and a patriotic duty for all Cambodians, whoever they may be, to pursue their struggle, in an ever closer national unity, by all means until Viet Nam withdraws from Cambodia. The Vietnamese people have exercised this right and this duty for the liberation of their own country, as is the case of all peoples the world over to free themselves or to defend their freedom and independence. No one - let alone Viet Nam and the Soviet Union, the aggressor and its major protector - can deny this right and this duty to the Cambodians, whoever they may be, all the more so since our struggle, beyond the liberation and defence of our motherland, also contributes to the defence of peace, security and stability of all countries in the region.

"History and geography have placed us in the path of Vietnamese expansionism. Our neighbour to the west, the Kingdom of Thailand, is already the victim every year of repeated violations of its sovereignty and territorial integrity committed by this expansionism. Several Thai civilians and soldiers have already shed their blood to defend their nation. This is obvious proof that, if we allow Vietnamese expansionism to annex Cambodia, it will not fail to pursue its thrust further. Joining its strategy of domination with that of the Soviet Union, it will become ever more powerful

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and arrogant, and nothing then will be able to stop it. It is therefore of paramount importance to act so that all Vietnamese forces withdraw unconditionally from Cambodia.

"The overwhelming majority of the international community is perfectly aware of the stake of the tragedy of which my country, Cambodia, is the victim. It has always granted us noble and invaluable assistance of various kinds, without which our struggle could not have achieved such a favourable development.

"I am pleased on this occasion to renew, on behalf of the Cambodian people and our Coalition Government, and on my own behalf, our deepest gratitude to all the peace- and justice-loving countries, peoples and individuals who, through their various activities here and elsewhere, have granted us their noble and invaluable support in this most tragic hour of our history.

"We renew our most profound gratitude to the countries of the Association of South-East Asian Nations which, since the very beginning, have constantly displayed their sincere will to defend in every way Cambodia's independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, neutrality and non-aligned status, as well as the peace and security of our region and those of Asia and the Pacific. We assure them of our determination to continue to be worthy of their confidence and to strengthen at all times our friendly and fraternal relations.

"In particular, we express our deepest gratitude to our neighbour, the Kingdom of Thailand which, despite the pressures, intimidations and violations of its territory, and the crimes committed by Viet Nam against its people, has always welcomed with exemplary generosity and compassion several hundreds of thousands of our unfortunate compatriots fleeing death and repression sown by

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the Vietnamese occupiers. We are determined to do our utmost to see to it that the cordial and fraternal bonds which have so happily developed between our two peoples, countries and Governments through the many trials of these past nine years are strengthened - peoples already very close by the similarity of their cultures, civilizations, languages, ways and customs.

"We also reiterate our most profound and sincere gratitude to the People's Republic of China and its great people, with whom we have always entertained excellent cordial relations, for their unconditional and constant aid and support of all kinds that have greatly contributed to keeping in check the annexation of Cambodia into the Vietnamese 'Indo-China Federation' and to halting the Vietnamese expansionist thrust in South-East Asia. The People's Republic of China has constantly given proof of its sincere willingness to defend everywhere the independence and well-being of peoples and nations and world peace and security.

"I would also like to express our profound gratitude to all the countries that have been willing to welcome several hundreds of thousands of Cambodian refugees, to all the donor countries, in particular the United States, and to all international organizations, be they of the United Nations system, public or private, all of which, prompted by noble and generous humanitarian sentiments, have constantly worked to save lives and to relieve the sufferings of our unfortunate people.

"I am particularly pleased once again to pay the warmest tribute to our eminent Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, for his deep understanding of and sympathy with our unfortunate people and country, as well as for his dedicated efforts and commendable initiatives with a view to bringing a just and durable political solution to the problem of Kampuchea

(Mr. Son Sann, Democratic Kampuchea)

within the framework of his mandate. We assure him of our constant confidence in him, as well as of our deep appreciation for his noble activities and those of his distinguished associates.

"Lastly, I am very pleased to renew, from the bottom of my heart, our deep appreciation and sincere thanks to Mr. Leopold Gratz, President of the International Conference on Kampuchea, and to Ambassador Massamba Sarré and all the other members of the Ad Hoc Committee of the Conference, for their constructive work which has much contributed to increasing and strengthening international support for our struggle.

"In every country there is a proverb akin to 'a friend in need is a friend indeed'. In fact, if the Cambodian people have been able to endure for nine years now untold sorrow and suffering it is because they have found everywhere in the world innumerable sincere and generous friends. It is this constant support they have been receiving from all their friends that has allowed them not only to resist successfully the Vietnamese occupiers but also to ensure the survival of their nation and the defence of their national identity. However, we are all aware that if our struggle has scored favourable developments in all fields, there yet remains a long, difficult and complex way to go. We call on all our friends to maintain their support for our struggle and not to ease either their vigilance on the enemy's manoeuvres or their pressure on Viet Nam until it accepts to withdraw totally and unconditionally from Cambodia.

"With that in mind, I have the honour to appeal to our Assembly, to all representatives of friendly countries and countries that cherish freedom, justice and peace to support draft resolution A/42/L.1, sponsored by 63 countries, and approve it even more overwhelmingly than was the case last

(Mr. Son Sann, Democratic Kampuchea)

year. This draft resolution, identical to those adopted every year for the past eight years by our Assembly, stipulates all the fundamental principles and offers a reasonable framework for a just and durable solution to the problem of Kampuchea - a problem that can be resolved only with the total withdrawal of Vietnamese forces, the exercise by the people of Kampuchea of their inalienable right to self-determination through general and free elections, under United Nations supervision, and the United Nations guaranteeing an independent and a peaceful, neutral and non-aligned Cambodia within its territorial integrity.

"The question facing our Assembly is whether or not Viet Nam is willing in good faith to accept a resolution to the problem of Kampuchea on the basis of the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly on Kampuchea.

"For all those reasons, I ask that the Assembly adopt draft resolution A/42/L.1 as submitted. Overwhelming support for this draft resolution will remind Viet Nam that its manoeuvres, traps and tricks cannot deceive anyone, and that the time has come for it to enter into sincere negotiations with the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea on the total withdrawal of its occupation forces from Kampuchea, and on a just and durable political solution to the problem of Kampuchea. On behalf of the people of Kampuchea, and the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, and on my own behalf, I extend our profound and sincere gratitude to all countries that will provide noble and invaluable support for this draft resolution."

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I thank the Prime Minister of Democratic Kampuchea for his statement.

Mr. Son Sann, Prime Minister of Democratic Kampuchea was escorted from the rostrum.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I call on the representative of Thailand, who will introduce draft resolution A/42/L.1.

Mr. KASEMSRI (Thailand): The situation in Kampuchea has remained basically the same during the past year. The Vietnamese occupation forces continue to prop up the puppet régime installed by them in Phnom Penh. Kampuchean resistance under the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, headed by Prince Norodom Sihanouk, is still engaged in the struggle to liberate Kampuchea. A virtual military stalemate exists, thanks to the growing effectiveness and popular acceptance of the resistance forces. The programme of resettlement of Vietnamese in some of the most fertile parts of Kampuchea is being pursued in earnest with no less determination than before. Deprivation of the fundamental right to self-determination is the people's lot, as well as other privations that are usually found in an occupied country.

The war of Vietnamese aggression and occupation is spreading a pall of misery among the Kampucheans and to the neighbouring countries, including Viet Nam itself. While the war is an economic drain on Viet Nam's resources and a waste of the assistance given Viet Nam by its friends and allies, it is also imposing a humanitarian burden on Kampuchea's neighbours, including Thailand, and on the international community at large.

Viet Nam's position on the Kampuchean issue is basically unchanged. Viet Nam still claims that its troops remain in Kampuchea at the request of the régime installed by it, that the situation in Kampuchea is irreversible and that the only problem is the external threats against the said régime.

Vietnamese actions in Kampuchea have found no justification under either the United Nations Charter or international law. That is why this Assembly has year after year adopted a resolution condemning such actions and demanding the total withdrawal of all troops from Kampuchea in order to permit the Kampuchean people

(Mr. Kasemsri, Thailand)

to exercise their right to self-determination. Thailand, together with the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN), takes a principled stand in support of the General Assembly resolutions and a comprehensive political settlement of the conflict.

It is against this backdrop that Viet Nam's avowed intention to withdraw its forces by 1990 must be examined. It is against the same backdrop that the recent diplomatic efforts by the ASEAN countries have to be assessed. It is against this basic backdrop that Viet Nam's recent manoeuvres and pronouncements are to be weighed.

The generally accepted principles have not changed. They are the complete withdrawal of foreign forces from Kampuchea and the exercise of self-determination by the Kampuchean people. That is what the Kampucheans want; and this is what the General Assembly, by an ever increasing margin, demands.

Viet Nam has announced its intention to withdraw its forces from Kampuchea by 1990 provided that the puppet régime in Phnom Penh is securely in power. Should any advantage be taken of such withdrawal or should the puppet régime request otherwise, Viet Nam would apparently decide to prolong its occupation of Kampuchea. Viet Nam earlier claimed, after a sham election, that the Kampuchean people had already exercised their right to self-determination. Now it speaks of national reconciliation in a way that makes a mockery of genuine self-determination in Kampuchea. In an effort to make its puppet régime secure, it has also made national reconciliation a pre-condition of the withdrawal of its troops from Kampuchea.

The Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, on the other hand, has made some major concessions in its eight-point proposal, particularly in its willingness to agree to a two-phase withdrawal of Vietnamese forces and to negotiations with

(Mr. Kasemsri, Thailand)

the Phnom Penh régime with a view to forming a quadripartite Government. After the total withdrawal of Vietnamese troops, national elections would be held under international supervision.

The ASEAN countries have supported the eight-point proposal of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea. They have further proposed an informal gathering of the four Kampuchean factions in order to initiate a dialogue, in which Viet Nam will then join. It is hoped that this dialogue will lead to negotiations on the basis of elements of the eight-point proposal which are generally recognized to be reasonable and constructive.

Viet Nam then launched an intensive campaign to confuse the situation. First, it claimed that there was an agreement between ASEAN and the Indo-Chinese countries, when none exists. Indeed, if there was any encouraging sign it was the understanding that all the Kampuchean parties and Viet Nam should meet at an informal gathering, in view of the fact that no solution to the Kampuchean problem can be found without the participation of Kampuchea and of Viet Nam.

Then Viet Nam proceeded to set some impossible conditions, such as the participation of Thailand and another country in the informal gathering, when the world knows that the parties directly involved in the conflict are Viet Nam, the aggressor, and Kampuchea, the victim.

Moreover, there are efforts to link the Kampuchea problem to other unrelated issues in South-East Asia. Most recently, Viet Nam has been referring to "the Kampuchean-South-East-Asian problem". It persists in arrogating to itself the role of spokesman for the so-called Indo-Chinese countries. The latest occasion was when it launched a tirade against Singapore, unjustly accusing the latter of pursuing "a most erroneous policy" in its relations with the Indo-Chinese countries.

(Mr. Kasemsri, Thailand)

Furthermore, Viet Nam has once again announced its annual withdrawal of troops from Kampuchea. It has also tendered invitations to many countries to send observers to witness this annual charade. Having unilaterally claimed that such was proposed by Indonesia, it hoped to enhance its credibility. In this connection, the Indonesian Foreign Minister said in a recent interview:

"In my talks with Foreign Minister Co Thach at Ho Chi Minh City, I have indeed tried to ascertain Viet Nam's view with regard to the idea of a partial withdrawal of its troops from Kampuchea ... This issue ... however, was clearly put within the framework of the possible elements for a comprehensive solution of the Kampuchean problem and not in the context of the partial troop withdrawal which Viet Nam claims has taken place each year ... Until my departure from Ho Chi Minh City there was no agreement on this question. The Vietnamese themselves asked me to keep this part of our talks confidential ... I am rather surprised, therefore, that the Vietnamese themselves are now publicizing this issue and depicting it as an Indonesian proposal within an entirely different context ... Such purported withdrawals could well be mere troop rotations."

(Mr. Kasemsri, Thailand)

The General Assembly should reject such subterfuge. The conflict in Kampuchea has cost too many lives in Kampuchea, as well as in neighbouring Thailand on account of frequent Vietnamese incursions and shellings into Thai territory. It has caused untold suffering to hundreds of thousands of Kampuchean civilians who have sought temporary refuge in Thailand. It has brought hardship and misery to Kampuchean and Vietnamese people alike. It has witnessed too many strange and tragic ironies, such as: the fourth poorest country in the world maintaining the third largest number of armed forces in the world; the unmitigated horrors of a Kampuchean brand of Maoism being succeeded by the unrelenting abominations of the Vietnamese brand of neo-colonialism; and the impoverishment of aggressor and victim alike by the terrible conflict.

The situation in Kampuchea also affects peace and stability in South-East Asia, as well as internationally. It is the source of the greatest tension and an obstacle to peaceful co-operation among all countries in South-East Asia.

In his statement on 7 October 1987 before the Assembly my Prime Minister said: "It is iniquitous that this tragedy of untold suffering has been allowed to be prolonged. Actions leading to a just and lasting solution should and must be taken without undue delay. Everybody must lend a hand.

"Only after Kampuchea has regained its sovereignty and independence will that part of South-East Asia be able to turn swords into ploughshares. Only then will the countries of the area be able to reconstruct their shattered economies. Then, and only then, will their peoples be able to enjoy the benefits of peace that are taken for granted elsewhere. Then, too, will the rest of us in South-East Asia be able to realize our full potential as a part of the rapidly developing Pacific Basin. Together we can give meaning to Pacific dynamism, which can impart great benefit not only to this region but also to the world at large." (A/42/PV.28, p.7)

(Mr. Kasemsri, Thailand)

The Kampuchean conflict must be brought to a just end. To achieve that, Viet Nam must come to the negotiating table without any prevarication or pre-condition. To facilitate that, the international community must be steadfast in its support of principles and of the Kampuchean cause.

It is against this backdrop that the General Assembly is being asked once again to consider its action on the Kampuchean issue.

The General Assembly has before it draft resolution A/42/L.1, which is sponsored by 63 Member States and the following additional co-sponsors: Dominica, the Dominican Republic, Gabon, Luxembourg and Sudan.

The draft resolution reaffirms previous General Assembly resolutions and that "the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea, the restoration and preservation of its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, the right of the Kampuchean people to determine their own destiny and the commitment by all States to non-interference and non-intervention in the internal affairs of Kampuchea are the principle components of any just and lasting resolution of the Kampuchean problem".

It also reiterates the Assembly's deep appreciation of the important roles of the Secretary-General and the Ad Hoc Committee of the International Conference on Kampuchea, while taking note of their reports in documents A/42/608 and A/CONF.109/12 respectively.

On behalf of the sponsors, I request every delegation to vote in support of draft resolution A/42/L.1.

Mr. NOORANI (Pakistan): The subject under consideration evokes deep feelings in the world community because it involves a double tragedy. It is a tragedy of Kampuchea subjected to repression and suffering by Vietnamese occupation, but, in the classical sense, it is also the tragedy of Viet Nam, a

(Mr. Noorani, Pakistan)

country itself the victim of foreign intervention which has now become the perpetrator of intervention in Kampuchea.

This debate on the tragic situation in Kampuchea is a reminder to us of the suffering caused to the Khmer people by continuing foreign military intervention in its country in flagrant violation of the principles of the United Nations Charter and well-established norms of inter-State conduct. Kampuchea offers yet another lesson in our time that foreign military intervention can never subjugate a people resolved to defend its freedom; nor can the international community acquiesce in the violation of international principles, regardless of the pretext or the origin of the military intervention.

The crux of the problem in Kampuchea is the presence of Vietnamese forces in that country against the wishes of its people. The claim that this intervention was undertaken to deliver the Kampuchean people from a repressive régime is repudiated by the nine years of suffering, death and destruction which followed the introduction of foreign troops. There are no military interventions motivated by compassion. Such doctrines stand discredited. Intervention by whatever means in the internal affairs of States is outlawed by the Charter and cannot be justified on any grounds or in any circumstances.

We are following with great interest the efforts to bring about a just and durable political solution of the Kampuchean problem. There are the endeavours of the countries of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) and the efforts of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative, Mr. Rafeeuddin Ahmad, which we view with great appreciation and fully support. The United Nations can help in the evolution of a just settlement and in the strengthening of peace once such a settlement materializes.

(Mr. Noorani, Pakistan)

The important eight-point proposal put forward by Prince Norodom Sihanouk in his latest moves to bring together the various Kampuchean parties encourages hope. The proposal makes an offer to all factions to join in a broad coalition and proclaims a neutral, non-aligned Kampuchea which would pursue a policy of peaceful coexistence with its neighbours. However, progress towards those objectives depends on one paramount requirement, namely, that Viet Nam should agree to a definite period of time for withdrawal of its forces, under United Nations supervision.

The logic of that pre-condition is unassailable: there cannot be reconciliation under the shadow of foreign military forces. A political fusion achieved under pressure of a foreign military presence would be artificial and temporary. This Assembly of nations is committed to the principles of the Charter and cannot sanction the use of coercion to subdue a people. If the rationale of reconciliation prior to withdrawal is conceded, it will set an ominous precedent for the future, allowing every aggressor to dictate terms for ending its intervention.

Accordingly, while the moves towards reconciliation and the initiatives for negotiation and dialogue among the Kampuchean parties need to be encouraged, they should not divert attention from the key issue of withdrawal. Efforts to transform and portray the Kampuchean problem as an internal one of civil war or to demand reconciliation as a pre-condition for the setting of a date for the withdrawal of foreign forces must therefore be firmly rejected. Peace and tranquillity can be restored to Kampuchea only with the termination of foreign military intervention.

We fully agree with the important observation in paragraph 22 of the Secretary-General's report (A/42/608) of 6 October 1987 that any elements acceptable as a basis for promoting a settlement "... would, of necessity, have to

(Mr. Noorani, Pakistan)

be consistent with the fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations and enable the Kampuchean people to determine their own destiny."

The United Nations can play a critical role in facilitating the attainment of a settlement consistent with principle. Besides this political role, the United Nations is engaged in a massive effort to alleviate the sufferings of the Kampuchean people, hundreds of thousands of whom are languishing in camps facing the rigours and hardships of a long exile. The Secretary-General's report presents a disturbing picture and points to the possibility of a severe food shortage in the country. The United Nations and international humanitarian agencies, which are doing commendable relief work, will need to mobilize a major effort in Kampuchea to prevent a further aggravation of the vast humanitarian problem that already exists.

An independent and peaceful Kampuchea is a sine qua non for the peace and stability of South-East Asia. The vision of a zone of peace in South-East Asia espoused by the peoples of that region cannot be realized unless the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of each country is fully respected. An early settlement of the Kampuchean problem, consistent with principle, will undoubtedly achieve progress towards that goal.

Pakistan has consistently defended principles wherever they have been violated; this is borne out once again by our position on Kampuchea. I should like to reaffirm our solidarity with the Kampuchean people and commit our support to the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea in its legitimate struggle to free its country from foreign domination.

I wish to avail myself of this opportunity to pay warm tribute to the dedicated leadership of Prince Norodom Sihanouk and his efforts for the freedom and rehabilitation of the Khmer people and to bring peace and harmony to his country. He has always been a rallying personality for his people. The reminiscences of a

(Mr. Noorani, Pakistan)

happy and self-reliant Kampuchea when he was at the helm of affairs in his country still live in our memory. We are confident that the Kampuchean people's struggle under his leadership will soon triumph and that Kampuchea will re-emerge as an independent, dynamic and prosperous nation.

Mr. NGUYEN DY NIEN (Viet Nam): With the consent of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, we have decided to take part in the debate at this session of the General Assembly on the agenda item entitled "The situation in Kampuchea".

As everyone knows the agenda item entitled "The situation in Kampuchea" has been considered by the General Assembly since 1979. During that period the same resolution has been adopted every year. In the course of the past eight years this resolution has not only failed to help settle the Kampuchean issue but has even compounded the stalemate on this problem. That derives from the fact that the resolution reflects an altogether biased and unfair approach removed from the real situation in Kampuchea and South-East Asia and tends to impose the views of one side on the other. That results in further tension and confrontation.

It is now widely acknowledged that two fundamental factors are inherent in a settlement of the Kampuchean problem, namely, the withdrawal of the Vietnamese volunteer forces from Kampuchea and prevention of the return of the Pol Pot régime, which would mean renewed genocide in that country.

The aforementioned resolution limits itself to demanding that Viet Nam withdraw its volunteer forces, which were sent to Kampuchea at the request of the people and the United National Front for the Salvation of Kampuchea - which later became the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, after general elections - so as to save a whole nation from the scourge of a universally condemned genocide, and fails to devise measures that would ensure the non-return

(Mr. Nguyen Dy Nien, Viet Nam)

of the genocidal Pol Pot régime. Far from doing so, it even grants recognition to a sanguinary régime that is guilty of the death of millions of Kampucheans and is at present hiding under cover of the so-called Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea. That is the reason why this Organization's resolution on Kampuchea has to this day remained without effect.

(Mr. Nguyen Dy Nien, Viet Nam)

The world is witnessing a mounting trend of dialogue aimed at resolving disputes and conflicts, at both the global and the regional levels. In South-East Asia itself, after eight years of tension and confrontation, an encouraging evolution towards dialogue is under way, aimed at finding a political solution to the issues of Kampuchea and regional peace and stability.

Recently, a number of developments have attracted particular attention by world opinion. The Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and the People's Republic of Kampuchea, with the full support of the Lao People's Democratic Republic, have decided, after undertaking consultations, to invite foreign observers to attend the sixth partial withdrawal of Vietnamese volunteer forces from Kampuchea, to take place in November in the framework of the overall annual withdrawal plan, which was started in 1982, which is to lead ultimately to a total withdrawal by 1990, as solemnly proclaimed before the world by the three Indo-chinese countries on many occasions. Another development is the agreement reached in Ho Chi Minh City on 29 July 1987 between the Foreign Ministers of Indonesia and Viet Nam, representing respectively the members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) and the three Indo-chinese countries, on the holding of a two-stage "cocktail party". Public opinion has also noted with great interest the 28 August 1987 declaration of the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea on its policy of national reconciliation, and the 18 September 1987 initiative of Prince Norodom Sihanouk concerning a meeting of the Kampuchean parties, without pre-conditions.

An event of major significance was the declaration made on 8 October 1987 by the People's Republic of Kampuchea, which presents in a comprehensive manner its fair and reasonable position and proposals on a political solution to the Kampuchean problem in both its internal and its international aspects, which would contribute to peace and stability in South-East Asia. The main contents of that declaration are as follows.

(Mr. Nguyen Dy Nien, Viet Nam)

First, implementing its policy of national reconciliation, the People's Republic of Kampuchea is prepared to meet with Samdech Sihanouk as well as with leaders of other opposition groups in order to undertake discussions on a peaceful solution to the Kampuchean problem and on national reconciliation. For the sake of the nation's supreme interests, the People's Republic of Kampuchea is ready to entrust Samdech Sihanouk with a high position in the State-leading apparatus in accordance with his contribution to peace, national reconciliation and national independence. The People's Republic of Kampuchea welcomes individuals and groups in the opposition - except Pol Pot and some of his close associates - who wish to return to take part in national reconstruction.

Secondly, the complete withdrawal of the Vietnamese volunteer army from Kampuchea will be paired with the end of the supply of aid and the use of foreign territories against the People's Republic of Kampuchea as well as the cessation of all types of intervention against Kampuchea.

Thirdly, following the withdrawal of the Vietnamese army from Kampuchea, general elections will be held, with foreign supervision, after which a coalition Government will be set up to build a peaceful, independent, democratic, neutral and non-aligned Kampuchea, having friendly relations with its neighbours and with all countries in the world.

Fourthly, the People's Republic of Kampuchea calls for direct or indirect talks aimed at making the Kampuchea-Thailand border a border of peace and friendship on the basis of modalities agreed upon by both sides, including international control and supervision. With regard to the humanitarian issue of refugees, the People's Republic of Kampuchea is prepared to have talks with international humanitarian organizations and parties concerned on the orderly, organized and voluntary repatriation of the Kampuchean refugees currently living in refugee camps inside Thailand.

(Mr. Nguyen Dy Nien, Viet Nam)

Fifthly, in order to guarantee the agreements reached, the independence of Kampuchea and peace in South-East Asia, an international conference will be convened in which will take part the two opposing Kampuchean sides, the countries of Indo-China, the members of ASEAN, the Soviet Union, China, India, France, the United States of America, the United Kingdom and other countries which have contributed to the peaceful solution of the Kampuchean problem and to peace in South-East Asia.

Following its earlier declarations on its policy of national reconciliation and its readiness to take part in a meeting between the Kampuchean parties, the People's Republic of Kampuchea's latest declaration provides further evidence of its just position and goodwill, and its genuine wish to seek a just and equitable peaceful settlement of the questions of Kampuchea and South-East Asia with a view to contributing to peace, stability and co-operation in the region. It creates a firm basis for a comprehensive political settlement of the Kampuchean issue that would ensure the Kampuchean people's supreme interests, take into account the legitimate interests of the parties concerned, and lead to the establishment of a framework for peaceful coexistence in South-East Asia.

True to its foreign policy of peace, Viet Nam has done and will do its utmost, together with other countries concerned, to reach a just and equitable solution to the Kampuchean question in the interest of peace and stability in South-East Asia. We hold in high regard, and fully support, the just position and goodwill of the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, as embodied in the 8 October declaration. We hope the parties concerned will respond positively to that proposal.

(Mr. Nguyen Dy Nien, Viet Nam)

These developments are breaking the stalemate that has lasted for the past eight years. These events have been particularly appreciated by broad sectors of public opinion, which find in them a source of hope for the initiation of the process of resolving the issues of Kampuchea and peace and stability in South-East Asia in keeping with the common trend in the world. If the Kampuchean sides are determined to sit down together and talk, no foreign country can prevent them from doing so. The situation is at present rapidly changing. Several prospects have been opened along the correct path: that of a political solution of the issues of Kampuchea and peace and stability in South-East Asia.

In view of that situation, anyone wishing to play a role in that solution needs to adopt an attitude and take action in line with the common trend. The time has come for the countries of South-East Asia to join efforts in dispelling the dark clouds that have cast a shadow on relations between the two groups of countries in the region and to direct those efforts to the purpose of addressing broader and more realistic issues and fostering the development of each South-East Asian country and co-operation, in peaceful coexistence, among themselves.

(Mr. Nguyen Dy Nien, Viet Nam)

In the face of the new development of the situation in Kampuchea and South-East Asia, three options are available. The first option is to maintain the same resolution - the one that is soon going to be put to the vote. That would amount to prolonging the impasse of the past eight years and would be contrary to the present common trend in the world, including South-East Asia. The second option is for the United Nations to adopt a positive attitude that would contribute effectively to dialogues between the opposing sides of Kampuchea and between the countries concerned in South-East Asia. The third option is for the General Assembly to entrust the Secretary-General with the mandate of contacting the parties concerned so as to stimulate the search for a political solution to the questions of Kampuchea and peace and stability in South-East Asia.

If the United Nations goes on adopting an unjust resolution which is the fruit of an outdated policy of confrontation and is contrary to the initiatives and agreements I have already mentioned, it is bound further to prolong the stalemate of the past eight years. Even if such an ironic situation were to repeat itself, it could not check the evolution towards a just and equitable solution to the issues of Kampuchea and peace and stability in South-East Asia outside the framework of the United Nations. The darkness of night is bound to be followed by the light of dawn. Life, with all its powerful vitality, continues to follow its objective course. The Kampuchean sides are certain to engage in talks in line with the 8 October declaration of the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea and Prince Sihanouk's proposal; the Indochinese countries and the members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations are certain, sooner or later, to engage in dialogue in the spirit of the 29 July agreement; Viet Nam is certain to withdraw all its volunteer forces from Kampuchea by 1990; and the People's Republic of Kampuchea is certain to grow steadily stronger in all spheres. Would this not

(Mr. Nguyen Dy Nien, Viet Nam)

be the time for the United Nations to adopt an approach that responds to the imperious call of real life?

During the past 40 years South-East Asia has been the theatre of the longest wars, involving the largest tonnage of bombs and ammunitions ever used. Those wars have all been settled outside the framework of the United Nations. Is this not the opportunity for the United Nations to bring its major role into full play and to make a positive contribution to the peaceful settlement of the Kampuchean issue and to the establishment of peace and stability in South-East Asia?

Once again we should like, from this rostrum, sincerely to thank the countries, organizations and individuals that have encouraged dialogue between the opposing sides of Kampuchea as well as between the Indochinese countries and the members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations in order to find a political solution to the questions of Kampuchea and peace and stability in South-East Asia. We call on those countries that truly wish to contribute to such a political solution to support the declaration of the People's Republic of Kampuchea thereon, the agreements reached between Viet Nam and Indonesia and the dialogues to come between the opposing sides of Kampuchea.

We highly appreciate the efforts exerted by the Secretary-General, Mr. Perez de Cuellar, in helping to bring about a better understanding by the Indochinese countries and the members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations of each other's position and in fostering dialogue between the countries concerned. In the context of the new regional developments, it is our hope that the Secretary-General will pursue his efforts with a view to contributing to the early achievement of a political solution to the questions of Kampuchea and peace and stability in South-East Asia.

(Mr. Nguyen Dy Nien, Viet Nam)

The world is moving along a course of dialogue and relaxation of tension. Just a few days ago the General Assembly voiced its warm approval of and strong support for the initiatives and agreements aimed at securing peace and stability for Central America, regardless of the opposition put up by forces bent on going against the common aspirations of the peoples of that region. In South-East Asia many fair and reasonable initiatives have been set forth which express the common desire of the Kampuchean and other peoples in the region to see an early political settlement of the Kampuchean question and the establishment of a framework for peaceful coexistence in that part of the world. In spite of the numerous obstacles that may remain, that legitimate aspiration is bound to be fulfilled.

Mr. FISCHER (Austria): The illegal occupation of Kampuchea continues to cause the Austrian Government very serious concern. It has very grave consequences and involves serious humanitarian problems. The Kampuchean people, having been so sorely tried in recent years, continues to be the victim of cruel internal warfare. Present conditions inside Kampuchea do not permit the full enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms by the Kampuchean people. Hundreds of thousands of Kampucheans have to bear the hardship of refugee camps; their hope for a better future, for a life in dignity and freedom, depends upon an early solution to the question of Kampuchea; the situation in some camps with regard to the safety and basic needs of the refugees, and also with regard to the safeguarding of their human rights, is very serious. Peace and stability in the whole region of South-East Asia remain threatened. To this day, the question of Kampuchea remains one of the principal obstacles to improved relations between some of the permanent members of the Security Council.

(Mr. Fischer, Austria)

Every year since 1979, the General Assembly has devoted much time and attention to the question of Kampuchea. In 1981 the International Conference on Kampuchea was convened. That Conference and the Assembly have adopted resolutions which clearly define the principles that must be respected and upheld in the context of a political solution. The Austrian Government regards these resolutions not as propaganda instruments directed against a particular party to the conflict, but as clear expressions by an overwhelming majority of the States Members of the United Nations of their belief that the solution to this problem must be consistent with the basic principles of the United Nations Charter.

(Mr. Fischer, Austria)

Furthermore, it is deeply convinced that respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms must be assured in the context of such a solution. If we put aside other issues and try to focus on the interests and future well-being of the Kampuchean people, nothing less than respect for the basic principles of the United Nations Charter and for human rights can be demanded. Austria for its part remains firmly committed to these goals.

The President of the Austrian National Assembly, Mr. Leopold Gratz, who has exercised the function of President of the International Conference on Kampuchea since January 1986, recently visited New York, where he met with the Secretary-General and Foreign Ministers and other high-ranking representatives of interested Member States. Furthermore, a delegation of the Ad Hoc Committee of the International Conference on Kampuchea met with Mr. Gratz in Vienna in June this year. During his stay in New York Mr. Gratz also met with members of the Ad Hoc Committee.

Those meetings were very useful. They offered an opportunity to assess recent developments and to listen to the views of the parties concerned. In trying to evaluate the present situation, three questions must be addressed: first, how can political dialogue and, ultimately, a genuine process of negotiations be engaged; secondly, which elements must be taken into consideration if a comprehensive settlement acceptable to all sides is to be reached; and, thirdly, in which sequence must these various elements be implemented.

On the first question, there has been a multitude of positive signals recently. Many encouraging diplomatic efforts have been undertaken during the past year. Clearly, long-held positions are now being re-examined in a spirit of flexibility. Even though a formula acceptable to all sides has not yet been agreed upon, the Austrian Government trusts that these efforts will yield a positive result in the not too distant future.

(Mr. Fischer, Austria)

As regards the elements of a political solution, the views of the various parties concerned appear to be slowly converging here as well. Some crucial elements - such as the withdrawal of all foreign troops, the establishment of some sort of national unity among all Kampuchean factions, the future status of the country with regard to all its neighbouring States and their legitimate security interests, the holding of free and democratic elections, respect for human rights, and a certain degree of international supervision or assistance during the implementation of an agreement - appear to be basically acceptable to all sides. Of course, we cannot overlook the fact that on some very important questions widely divergent views still persist.

For understandable reasons, all parties to the conflict attach particular importance to the question of the sequence in which the elements of an eventual political solution are to be implemented. I am afraid that only slight progress has as yet been achieved on this critical issue. Formidable differences and a high degree of mutual mistrust still have to be overcome. As the Secretary-General pointed out in his report to the General Assembly, a scenario for a solution should provide for reciprocal steps in an even-handed and balanced manner.

If a narrowing of views has indeed taken place, we must spare no effort to build on this common ground for a political solution. It would be tragic if progress with regard to the final result of an eventual settlement were not to materialize because the parties concerned could not, for whatever reason, agree on how to translate converging views into a meaningful diplomatic process. Far-sighted goals should no longer be sacrificed to near-sighted interests.

The international community bears a heavy responsibility for the future of the Kampuchean people. We are deeply convinced that the question of Kampuchea can be successfully addressed only if all sides keep this primary goal firmly in sight.

(Mr. Fischer, Austria)

The Austrian Government is encouraged by the fact that the Secretary-General, in his report to the General Assembly, gave a somewhat optimistic assessment of recent developments. I am glad to take this opportunity to express to the Secretary-General and to his Special Representative Under-Secretary-General Ahmed the sincere appreciation of my Government for their efforts to reach a peaceful solution.

The President of the International Conference on Kampuchea and the Austrian Government are prepared actively to pursue their contacts with all the parties concerned at any stage with a view to contributing to a positive development.

Mr. NOWORYTA (Poland): Questions of international peace, security and co-operation have many dimensions, and our concern for a global approach to the settlement of those issues in no way diminishes our interest in what is taking place in countries and regions far from Central Europe, where my country is located. This is particularly true for the countries of Indo-China, with which Poland has long been associated through its participation in the activities of the International Commission for Supervision and Control in the Indo-Chinese States, and for other countries of South-East Asia, which we consider to be valuable partners in co-operation in many fields. This explains our interest in the item under discussion.

Indo-China, with its colonial past and long history of foreign intervention, has been a turbulent region for many years. The latest episode in the long suffering of the people of the Indo-Chinese States has been the infamous rule of the Pol Pot régime, which inflicted untold damage and destruction on the Kampuchean people.

It is remarkable what the sound forces of the Kampuchean people have achieved in restoring the basic fabric of society and rebuilding the economic and social

(Mr. Noworyta, Poland)

structures of their country, thus testifying to tenacity and industriousness on the part of the Kampuchean people worthy of their ancestors of the Angkor civilization.

We follow with great interest the intensive efforts by the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea to achieve national reconciliation and a political solution to the Kampuchean issue. In that regard, we noted with interest the important Declaration of 27 August 1987 of the People's Republic of Kampuchea on the policy of national reconciliation, calling on all Kampucheans

"without any discrimination as to their past, social class, ideology, religion or ethnic group, ... [to] collaborate with each other in order to construct an independent, peaceful and non-aligned Kampuchea, having friendly relations with neighbouring countries ..." (A/42/534, p. 2)

(Mr. Noworyta, Poland)

At the same time, the People's Republic of Kampuchea declared its readiness to meet with the other groups of Khmers and their leaders, except Pol Pot and his close associates, in order to conduct discussions on national reconciliation and the reconstruction of their country in peace and stability.

The Polish Government, to quote a joint communiqué on an official friendship visit to Poland in July 1987 of the Chairman of the Council of State of Kampuchea, Heng Samrin: "Expressed satisfaction at the remarkable achievements in every field made by the Kampuchean people under the leadership of the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea and the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea in building a new society in Kampuchea." It also voiced its support for the intensive efforts to achieve national reconciliation and a political solution to the Kampuchean issue.

The efforts deployed by the People's Republic of Kampuchea in that regard should not pass without proper reaction from the other side, the more so since some encouraging developments are taking place in South-East Asia that point to the prospect of a political solution. I refer in particular to the agreement between Viet Nam and Indonesia on the holding of a "cocktail party", that is, an informal meeting of the two sides of Kampuchea

"... on the basis of equal footing, without pre-conditions and with no political label, to which, at a later stage, Indonesia would invite other concerned countries, including Viet Nam, to participate". (A/42/593, annex, para. 2)

Therefore, the agreement reached on 29 July 1987 in Ho Chi Minh City between Indonesia and Viet Nam, representing the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) and Indochinese countries respectively, is one between the two groups of countries.

(Mr. Noworyta, Poland)

We welcome the declaration adopted at a consultative meeting of the Vice-Foreign Ministers of the three Indo-Chinese countries on 12 and 13 August 1987, accepting the framework for talks between the two sides of Kampuchea, followed by the meeting of other concerned countries.

The most recent developments, namely, the statement of the People's Republic of Kampuchea of 28 September 1987 declaring its readiness to participate in a meeting between the different Kampuchean parties, as put forward in the proposal of a group of prominent Khmer personalities and welcoming a similar statement of Prince Norodom Sihanouk of 18 September 1987, are indicative of "some signs of movement ... in the right direction" (A/42/L. p. 4) in Kampuchea, to which the Secretary-General referred in his report on the work of the Organization.

The latest declaration of the People's Republic of Kampuchea of 8 October 1987 on a political solution to the Kampuchean problem, with its emphasis on national reconciliation, settlement by negotiations of the external aspects of the Kampuchean problem and convening of an international conference to guarantee the agreement reached, constitutes another move in the same direction.

We believe that it is possible to solve all disputes by peaceful means through political dialogue between the concerned parties, and that interested countries should make contributions to such a solution.

The agreements reached between the representatives of the Indo-Chinese and ASEAN countries last July provide an opportunity to solve the problems among South-East Asian countries and between the two Kampuchean sides that should not be missed.

Poland extends its support for the efforts aimed at reaching a political solution to the existing problems, including the Kampuchean issue - a solution acceptable to the countries in the region and meeting the legitimate aspiration of all peoples in that part of the world for lasting peace and security.

Mr. ALATAS (Indonesia): The extraordinary extent of human suffering and material destruction to which the Kampuchean people have been subjected for over a decade continues to evoke the profound concern and anguish of the international community. To the neighbouring countries of South-East Asia, the Kampuchean conflict also poses the foremost barrier in the path of a stable peace, harmonious relations and common progress in the region for which they have yearned even longer.

It is now eight years since the United Nations became seized of the present problem. But successive resolutions adopted by overwhelming majorities in this forum, reasserting the inviolability of Charter principles and outlining the balanced elements upon which a comprehensive and just political settlement should be sought, have gone unheeded. Various initiatives and proposals towards a solution, advanced over the years by those directly as well as indirectly involved, have yet to yield concrete results. Thus, until this very moment, the legitimate aspirations of the Kampuchean people for an end to foreign intervention, the withdrawal of foreign forces from their soil, self-determination, genuine independence and, above all, peace, still remain unfulfilled. Their justified struggle to restore and preserve their national integrity and cultural identity, rallied around the patriotic forces of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, under the inspiring leadership of Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, is continuing and gaining growing support and strength. Inevitably, however, this will also prolong the agony of war and unrelieved misery for the Kampuchean people, including the thousands crowded in the refugee camps along the Thai border region and scattered in exile around the world.

Since the beginning of the Kampuchean conflict, Indonesia and the other member States of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) have consistently based their stand on internationally accepted principles governing inter-State relations rather than on preconceived notions or inherent animosity towards any

(Mr. Alatas, Indonesia)

particular State or group of States. Proceeding from the premise that the conflict is essentially one between the Kampuchean people and Viet Nam, ASEAN's main motivation continues to be its sincere desire to contribute to a comprehensive political solution, taking into account the complexity of the aspects involved and the legitimate interests and aspirations of all the parties concerned. While remaining firm on the principal elements that should form part of any solution if it is to be just and lasting, the ASEAN countries have also shown flexibility as regards the modalities of their implementation.

(Mr. Alatas, Indonesia)

It is with these basic guidelines always in mind that Indonesia has endeavoured to explore all possible avenues which could realistically and effectively lead us to a viable solution of the Kampuchean tragedy; viable, also in the sense that it would contribute to strengthening the larger framework for peace, stability and security in South-East Asia. My Government is particularly aware of the implications and dangers which a prolonged impasse in resolving this issue may bring, not least through the reintroduction and entrenchment of major-Power contention and interference in the affairs of the subregion.

Hence, the understanding reached on 29 July of this year in Ho Chi Minh City between the Indonesian Foreign Minister, acting as ASEAN's interlocutor, and the Foreign Minister of Viet Nam, gives us cause for measured hope. According to this understanding, an informal meeting would be held on a footing of equality, without pre-conditions and with no political labels, among the political factions of the Kampuchean people, in which at a later stage other countries concerned, including Viet Nam, would be invited to participate.

It is unfortunate, but perhaps unavoidable given the sensitive stage in the current efforts, that this understanding initially elicited differing interpretations, or rather differing shades of emphasis, among the parties directly involved. Some further clarifications may therefore be in order.

First, what was reached in Ho Chi Minh City was an understanding between the Foreign Ministers of Viet Nam and of Indonesia as ASEAN's interlocutor. Even though generally welcomed and endorsed by countries of the region and beyond, this understanding could still not be construed as a fully-fledged agreement, much less as an agreement binding two groups of countries.

(Mr. Alatas, Indonesia)

Secondly, as the delicately crafted text of the joint press communiqué (A/42/432) clearly spells out, what is envisaged is one meeting proceeding in two stages, initially among the Kampuchean factions themselves, but to be immediately joined at the second stage by Viet Nam and other countries concerned. Thus, it can in no way be depicted as two separate meetings.

Thirdly, being conceived as one meeting, its informal nature and all other qualifications as regards the basis on which participants would meet naturally extend to both stages of the exercise.

Fourthly, what we hope will materialize is a preliminary exchange of views and meeting of minds on the possible elements of and requirements for a negotiated settlement, not the actual negotiations as yet. At this stage, therefore, in our view, there should be no need for any side to insist that its own views or proposals be made the only basis for discussion.

It would seem to us that, after long and bitter years of mutual enmity and conflict, it might be pertinent and useful to allow for a preliminary phase of conditioning, so to speak, to precede actual negotiations; hence our proposal to organize this informal meeting. For as can be noted, widely divergent interpretations still persist on certain basic aspects of an eventual solution of the conflict, such as on the questions of national reconciliation, the formation of a quadripartite Government, the modalities of troop withdrawals and so on.

Indonesia remains hopeful that the informal meeting may yet provide a realistic way out of the present deadlock; that it may start a productive dialogue that will lead to negotiations and ultimately to a just and comprehensive settlement. We are heartened by the fact that earlier misperceptions or misgivings now seem to have given way to a much better appreciation of the opportunities at hand. With the explicit encouragement of his colleagues in ASEAN, my Foreign

(Mr. Alatas, Indonesia)

Minister is determined to pursue his discussions with Viet Nam's leaders on the more detailed modalities of the proposal.

We also realize, however, that ours cannot and should not be the only valid approach towards negotiations on and settlement of the problem. We are aware of the laudable initiatives and parallel efforts that are being undertaken by the leaders and Governments of several other friendly countries. We are in full sympathy with these efforts, for we strongly believe that to find an expeditious solution all avenues and all possibilities should be explored.

In this regard, I should like to pay a special tribute to the Secretary-General, Mr. Perez de Cuellar, and his Special Representative, Mr. Rafeeuddin Ahmed, for their unremitting efforts to find a comprehensive political solution to the Kampuchean problem and in trying to devise an equitable scenario to this end. In the same vein, Indonesia deeply appreciates the continuing contributions of the President of the International Conference on Kampuchea, Mr. Leopold Gratz, and the Chairman of the Ad hoc Committee, Ambassador Massamba Sarré, to the cause of peace and stability in South-East Asia.

Prince Norodom Sihanouk himself, although on temporary leave of absence as President of Democratic Kampuchea, and, indeed, precisely because of that, has intensified his unrelenting quest to bring the sufferings of his tormented people to an early end. His pre-eminent role and stature as a Khmer patriot, statesman and "Father of the nation " remain of decisive importance. His views and approach towards an eventual solution should therefore be accorded commensurate weight. For we believe that, if there is one national leader, now and in any future Kampuchea, who could heal the wounds of conflict and lead the process of national reconciliation, it is Prince Norodom Sihanouk.

(Mr. Alatas, Indonesia)

Indonesia shares the belief, as does Viet Nam, that the dynamics of the Kampuchean problem at present appear to be moving into a new conjuncture propitious for a solution through dialogue and negotiation. We would also underline the observation made by the Prime Minister of Thailand in his statement to the General Assembly last week that recent developments have indicated an increasing convergence of desire to bring about an end to the Kampuchean conflict. But to turn desire into reality and to move convergence into actual concurrence will require the genuine political will on all sides to reach a political settlement. It will also require the abandonment of any hope or design to obtain either a military fait accompli or, conversely, a return to the status quo ante.

Hence, of equal importance to, or even greater importance than the fashioning of realistic scenarios and practical modalities towards negotiations is the need for continued clarity and consistency of purpose in determining the principal elements for a viable and equitable solution.

Indonesia has always maintained that a just solution should, above all, be in conformity with the fundamental principles of the United Nations Charter and consequently ensure the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea and the restoration of Kampuchea's sovereignty and territorial integrity under a freely elected Government of its people's own choice.

(Mr. Alatas, Indonesia)

To be viable or durable, a settlement should also encompass other elements such as the fostering of a true process of national reconciliation among all political factions of Kampuchean society and the establishment of a non-aligned and neutral Kampuchea, free and assured of no foreign intervention or external manipulation, at peace with its neighbours and posing no threat to any of them.

It is precisely these basic elements for a just and lasting settlement that constitute the essence of the draft resolution in document A/42/L.1, now before the Assembly. By endorsing it, Member States will contribute positively towards the peaceful resolution of the Kampuchean conflict and ensure that the current initiatives and efforts towards dialogue and negotiation will continue to proceed within a consistent framework of ultimate purpose.

Mr. OTT (German Democratic Republic): The German Democratic Republic is taking part in the discussion of this agenda item in the expectation that it will effectively promote the search for a political solution to the Kampuchean problem and that it will be conducted in the interest of peace, stability and co-operation in the Asian-Pacific region.

Addressing this forum recently, the Foreign Minister of the German Democratic Republic, Mr. Oskar Fischer, reaffirmed our position that

"any dispute or conflict should be brought up and settled at the negotiating table, that is peacefully, through dialogue, with all participants on an equal footing, and on the basis of strict respect for the United Nations Charter".

(A/42/PV.10, p. 74-75)

His statement was based on the extensive experience of the German Democratic Republic indicating that it is not through confrontation but only through dialogue, businesslike co-operation and recognition of existing realities that results can be achieved which serve the interests of the peoples. To us, such an approach seems

(Mr. Ott, German Democratic Republic)

indispensable also to the achievement of a political solution to the Kampuchean problem.

It is worth noting that in his report on the work of the Organization, with regard to Kampuchea, the Secretary-General states that

"I have recently detected some signs of movement that I hope will develop in the right direction." (A/42/1, p. 4)

In the meantime, some new developments and initiatives have proved this assessment to be correct. There is no doubt that the active involvement of the United Nations could help pave the way towards normalization of the situation in the region. In this regard, due account should be taken of the realities in South-East Asia, which include the existence of the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

On 27 August 1987 the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea made public its policy of national reconciliation. We see it as a long-term policy aimed at uniting all Kampucheans in the endeavour to build an independent, peaceful and non-aligned Kampuchea that would maintain friendly relations with its neighbouring countries. That policy of national reconciliation can create the required conditions for a political settlement based on agreement among all patriotic forces. This would not only be in line with the aspirations of the Kampuchean people but also serve the interests of all countries that stand for peace, stability, co-operation and good-neighbourly relations in South-East Asia.

We note that a more favourable situation has now emerged in the search for a political settlement of the Kampuchean problem and the maintenance of peace and stability in South-East Asia. A result-oriented, confidence-building and responsible dialogue between all parties concerned seems to be forging ahead.

(Mr. Ott, German Democratic Republic)

Among the encouraging developments to break the stalemate is undoubtedly the understanding reached between the Foreign Ministers of Viet Nam and Indonesia on 29 July 1987 to hold informal talks on the situation that has developed around Kampuchea.

Great importance attaches, in our view, to the affirmative statement made by Prince Norodom Sihanouk on 18 September 1987 in response to a letter from seven high-ranking Khmer personalities. The gist of their proposal is, as the Assembly is aware, to convene as early as possible a meeting between the Khmer parties in order to restore peace and achieve national reconciliation in Kampuchea.

It should be recalled that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, in a statement on 29 September 1987, expressly agreed to such a meeting of different Kampuchean parties.

And the latest of the positive steps aimed at bringing about a solution to the Kampuchean issue and to problems in the region is the five-point statement made by the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea on 8 October 1987. As has been mentioned before, that statement says, inter alia, that the People's Republic of Kampuchea is prepared to meet with Prince Sihanouk as well as with leaders of other Khmer opposition groups. It is ready to entrust Prince Norodom Sihanouk with a high position in the State leadership.\*

The cessation of all types of intervention against Kampuchea would go hand in hand with the complete withdrawal of the Vietnamese volunteer forces from Kampuchea. Following this, general elections would be held in the presence of foreign observers. In order to guarantee the agreements reached, the People's

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\* Mr. Legwaila (Botswana), Vice-President, took the Chair.

(Mr. Ott, German Democratic  
Republic)

Republic of Kampuchea proposes the convening of an international conference, in which the two opposing Kampuchean sides, the countries of Indo-China, those of the Association of South-East Asian Nations, the Soviet Union, China, India, France, the United States of America, Great Britain and other countries which have contributed to a peaceful solution to the Kampuchean problem and to peace in South-East Asia should take part.

The German Democratic Republic fully supports this latest initiative of the People's Republic of Kampuchea. The initiative is in the interest of a political settlement of the situation around Kampuchea, it is in the interest of the Kampuchean people and serves the establishment of a zone of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia. It is suited to contribute to the improvement of the political climate in South-East Asia and the Asian-Pacific region as a whole.

(Mr. Ott, German Democratic Republic)

The German Democratic Republic is prepared to do all it can to that end. It expects that also with regard to the agenda item under discussion a new way of thinking and action will gain ground in order to meet the new requirements and changed conditions and to fulfil the hopes of the peoples of South-East Asia.

Under the leadership of a Government democratically elected by the majority of the people Kampuchea has achieved remarkable results in the political, economic and social fields. Increasing economic and political stability and considerable advances made in improving supplies to the population and in developing educational and health systems testify to the success achieved in the difficult process of national and social rebirth. As a result the country is now self-sufficient in essential foodstuffs and consumer goods.

The German Democratic Republic, which is closely bound to the People's Republic of Kampuchea by a treaty of friendship and co-operation, will continue to side in solidarity with the Kampuchean people in their efforts to normalize all aspects of social life.

The extensive material assistance rendered for many years in the form of supplies of equipment and foodstuffs, services in health care and education and the training and advanced training of many Kampuchean citizens will be continued in the future.

The economic co-operation between the German Democratic Republic and the People's Republic of Kampuchea is yielding ever more positive results. For example, the second session of the Joint Economic Committee adopted, among others, effective measures for co-operation in the field of natural rubber, a project which is highly important to the national economies of both countries.

In conclusion let me express the hope that the hand which has been extended within the concept of national reconciliation will be taken. A sense of reality, a

(Mr. Ott, German Democratic Republic)

readiness for dialogue and a constructive approach are needed now more than ever in dealing with this agenda item. That will be in the interest of the Kampuchean people and of all States of the region and in the interest of peace and international understanding. The hopes and wishes of the peoples must not be frustrated. With this in mind, the delegation of the German Democratic Republic is ready for productive and flexible co-operation.

Mr. KARGBO (Sierra Leone): It is now over eight years since Vietnamese forces crossed into Kampuchea in what was then argued as an attempt to put an end to the sufferings of the Kampuchean people under a reprehensible régime. No doubt there were some who saw in that action a veneer of moral rectitude seldom glimpsed in the harsh realities of international politics; but, as with many other similarly sanctimonious military undertakings the world has known, the passing years have revealed the real intentions underlying the Vietnamese action.

In the year that this item was first considered by the General Assembly, that is 1979, the sense of purpose of the international community could not be misunderstood. Resolution 34/22 was precise in its call for the immediate withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea and for the people of that country to be allowed to choose democratically their own government without outside interference, subversion or coercion. This Assembly has reiterated that position annually since, with equal forcefulness.

We are all familiar with the developments during this period, as well as with the actions this Organization has taken to resolve the situation. The International Conference on Kampuchea and its resulting Declaration, together with

(Mr. Kargbo, Sierra Leone)

the continuing efforts of the Secretary-General, are all examples of the concern with which this issue is viewed. Not to be discounted are the equally constructive efforts the States in the region have exerted towards this objective, particularly the States of the Association of South-East Asian Nations. In fact there has been no shortage of initiative or vision in the attempt to secure a solution. The absence of movement is now rather an indication of Viet Nam's continued refusal to co-operate with the international community.

The prospect for peace in South-East Asia is held in stasis and the economic well-being of that region is now a veritable hostage to an unfolding design - a design whose significance should not be lost on the international community. My delegation is of the view that the situation which Viet Nam attributed for its invasion of Kampuchea has long since ceased to exist. Moreover, there is clearly now a reversal of roles, mirroring that initial attribution. Even the most conservative assessment cannot but conclude that Viet Nam's actions in Kampuchea portend not a pacific intent but an expansionist inclination. Its credibility should therefore stand forfeited.

What I have attempted to do thus far is not merely to express sympathy for the Kampuchean people, whose suffering under Viet Nam's occupation is a heroic story in itself, or even to recall Viet Nam's violation of fundamental Charter principles, but primarily to posit the stark lines of what is now a painful paradox.

During the 1960s Viet Nam was engaged in a war that it prosecuted in the name of liberation and Vietnamese self-determination, principles long recognized and respected by free nations as sacred. The fulfilment of that aspiration, though a protracted and costly exercise, was attended by the well-deserved support and solidarity of many States. The avowed objective of terminating foreign influence in Vietnamese affairs was seen as yet another reiteration of the enduring validity

(Mr. Kargbo, Sierra Leone)

of those fundamental principles and the intensity of its realization was appreciated in that context.

The historical perspective of this struggle requires no further elaboration, but a critical evaluation of subsequent developments is obviously imperative. Scarcely a year after its admission to this Organization as a full Member, with the concomitant expectation of adherence to its obligations under the Charter, Viet Nam invaded neighbouring Kampuchea. What irony! To visit on others that which one has oneself criticized and even thrown off with such vehemence is certainly unacceptable.

Such conduct, which deviates from the minimum standard of good-neighbourliness and ascribes to its practitioner a calculated disrespect for the rights of others, is to be condemned unequivocally. The people of Kampuchea are no less worthy or less deserving of freedom than the people of Viet Nam and the inviolability of Kampuchean sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity should not be reckoned as of small measure.

(Mr. Kargbo, Sierra Leone)

If anything, Viet Nam must now itself bear the telling accusation of being traitorous to the basic principles of its own revolution. Surely, the tragic skein running through Viet Nam's own history has been edifying, to others at least, if not to itself: that the conquest and subjugation of others are acts less rewarding and counter-productive in the long run to the so-called national interest.

The practical limitations to state welfare, which military occupation spawns, are no longer theoretical postulates. Reduced security assurance, high economic cost to maintain a military presence and priority substitution in national goals are but few. To them must be added the greater cost of hypocrisy and the attendant loss of national esteem in the eyes of the international community.

The summation of Sierra Leone's position on this issue, as outlined again recently by my Foreign Minister when he addressed the Assembly, is now a matter of record. None the less, the international dimensions of situations, like that in Kampuchea, which are created by the blatant use of force and maintained at variance with all logic and treaty obligations, have to be understood in the context of the erosive effect on international law and order that such situations engender. If small nations can no longer curb their ambition of aggressive hegemony, the moral imperative that is our common security in a fractious world cannot be relied upon.

The situation in Kampuchea has been on the Assembly's agenda long enough. The Sierra Leone delegation is hopeful of an early and complete solution within the framework of this Organization's efforts and initiatives. We believe that the international community's will on this issue has impressed itself on Viet Nam with compelling force to ensure compliance with its declarations. If face-saving is what is required, then surely this is what the proposals embodied in the Coalition Government's eight-point peace plan and this Assembly's numerous resolutions offer: a withdrawal from Kampuchean territory with dignity and rehabilitation from the present state of opprobrium. Let Viet Nam then bite the bullet of goodwill.

(Mr. Kargbo, Sierra Leone)

In conclusion, Sierra Leone reiterates its recognition of the valiant efforts and the grim sacrifice which the people of Kampuchea, under the dedicated leadership of Prince Norodom Sihanouk, continue to make in the struggle for their country's freedom. In moments of truth like this, the test is a litmus of faith, conviction in the validity of long-espoused ideals whose prescription must be universal. This Assembly's purpose on this issue, therefore, must once more be unwavering, as always.

Mr. LI LUYE (China) (interpretation from Chinese): Almost nine years have passed since Viet Nam launched its armed invasion and military occupation of Kampuchea. Such action of brazenly encroaching upon another country's territory and sovereignty, and wilfully violating the United Nations Charter, has always been sternly condemned by the international community. The United Nations General Assembly has adopted, at eight successive sessions, resolutions calling for the withdrawal of foreign forces from Kampuchea and the restoration of the right of the Kampuchean people to self-determination, which reflect the common desire of all justice-upholding countries. However, as Viet Nam has refused to implement the United Nations resolutions and withdraw its forces from Kampuchea, the Kampuchean issue has to this date remained unsolved as one of the hot-spots in the present-day world, posing a grave threat to peace and security in South-East Asia.

Proceeding from our stand of safeguarding the basic norms guiding international relations and truly respecting the principles of equality among all sovereign States, mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, mutual non-aggression and peaceful coexistence, the Chinese Government has all along firmly opposed Viet Nam's attempt to establish the so-called Greater Indo-China Federation and to carry out the policy of power politics and expansion in the region. The Chinese

(Mr. Li Luye, China)

Government strongly condemns the Vietnamese authorities for their armed invasion of Kampuchea under whatever pretext and resolutely supports the Kampuchean people and all groups of patriotic forces in that country in their just struggle against Vietnamese aggression and for national salvation.

It is the consistent position of the Chinese Government that the relevant resolutions adopted by the successive sessions of the United Nations General Assembly should serve as the only basis for a just and reasonable political settlement of the Kampuchean issue and that the key to such a settlement lies in the prompt and total withdrawal of the Vietnamese aggressor troops from Kampuchea so that the Kampuchean people may determine their own destiny free from outside interference.

My Foreign Minister, Wu Xueqian, pointed out in his statement at the current session of the General Assembly:

"We are confident that provided Viet Nam withdraws all its troops from Kampuchea under international supervision, the Kampuchean people, led by the prestigious, great patriot Prince Norodom Sihanouk, will solve their internal problems through consultation free from outside interference, effect true national reconciliation and choose their new government through United Nations-supervised free elections, so that Kampuchea will become an independent, peaceful, neutral and non-aligned country. This will be in the interest of peace and stability in that region and the rest of South-East Asia. Once the parties concerned reach agreement on a settlement of the Kampuchean question, China will be ready to join other countries in a relevant international guarantee." (A/42/PV.8, p. 48)

(Mr. Li Luye, China)

Since the last session, we have noticed certain changes within Viet Nam which led us to expect that, in response to the strong desire of the international community, the Vietnamese authorities would change their position on the Kampuchean issue, stop their aggression and accept and implement the relevant United Nations resolutions so as to arrive at a just and reasonable settlement of the Kampuchean issue at an early date. Regrettably, however, the changes that the Vietnamese authorities appear to have made so far are nothing but rhetoric, while on matters of substance they remain as intransigent as ever. They have professed time and again sincerely to desire for a political settlement and prated about the "national reconciliation" of Kampuchea, yet they have tried in every possible way to evade the question of troop withdrawal from Kampuchea, which is the key to a political settlement. True, national reconciliation is an important question, but the root cause of the lack of it is exactly the Vietnamese armed invasion and military occupation of Kampuchea.

Being a party directly involved in the war, the Vietnamese authorities try to present themselves as an outsider in order to rid themselves of the responsibility for aggression. At the same time, they have made all kinds of hypocritical gestures and created various excuses for their continued military occupation of Kampuchea. To put it bluntly, the so-called "national reconciliation" and "political settlement" advocated by the Vietnamese authorities are in fact designed, through negotiations among various parties in Kampuchea still under Vietnamese military occupation, to obtain a legal status for the puppet clique in Phnom Penh and impose on the Kampuchean people a Viet Nam-controlled "coalition Government", with the puppet clique as the main body. If this Vietnamese version of "reconciliation" should be accepted, would that not be tantamount to recognizing its aggression against Kampuchea as a fait accompli? This will never be accepted by the Kampuchean people nor by any justice-upholding country in the world.

(Mr. Li Luye, China)

China is in favour of a political settlement of the Kampuchean issue. We hold that if a just and reasonable settlement of this issue and the national reconciliation of Kampuchea are to be realized, first and foremost, Viet Nam must withdraw all its troops from Kampuchea. Since the Kampuchean issue was created by the Vietnamese invasion and occupation of that country, the question of Vietnamese troop withdrawal certainly should not be bypassed, for it is the key factor in a settlement and in realizing national reconciliation. How can there be any genuine national reconciliation under the bayonets of the Vietnamese forces? Secondly, the interest of all the parties concerned in Kampuchea should be taken into account without excluding any party or letting any party monopolize power. In this respect, the eight-point proposal for a political settlement of the Kampuchean issue put forward by the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea has made reasonable arrangements. The Vietnamese authorities have no right to set pre-conditions of this or that kind. Thirdly, Kampuchea should become a genuinely independent, peaceful, neutral and non-aligned country. To this end, the national reconciliation should be realized under the effective leadership of Prince Norodom Sihanouk, who enjoys high prestige both at home and abroad, so that the Kampuchean people would be able to decide their own destiny and future free from outside interference.

In addition to Viet Nam's intransigence in its policy of occupation and refusal to accept any just and reasonable settlement, the reason that the Kampuchean issue has remained unsolved for such a long time cannot be separated from the support given to it by a super-Power. This super-Power keeps talking about the establishment of a so-called peace and security system in Asia, and even in the whole world, and stressing the need to strengthen the authority and role of the United Nations. But in fact, it continues to give blood transfusions to

(Mr. Li Luye, China)

Viet Nam in this war of aggression and persists in supporting the latter in its defiance of the United Nations resolutions and its unreasonable position of refusing to withdraw its troops from Kampuchea. As we can all see, this super-Power's policy of supporting Vietnamese aggression has not only contributed to the suffering of the Kampuchean people but also posed a serious threat to peace and security in South-East Asia. So long as it does not change this erroneous policy, one can hardly believe that it is sincerely seeking peace and security.

As a result of the Vietnamese aggressors' prolonged occupation, the Kampuchean people are living in an abyss of suffering, trampled down by a foreign State. At the same time, the Vietnamese authorities have moved large numbers of their people into Kampuchea and sent large numbers of advisors to tighten their control over the puppet army and to infiltrate into the puppet government at different levels with a view to speeding up their policy of colonization through Vietnamization. To strive for the national survival and dignity of the Kampuchean people, the patriotic resistance forces in Kampuchea have persevered in a protracted and heroic war against Vietnamese aggression and for national salvation, winning broader support from the Kampuchean people and increasingly extensive sympathy and support internationally. The eight-point proposal for a political settlement of the Kampuchean issue put forward by the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea has also received appreciation and support from numerous countries. Facts have proved that the Kampuchean people's struggle against Vietnamese aggression and for national salvation is a just cause enjoying abundant support, and the Vietnamese authorities will never succeed in their attempt to annex Kampuchea and establish the greater Indo-China federation either by military occupation or by the policy of colonization.

(Mr. Li Luye, China)

The Vietnamese authorities' policy of aggression and expansion has also brought untold sufferings to the Vietnamese people. The heavy burden of war for years running and the huge military expenditures have worsened Viet Nam's economy. As a result, the Vietnamese people are in dire poverty. As the economic gap between Viet Nam and other Asian countries is widening, Viet Nam has become one of the poorest countries in the world. Only by changing its policy of aggression and withdrawing its troops from Kampuchea can Viet Nam free itself from the heavy load of war and end its isolation in the world. Only then can it concentrate its efforts on economic development and improvement of its people's living standards, and can peace and stability in South-East Asia be restored. We hope that the Vietnamese authorities will make an early and wise choice for the sake of the interest of their own people.

The protracted and unswerving efforts made by the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) for a political settlement of the Kampuchean issue and the restoration of peace and stability in South-East Asia have been widely acclaimed and supported in the world. The joint communiqué issued by ASEAN on 16 August this year is yet another expression of their renewed efforts for a just and reasonable settlement of this question. The Secretary-General has also done a great deal of valuable work in this respect. We hereby wish to express our appreciation. During the current General Assembly session the ASEAN countries, together with 57 others, have sponsored a draft resolution on the situation in Kampuchea which reaffirms the principle of complete withdrawal of foreign troops from Kampuchea and the exercise of the right to self-determination by the Kampuchean people. The content of this draft resolution received extensive support from the States Members of the United Nations at previous sessions. The Chinese delegation is in favour of this draft

(Mr. Li Luye, China)

resolution; it supports it and calls on other Member States to give it their own support so as to make contributions to the maintenance of the principles enshrined in the Charter and the promotion of a just and reasonable settlement of the Kampuchean question.

Mr. WALTERS (United States of America): Images of Cambodia in recent years evoke an emotional response in most of us. Its name is synonymous with tragedy. Its history is a reminder of the extent to which man can inflict hardship and suffering on his fellow man. As with conflict and turmoil everywhere, ordinary people bear the brunt of military campaigns and political subjugation. The long-suffering Cambodian people have given the world an enduring example of perseverance in the face of extraordinary and almost inhuman adversities.

On Christmas Day 1978, Vietnamese forces poured across the border and a brutal period of Cambodian suffering entered a new phase. As Vietnam installed a puppet régime in Phnom Penh, hundreds of thousands of Cambodian refugees, weak with hunger and disease, fled into western Cambodia and Thailand to escape the advancing armies. Famine followed. The world responded generously, however, and, as we reached out to help those who suffered, we were heartened by their courage and fortitude.

Today, almost nine years later, the Cambodian people continue to suffer the presence of a Vietnamese occupation force of 140,000. These troops maintain control over a puppet régime in Phnom Penh that is totally dependent upon Hanoi for its survival. Vietnamese personnel, euphemistically referred to as "advisors" can be found at almost every level of the government in Phnom Penh.

(Mr. Walters, United States)

Vietnamese "advisors" are assigned to Cambodian military units, sometimes in leadership positions, in large measure to ensure their loyalty to Phnom Penh and Hanoi. Vietnamese "advisors" are also responsible for the involuntary recruitment of thousands of Cambodians who have been forced to plant land-mines and to construct military defences along the border with Thailand in a futile effort to block the Cambodian resistance. Many of these workers have died or returned to their villages with amputated limbs or racked by malaria. And, finally, Vietnamese "advisors" have instituted new lesson plans in the schools aimed at ensuring that Cambodia's future generations remain docile and obedient to Hanoi.

Viet Nam's efforts sadly and badly misread the temper and moral fibre of the Cambodian people. The more Hanoi attempts to exert its control and damp down the resistance, the stronger the anti-Vietnamese sentiment and the greater the rejection of the Heng Samrin authorities by their own people. Far from accepting the current state of affairs as irreversible, thousands of resistance fighters under the leadership of Prince Sihanouk risk their lives every day in a heroic effort to force Viet Nam to end its illegal occupation of Cambodia. The resistance counts among its members many former Heng Samrin soldiers.

Widespread popular dissatisfaction with the régime, coupled with resentment towards the Vietnamese invaders grows daily. Viet Nam's efforts to increase the effectiveness of Phnom Penh's army have fallen far short of its goals. There are widespread defections, and refugees continue to flee the country.

In recent months Viet Nam and its allies have tried to project an image of flexibility. Hanoi has repeatedly stated its intention to withdraw from Cambodia by 1990, without regard to the political, economic or military situation existing at that time. The Vietnamese authorities have expressed willingness to allow foreign observers into Cambodia this year to witness a partial withdrawal of their troops. They have indicated a willingness to participate in an informal,

(Mr. Walters, United States)

politically neutral meeting of all the parties involved in the Cambodian situation. They promoted a recent policy statement of the Phnom Penh régime, which called for reconciliation and welcomed the return of Cambodian resistance fighters, refugees and expatriates to help rebuild the country. By these public statements Viet Nam seeks to convince the world that it is sincerely interested in peace.

But let us look beyond the words, beyond the image to the reality of Viet Nam's actions. Viet Nam's promise to depart from Cambodia by 1990 is rendered suspect by past so-called partial troop withdrawals that the world later discovered, to its disappointment and disillusionment, were nothing more than troop rotations. Only actual troop withdrawals will move the peace process forward. That issue and Cambodian self-determination are two of the most important features in any solution of the current impasse. The long and difficult search for peace in Cambodia can only be successful if the Vietnamese bring to the issue a willingness to compromise. Viet Nam cannot have a solution solely on its own terms.

Hanoi stubbornly refuses to acknowledge that its invasion of Cambodia is the root cause of the current conflict. The General Assembly has agreed on this point, by huge margins every year. Yet Viet Nam rejects this opinion and has stated publicly that the United Nations has no role to play in Cambodia. But Viet Nam has paid a heavy price for its intransigence. Its isolation within the world community is almost complete. As the economies of the other nations in the region thrive, Viet Nam's disintegrates, and its people are reduced to abject poverty. Only outside financial support prevents total collapse. Viet Nam's people and even its communist party membership have expressed concern about the catastrophic state of their country's economy. Yet Viet Nam's leaders still decline to take the steps

(Mr. Walters, United States)

necessary to rejoin the family of nations. Until Viet Nam withdraws from Cambodia, it cannot hope to make significant improvements in the lot of its own people. Thus, not only Cambodians but also Vietnamese continue to suffer from this illegal military occupation.

Hanoi now has an opportunity to reverse this situation. New leaders have assumed key positions in the Vietnamese Government and are pledged to economic reform. But progress on this front can only occur when Viet Nam recognizes that its Cambodian policy is hopeless and that its own independence is jeopardized by relying on foreign financial support to pursue a policy which is contrary to international norms of behaviour.

Viet Nam, a nation at war for over 40 years, must understand that security in the modern world is not attained by conquering one's neighbour. Neither is debilitating warfare the key to national prosperity. Economic development demands an environment free from the distractions of foreign conflict; it requires unhindered access to the world economy and international financial markets. Only after disengaging from Cambodia can Viet Nam rejoin the international community and share the many opportunities long enjoyed by other countries in the region.

It is time for Viet Nam to demonstrate its sincerity on Cambodia. The United States welcomes Hanoi's announcement of a troop withdrawal this year, but we insist that it be genuine: a withdrawal that does not later prove to be simply another troop rotation. We would also welcome a negotiated political solution in Cambodia. There are reasonable proposals on the negotiating table, and we call on the new Vietnamese leadership to muster the courage and foresight to accept them. In this context, Prince Sihanouk continues to contribute to the dialogue for peace.

(Mr. Walters, United States)

It is also time to recognize the Soviet Union's responsibility in resolving the Cambodian tragedy. It seems disingenuous to claim a lack of influence in a country receiving more than six million dollars a day in Soviet economic and military aid. It also seems to demonstrate a lack of interest in an equitable settlement that would contribute to the stability and prosperity in the region.

As we look toward the future, for the United States several points remain central. First, we reiterate President Reagan's pledge in this forum to participate constructively in the settlement of regional conflicts. Secondly, the United States will continue to support the efforts of the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) to achieve a negotiated solution to this tragedy. Since the beginning of the conflict, ASEAN has been in the forefront of the search for peace. By focusing international attention on Cambodia, it has functioned as our conscience, ensuring that the world does not forget. And, thirdly, the invasion and occupation of Cambodia by Viet Nam are illegal. This Assembly has overwhelmingly and repeatedly demanded that Viet Nam withdraw from Cambodia. We should do so again with the hope that our combined voices may persuade Viet Nam to follow up its conciliatory words with action. In this way, our votes here can contribute to the achievement of a peaceful settlement in Cambodia.

The Cambodian people have suffered long enough. They deserve the right to determine their own form of government, free from outside interference. They are entitled to our very best efforts.

Mr. WOOLCOTT (Australia): In the statement of my Foreign Minister in the general debate on Thursday last, Mr. Hayden expressed Australia's continued concern for the tragic plight of the Kampuchean people and our disappointment over the lack of movement towards a political settlement.

(Mr. Woolcott, Australia)

Today I wish to elaborate on that theme. The problem of Kampuchea has now persisted for more than eight years. It is said that time heals all wounds, but the wounds of the people of Kampuchea have not been healed, and this Assembly should not permit the passage of time to lessen its continuing search for a solution to this problem.\*

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\*Mr. Peters (Saint Vincent and the Grenadines), Vice-President, took the Chair.

(Mr. Woolcott, Australia)

Australia remains concerned that all efforts so far have not yet led to any major breakthrough in the long and so far disappointing search for a settlement. But Australia has been encouraged by the continuing contacts among the parties, which have gathered some momentum this year. We urge the parties to continue their positive approaches in the search for a negotiated political solution. We have sought to encourage flexibility by all concerned in their search for a mutually acceptable solution and hope that the increased level of activity in recent months represents real elements of flexibility among the opposing parties.

Australia has not sought a leading role for itself in the settlement of the dispute in Kampuchea; this is a matter essentially for the countries and parties most directly affected. However, as we have made clear in the past, Australia is inevitably affected by developments in the South-East Asian and south-west Pacific region, which is our immediate neighbourhood. The evolution of Australia's foreign relations in recent years has been marked, first, by the recognition that Australia is an integral part of this region and then, by our consistent efforts to broaden our relations with the region, assist in its development and make a contribution, when we can and when it is acceptable to the parties, to the resolution of any disputes within the region.

Australia believes that it has a responsibility to do anything it can to assist in the search for solutions to regional problems, including those involving Kampuchea. We do so on the basis of our long-standing friendship with neighbouring countries of South-East Asia which make up the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN). This relationship has been close and wide ranging; support for ASEAN has been a corner-stone of Australia's foreign policy since the formation of ASEAN in 1967. With Viet Nam, also, we have begun in recent years to build a new and more constructive relationship. That more positive relationship has enabled us to speak frankly with Viet Nam about the Kampuchean problem.

(Mr. Woolcott, Australia)

Australia's interest in the region has led us to the firm belief that the development of co-operative and cordial relations between the countries of ASEAN and the countries of Indo-China and Burma would greatly assist the evolution of a stable, secure and peaceful South-East Asian and south-west Pacific region. The principal factor which has so far inhibited realization of this vision and widening co-operation is Viet Nam's continuing presence in Kampuchea since its intervention in that country in 1979.

Australians were deeply shocked by the atrocities of the Pol Pot Government perpetrated against its own people. But, as a matter of principle, Australia has not accepted any country's claim to a right to enter and remain in the sovereign territory of its neighbours without their agreement. When the Vietnamese invasion of Kampuchea occurred Australia condemned it. We continue to condemn it. It is contrary to the principles of the United Nations Charter, and the indispensable condition of a settlement in Kampuchea remains the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops. We note that Viet Nam has often repeated that by 1990 it will have withdrawn all its forces from Kampuchea. We urge Viet Nam to fulfil that commitment by that date or, preferably, earlier.

The Vietnamese occupation of Kampuchea must end. We believe in the importance of a comprehensive peaceful solution reached through regional negotiation. Military solutions to the problems of our region have not worked in the past and the pursuit of a solution by military means will not work in the case of Kampuchea. Australia would support genuine moves towards an independent Kampuchea free of domination by any outside Power. However, mindful of the atrocities of the Pol Pot era, we believe that a political settlement should also include arrangements to ensure that the crimes of the discredited Pol Pot régime can never again take place.

(Mr. Woolcott, Australia)

Restoration of normal relations on the part of Viet Nam with regional countries and the rest of the international community would also seem to us to be an integral part of a comprehensive settlement. All States in the region have a right to live in peace within secure and internationally recognized borders.

No lasting Kampuchean settlement will be possible without a recognition of the basic fact of the right of the people of Kampuchea to determine their own Government. No formula should be imposed on them, however satisfactory it might appear to others, which would not give them a Government genuinely reflecting their own wishes. It must be the free choice of the people of Kampuchea. Anything else would run counter to the basic rights enshrined in the United Nations Charter and could also lead, ultimately, to renewed instability in Kampuchea and in the region.

To promote a negotiated settlement and allow Kampucheans to determine their own future, Australia has consistently called upon the main parties involved in the question of Kampuchea to engage in dialogue. However, the way to a negotiated settlement can be opened only if all the parties involved are sincerely committed to the resolution of the dispute.

Australia is therefore pleased at the development in recent months of ideas for an informal meeting between the Kampuchean parties. A number of Kampuchean leaders, including His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk, have agreed to the concept of discussions aimed at resolving their differences and creating a new Kampuchean Government. That would be a step towards the long-standing Australian objective of a Kampuchean political settlement.

Australia is encouraged by the untiring and dedicated efforts of the Foreign Minister of Indonesia, Dr. Mochtar Kusumaatmadja, on behalf of the ASEAN countries, to explore with Viet Nam one formula for such an informal meeting, in which

(Mr. Woolcott, Australia)

Viet Nam might participate. The details of that proposal were clearly outlined by the Permanent Representative of Indonesia earlier this afternoon, and we are glad to note that Dr. Kusumaatmadja will be continuing his efforts.

Australia also appreciates the persistent efforts of Prince Norodom Sihanouk in pursuit of a settlement in Kampuchea. All sides recognize the key role which Prince Norodom Sihanouk must play in any successful process relating to the Kampuchean problem. Australia appreciates, too, the contribution of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative for Humanitarian Affairs, Mr. Rafeeuddin Ahmed.

We need, however, to acknowledge the complexities which still confront the parties in their search for a solution. We understand the problems and interests involved. Among them are the particular interests of the two super-Powers and of China, in addition to those of Viet Nam itself and those of the ASEAN countries.

In addition to the political issues, there are also compelling humanitarian aspects of the Kampuchean problem of which we should not lose sight. Australia is active in efforts to face these problems, which remain urgent and significant despite the valuable efforts of international relief agencies.

(Mr. Woolcott, Australia)

As a major resettlement country for Indo-Chinese refugees, including Kampucheans, Australia will continue to participate in resettlement efforts while cautioning against proposals which are unlikely to advance a permanent solution. It remains crucial to such a solution that efforts include the voluntary repatriation of displaced Kampucheans under guarantees that, should they return, their human rights will be respected.

International agencies have continued to provide assistance in the Thai-Kampuchean border area in response to demonstrated humanitarian needs. Australia will remain a firm supporter of such activities and of efforts to produce a more secure environment for the population of the border camps. Moreover, Australian aid directed to humanitarian needs inside Kampuchea will continue to be provided through bodies such as the United Nations Children's Fund, the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and non-governmental organizations. Our aim will continue to be to alleviate human suffering and to create conditions which will encourage Kampucheans to remain in their country and displaced Kampucheans to consider returning.

It is in the interest of all Kampucheans that all possible efforts be accelerated to find a peaceful solution in Kampuchea and that, in the meantime, pressing human needs meet with a generous response from the international community.

My Government is encouraged by the Secretary-General's view that he has discerned some signs of movement, confirmed by the consultations he has recently had in New York. We are encouraged also by his statement that recent initiatives and diplomatic exchanges do indicate a more active interest in achieving a settlement of this issue through dialogue and negotiations. Any narrowing of the gap between the position of the countries of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) - which Australia has consistently supported - and the positions of their parties can only be a positive outcome.

(Mr. Woolcott, Australia)

Meanwhile, Australia believes that the best contribution Member States can make to encourage progress towards a peaceful settlement in Kampuchea is to support the ASEAN draft resolution now before the General Assembly. That draft resolution embodies essential principles which we support. As in past years, Australia will vote in favour of draft resolution A/42/L.1, now before us.

Mr. PELAEZ (Philippines): Today yet again we are confronting in the General Assembly the tragedy of the Kampuchean nation and of the Khmer people. For almost nine years now, Kampuchea has been under the occupation of a foreign armed force, its national sovereignty and territorial integrity violated. For almost nine years now, that beautiful land has been ravaged by the unceasing conflict between a foreign armed force and the régime it has installed, on the one hand, and the Kampucheans, fighting for the freedom and independence of their country, on the other. The Khmer people have been deprived of their right to self-determination, their right to pursue their own destiny, their right to be governed by leaders of their own choosing: their right, in sum, to manage their own affairs without outside interference.

For almost nine years now, hundreds of thousands of Kampucheans have been forced to flee their country, deprived of their right to return to their homes in safety and compelled to rely for their survival on the generosity of neighbouring countries, particularly Thailand, and the compassion of the international community.

The Charter of the United Nations calls upon all States to respect the national independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of States, not to intervene in their national affairs, not to resort to the threat or use of force, and to settle their disputes peacefully. The continuing foreign occupation of Kampuchea has violated all those noble principles of our Charter. And for almost nine years now the tragedy of Kampuchea has shaken the peace and stability of

(Mr. Pelaez, Philippines)

South-East Asia and has seriously hindered the conduct of normal relations among the States of the region.

Every year since its thirty-fourth session, in 1979, following the invasion of Kampuchea and the start of its foreign occupation, the General Assembly has demanded the withdrawal of all foreign forces from that unhappy land. It has called for the restoration and preservation of Kampuchea's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. It has urged respect for the Kampuchean people's right to determine their own destiny. It has called upon all States not to interfere in the internal affairs of Kampuchea. It has encouraged every effort - by the Secretary-General, by the International Conference on Kampuchea and its Ad Hoc Committee, and by others - to work out a comprehensive and peaceful political solution to the Kampuchean problem.

Once again, on the question of Kampuchea we are called upon to express the will of the community of nations, as embodied in draft resolution A/42/L.1, sponsored by 63 delegations to this Assembly.

During this session there is reason to renew our hope that the aspirations expressed in the draft resolution may yet be fulfilled. Towards the end of July, the Foreign Ministers of Indonesia and Viet Nam agreed, among other things, that an informal meeting between the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea and the Heng Samrin faction would be held and that, at a later stage, Viet Nam would be invited to participate in that meeting. Viet Nam has since then expressed its willingness to take part in the proposed informal dialogue.

Like all the other countries of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN), the Philippines welcomes that development, for it is clear that no solution to the Kampuchean problem can be found without Viet Nam's participation.

(Mr. Pelaez, Philippines)

The great Khmer leader, Prince Norodom Sihanouk, President of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, has welcomed the proposal for a dialogue among all the Kampuchean factions with the later participation of the Vietnamese as part of his untiring efforts to restore independence to his country and peace to his beloved people.

There have recently been other initiatives and moves, including those of the Secretary-General, that point in the same direction - the direction of peace - strengthening our hope for surcease of the sufferings of the Kampuchean people.

There is thus reason for renewed hope that the perseverance of the international community, particularly as reflected in the yearly adoption of draft resolutions such as the one before us, may be bearing fruit. There is also reason for the international community not to waver in its resolve and to stay the course.

The international community must, in particular, persevere in its efforts to find a comprehensive solution to the Kampuchean problems, which should include the withdrawal of foreign forces from Kampuchea. Such a withdrawal should be in the context of a comprehensive solution rather than in the form of the partial withdrawals which Viet Nam claims are taking place each year.

(Mr. Pelaez, Philippines)

The international community is not calling for the withdrawal of foreign forces from Kampuchea in order to supplant them by any one Kampuchean faction - and certainly not by a faction that does not enjoy the support of the majority of the Kampuchean people. Such an outcome would be contrary to the very purpose of the labours of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) and the efforts of the United Nations on behalf of peace and independence for Kampuchea. It would go against the intent of our draft resolution, which is to allow the Kampuchean people to work out their own destiny and choose their own leaders and Government free from all outside interference. That is all that ASEAN and the great majority of nations and the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea itself desire.

In 1971 the countries of ASEAN proclaimed their vision of a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality for South-East Asia. Since then they have made much progress in strengthening their economies, in raising the standards of living of their peoples and in keeping the ASEAN region one of the most peaceful areas on the earth - to the benefit of the rest of mankind.

We in ASEAN share the universal conviction that the maintenance and promotion of prosperity depend to a large extent of the preservation of an environment of peace and stability.

The Kampuchean conflict constitutes a serious obstacle to peace and stability in South-East Asia. It has, moreover, kept Viet Nam and Laos from fully developing their relations with their ASEAN neighbours, to the benefit of all the peoples of the region. It has formed an undesired barrier between the ASEAN nations and those who support the Vietnamese position in Kampuchea, thus sadly hindering the development of mutually beneficial relations. That is why ASEAN is so deeply engaged in the search for peace in Kampuchea.

(Mr. Pelaez, Philippines)

During this session this Hall has resounded with voices calling for just, enduring and peaceful solutions to conflicts in several regions of the world. It is not asking too much - as the co-sponsors of this draft resolution, including ASEAN, earnestly ask - that the General Assembly reiterate its call for a comprehensive and peaceful political settlement of the one remaining international conflict in South-East Asia. We should not give the impression that the international community is wavering in its resolve to search for a just and lasting solution to that conflict and an end to the tragedy of Kampuchea. Another resounding vote for the draft resolution before us should provide the decisive impetus to the movement toward peace in that troubled land.

Mr. OUDOVENKO (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (interpretation from Russian): One of the most important problems facing the world community is the adoption of practical steps to eliminate the present hotbeds of tension in the world. For some years now the General Assembly has been considering various aspects of the situation in an important part of the world: South-East Asia. During the discussion of this problem, the positions of the parties concerned have become crystal clear. It is now well understood that a contribution to the improvement of the situation in South-East Asia would undoubtedly be made by a solution to the so-called Kampuchean problem that took into account the vital interests of the Kampuchean people and the political facts of life in the region. To that end we should do everything in our power to ensure a peaceful settlement of this issue and of the disagreement surrounding it.

A positive process for the solution of this problem could be developed more quickly if the deliberate kindling of passions about the situation in Kampuchea was not encouraged. A solution to the Kampuchean problem is not advanced by repeating

(Mr. Oudovenko, Ukrainian SSR)

year after year the same draft resolution entitled "The situation in Kampuchea". In our view, that only hinders the process of finding mutually advantageous and acceptable agreements with regard to the thorny problems in South-East Asia.

The draft resolution in document A/42/L.1 does not take account of the realities in the region and therefore disregards the efforts under way to achieve a political solution to the problem. That is a further demonstration of the irrefutable fact that any discussion in the United Nations of the question of Kampuchea without the agreement and participation of representatives of the People's Republic of Kampuchea is a violation of the sovereign rights of the Kampuchean people and constitutes interference in the internal affairs of that independent and sovereign State.

It is appropriate to recall - as has already been done from this rostrum - the enormous sacrifices made by the people of Kampuchea during the nightmare of the Pol Pot régime. Kampuchea must not be made to relive its tragic past. We must finally recognize that the People's Republic of Kampuchea is a political fact of life in today's world.

Contrary to logic, the seat of the People's Republic of Kampuchea in the United Nations continues to be occupied by the delegation of the fictitious Government of so-called Democratic Kampuchea, which includes Pol Pot criminals who showed their "dedication" to democracy by destroying more than 3 million persons - totally innocent victims.

The Kampuchean people, resolutely supporting their legitimate Government, wish to have peace with their neighbours so that, in peaceful conditions, they can focus their efforts on carrying out the task of national renewal.

The proclamation in the country of a policy of national reconciliation has met with a considerable positive response. We are convinced that this is a good basis for a settlement of the internal aspects of the Kampuchean problem.

(Mr. Oudovenko, Ukrainian SSR)

The Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea is trying to bring together all Kampucheans in one unified bloc, regardless of their past, their class, their ethnic affinities or their ideological or religious views. It has stated its readiness to begin negotiations with all Khmer groups and their leaders - with the exception of Pol Pot and his close associates, who are guilty of the genocide of their own people.

There has been consistent implementation of the agreement between the People's Republic of Kampuchea and the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam on the phased withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea. As is well known, over the past five years some Vietnamese volunteers have already been withdrawn. The next withdrawal will take place this year. The withdrawal process should be completed by 1990.

If we take all that into consideration, it is at the very least inappropriate for some representatives to make statements slandering the Vietnamese forces for the effective assistance they are giving to friendly Kampuchea to enable it to protect its people from the terror of the Pol Pot bands.

In the view of the delegation of the Ukrainian SSR, it is of exceptional importance in regard to a settlement of the problem under discussion that we bear in mind the declaration issued on 8 October this year by the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

(Mr. Oudovenko, Ukrainian SSR)

That declaration contains a political solution to the Kampuchean problem. It clearly reflects the genuine desire and legitimate aspirations of Kampucheans from various social strata to achieve national reconciliation, peace and independence.

Three countries of Indo-China - Kampuchea, Viet Nam and Laos - have repeatedly come forward with concrete proposals on ways and means to achieve a political settlement. It is regrettable that these proposals have not met with an appropriate response from the countries of the region. For example, the representatives of the countries of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN), meeting recently in Bangkok, revised the agreement of the Foreign Ministers of Viet Nam and Indonesia concerning support for informal meetings of the two sides in Kampuchea, in which other interested parties were to take part at a later stage.

The present discussion shows that there exist varying points of view about the situation in Kampuchea, but this does not preclude a convergence of positions in the approach to a settlement. The States of Indo-China and the ASEAN countries, which are the countries that have to face this difficult task, have traditions, political experience and political wisdom that should enable them to find a solution to the problems that have arisen in connection with Kampuchea so as to achieve peace in the region, in the interests of the Kampuchean people.

We agree with the view of the Secretary-General, who, in his report on the work of the Organization pointed out that

"there are also opportunities for strengthening peace in South-East Asia ...

It is evident that a resolution of the Kampuchean problem would open significant new opportunities - indeed, it is of crucial importance." (A/42/1, p. 4)

(Mr. Oudovenko, Ukrainian SSR)

The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR supports the efforts of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative Mr. Rafeeuddin Ahmed to bring about a dialogue among the States of South-East Asia in an effort to find a solution to the Kampuchean problem. We are convinced that the speedy normalization by political means of the situation in South-East Asia would be in keeping with the true interests of all the countries of the region.

No matter how significant their disagreements and differences in their approach to existing problems, there is something far more important - that the peoples of Asia are bound by a common historical fate and face similar problems. This in turn dictates the need for co-operation and good-neighbourliness on the basis of a broad concept of security which would be in keeping with the interests of each and every one of the States of the region.

As was pointed out in a statement made by the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, on 28 July 1986 in Vladivostok,

"There are no insurmountable obstacles to the establishment of mutually acceptable relations between the countries of Indo-China and those of ASEAN. With goodwill and no outside interference they can solve their problems and simultaneously work towards security in Asia as a whole."

A basis for this exists in the form of the constructive policy of and the practical steps being taken by Viet Nam, Laos and the People's Republic of Kampuchea to improve the situation in South-East Asia, especially in and around Kampuchea. The Ukrainian SSR fully supports this policy.

It is undoubtedly a difficult task to initiate a constructive dialogue in South-East Asia, but the earliest possible settlement in that region is an urgent necessity, an imperative of our time, and requires that all States Members of the United Nations show a spirit of realism and do their utmost to achieve this end.

(Mr. Oudovenko, Ukrainian SSR)

The General Assembly can assist Kampuchea by acting on the basis of a just and realistic approach to the settlement of the Kampuchean problem in the interests of the people of that country. The United Nations decision on this issue should be directed towards identifying and expanding the area of mutual understanding between the parties concerned and overcoming tension, mistrust and confrontation.

Mr. BIERRING (Denmark): I have the honour to speak on behalf of the 12 member States of the European Community.

The tragic situation in Cambodia is unfortunately still to be found among the distressing issues on the agenda of the General Assembly. The Vietnamese occupation of Cambodia has now lasted for eight years, in violation of the Charter of the United Nations and the fundamental principles of international law.

The world community has expressed itself clearly on Viet Nam's continued violations of Cambodia's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and has demanded the withdrawal of the occupying forces. Last year 115 countries, including the 12 members of the European Community, supported the resolution on Cambodia. That vote in favour of the resolution, the largest ever in favour of a resolution on Cambodia - can have left Viet Nam in no doubt as to the strength of the world-wide opposition to its unlawful and oppressive policy.

The Twelve have constantly supported the right of the Cambodian people to determine their own destiny without outside interference and their right to preserve their culture and national identity in a pluralist society. The present régime in Phnom Penh has no claim to legitimacy. However, the Twelve have no intention of contributing to the re-establishment of the Pol Pot régime in Cambodia. We share the collective abhorrence felt by the world community at the terrible abuses inflicted on the Cambodian people by Pol Pot and the Khmer Rouge. But this provides no justification for Viet Nam's illegal occupation and its imposition of an illegitimate régime.

(Mr. Bierring, Denmark)

We have recently seen much activity on the diplomatic front, raising hopes that prospects for a negotiated settlement had improved. However, we have seen no real evidence of a change in the policy of the leadership in Hanoi and no willingness to expedite the withdrawal of troops from Cambodia or implement successive United Nations resolutions. Hanoi and the Government installed in Phnom Penh continue to reject the eight-point proposal put forward in March of last year by Prince Norodom Sihanouk. In recent months there have been a number of initiatives, including in particular proposals for a so-called cocktail party meeting. The Twelve hope that these will help pave the way for a real dialogue on substantive issues and a negotiated settlement.

The Twelve believe it to be essential that a negotiated solution be found to the problem of Kampuchea. We continue to believe that the 1981 Declaration of the International Conference on Kampuchea offers the best basis for such a settlement. The Twelve urge Viet Nam to accept the successive United Nations resolutions based on the principles of the International Conference on Kampuchea. Nothing short of general and free elections supervised by the United Nations will satisfy the genuine aspirations of the Cambodian people to self-determination and independence.

(Mr. Bierring, Denmark)

A decisive element in any settlement is the immediate and complete withdrawal of Viet Nam's occupation forces and guarantees that Vietnamese forces will not re-enter Cambodia after their withdrawal. Partial withdrawal is inconsistent with the resolutions endorsed by the General Assembly. Viet Nam's declared intention to withdraw all its forces by 1990 remains insufficient and unacceptable. It is not for the occupying Power to put a timetable on the restoration of Cambodian independence and there is no guarantee that Viet Nam will actually live up to its declared intentions. The prolonged Vietnamese occupation is increasingly acquiring colonial overtones.

The situation within Cambodia and in the Thai border area is virtually unchanged. Within Cambodia the war continues to inflict untold suffering upon the civilian population as the Cambodian resistance continues to mount challenges to the Vietnamese forces. The refugees in Thailand have been unable to return to their homes. The Twelve and other countries have urged Viet Nam to cease its cross-border incursions and artillery attacks into Thailand, but to no avail. These clear violations of international law are unacceptable and only add to the suffering of the population in the refugee camps. Viet Nam should abide by the will of the world community and cease these activities forthwith.

The presence of approximately a quarter of a million refugees in Thailand places a heavy burden on that country. The Twelve once more applaud the humanitarian role played by the Government of Thailand and reiterate the commitment of the European Community and its member States to continue to support the programmes co-ordinated by the United Nations Border Relief Operation. In doing so we do not forget the admirable role played by voluntary organizations comprising nationals of the member countries of the European Community. All humanitarian efforts to relieve the suffering of the refugees are indispensable.

(Mr. Bierring, Denmark)

In conclusion the Twelve once more give their full support to the efforts of the Secretary-General, his representatives and the Ad Hoc Committee of the International Conference on Kampuchea, as well as the ASEAN countries, to bring about a peaceful and just solution to the conflict in Cambodia. The Twelve will once again give their full support to the draft resolution submitted by the ASEAN countries, calling for a peaceful and just solution to the conflict in Cambodia, the immediate withdrawal of foreign forces, the restoration of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cambodia and free elections.

No country professing adherence to the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter can escape its duty to support the draft resolution before us.

Mr. AL-HOSNI (Oman) (interpretation from Arabic): We are here today to discuss an important question: that of Kampuchea. This is an issue which threatens security and stability, not only in the region but also in other parts of the world. The General Assembly has been calling for the withdrawal of the Vietnamese forces from Kampuchea and the independence of that country since 1979, not only because this question has become a source of instability in international relations but also because of the human suffering involved. The deteriorating situation in the country has afflicted great numbers of its people with hunger and malnutrition. In addition, there is the repeated bombing of the Kampuchean refugee camps along the borders with Thailand. This, of course, is one of the results of the persistent situation in the country. Armed foreign interference still continues, the Vietnamese forces are still there and the economic and social problems arising from this situation are getting worse. This makes it necessary to respect the security and stability of the States of the region, refrain from interfering in their internal affairs and violating the rights of peoples to live in peace and choose freely their own political systems. For these reasons, the Sultanate of Oman has always adhered to and supported the resolutions of the United Nations on Kampuchea.

(Mr. Al-Hosni, Oman)

My delegation believes that the acceptance and implementation by Viet Nam of those resolutions would promote mutually beneficial relations between the States of South-East Asia and make it possible to establish the long-sought after permanent peace and stability in the region.

My delegation finds a number of positive aspects in the eight-point programme proposed by the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, dated 17 March last year, which demonstrate the resolve of the Coalition Government to reach a just and lasting solution to the problem of Kampuchea that would ensure the peace and stability of the entire region. Consequently, my delegation supports the overall eight-point programme, which has attracted the support of several other countries. Hence my country once again declares its support for the joint communiqué of the Twentieth Ministerial Meeting of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) held in Singapore on 15 and 16 June 1987. The communiqué reaffirms the need to reach a comprehensive settlement based on the withdrawal of all foreign troops, the restoration of the independence and territorial integrity of Kampuchea, the right of the Kampuchean people to self-determination under the auspices of the United Nations and national reconciliation in Kampuchea. In this respect, we pay special tribute to the efforts of ASEAN, especially those recently undertaken by the President of Indonesia who represented ASEAN in a dialogue with Viet Nam that was aimed at exploring and expanding all available options towards the settlement of the question of Kampuchea.

The Sultanate of Oman, in adherence to its principled stand on this question, joins the world community in calling for the implementation of the United Nations resolutions on the question of Kampuchea with a view to finding a just and comprehensive settlement thereto, so that the Kampuchean people may once again enjoy the peace of which they have been deprived and choose freely the form of government they desire.

(Mr. Al-Hosni, Oman)

On behalf of our Government, we wish to commend and support the efforts being made by the Secretary-General on the question of Kampuchea. We reaffirm that our support will continue and will be practical. That is why we are sponsoring the draft resolution on this question, in the hope that it will lead to the just, lasting and comprehensive settlement which the people of Kampuchea have long awaited.

Mr. FLEMMING (Saint Lucia): The draft resolution before us, entitled "The situation in Kampuchea", is not new. For the past eight years the General Assembly has adopted a similar resolution by an increasingly overwhelming margin. The draft resolution reiterates the international community's conviction that the withdrawal of all Vietnamese forces from Kampuchea, the restoration and preservation of Kampuchea's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, recognition of the right of the Kampuchean people to determine their own destiny and a commitment by all States not to interfere or intervene in the internal affairs of Kampuchea are principle components of any just and lasting solution of the Kampuchean problem.

Regrettably, Viet Nam still refuses to heed the views of the General Assembly. We are therefore faced with the very sad situation of having to meet here once again to consider the question of Kampuchea. The alternative, of course, is for us to forget the problem and allow it to take its own course; in other words, accept the present situation in Kampuchea, including the occupation of Kampuchea by Viet Nam. But can we allow this to happen? The answer is obviously no. The international community must persevere in its efforts to persuade Viet Nam to withdraw from Kampuchea. Not to do so would be tantamount to saying that it is permissible for a militarily powerful State to invade its weaker neighbour, overthrow its Government and impose a puppet régime on it. In this case, it would

(Mr. Flemming, Saint Lucia)

mean that Viet Nam's policy of might is right had prevailed and Viet Nam would then no longer have any incentive to negotiate a political solution to the Kampuchean problem.

No country, however big or strong, should be allowed to violate the important principles of international law, and, in particular, the United Nations Charter. It is therefore necessary for us members of the international community to maintain political and diplomatic pressure on Viet Nam to give it an incentive to negotiate a peaceful and just solution to the Kampuchean problem.

It is for this reason that Saint Lucia has joined the vast majority of Member States in repeatedly voting for resolutions on the situation in Kampuchea. This year the draft resolution has obtained 63 sponsors - 3 more than last year. This, in itself, is an indication of the international community's sentiments on the issue. It is also a signal to Viet Nam that, despite the almost nine years of its occupation of Kampuchea, the international community has not forgotten the problem or the suffering of the Kampuchean people.

Viet Nam really should stop trying to delude the international community into thinking that the situation is developing in a manner favourable to a political solution to the problem of Kampuchea and that of peace and stability in South-East Asia.

My delegation is firmly convinced that if Viet Nam is sincerely interested in finding a peaceful solution to the Kampuchean problem it should speak directly to the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, the legitimate representative of the Kampuchean people. At the same time, there can be no just and lasting solution to the Kampuchean problem unless Viet Nam withdraws its forces from Kampuchea and allows the Kampuchean people to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination, without interference or intervention in the internal affairs of Kampuchea.

(Mr. Flemming, Saint Lucia)

These important principles form the basis of the draft resolution before us. They are also consistent with the principles of the United Nations Charter and should, if implemented fully, provide for a comprehensive political settlement of the Kampuchean problem. We appeal to Viet Nam to heed the views of the international community and comply with the draft resolution.

Saint Lucia believes that the idea of a "cocktail party" proposed by the Indonesian Foreign Minister during his visit to Viet Nam last year is a good one in that it takes as a point of departure a dialogue between the Kampuchean people themselves. We are therefore heartened that the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, the member States of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) and Viet Nam have all agreed to participate in such an informal meeting.

Saint Lucia would like to urge all Member States of the United Nations to vote for the draft resolution before the Assembly, for by so doing we shall be encouraging Viet Nam to join in the search for peace and stability in South-East Asia. The longer Viet Nam delays in doing this, the more the Kampuchean people will continue to suffer.

(Mr. Flemming, Saint Lucia)

In conclusion, my delegation would like to refer to the Secretary-General's report, wherein he states that he is trying his best to find a solution to the Kampuchean conflict which is consistent with the fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations and which would enable the Kampuchean people to determine their own destiny. We support the Secretary-General's efforts and share his hope that concrete progress will soon be made in this direction, thus opening the way to the restoration of peace and stability in a region that has endured much too much suffering.

Mr. CANETE (Paraguay) (interpretation from Spanish): The relative impotence of our Organization in finding solutions to some of the world's more serious and potentially dangerous problems, far from demonstrating any imperfections in the United Nations, reveals defects in the conduct of some of its Members. Those defects can be corrected only by respecting the Charter and the fundamental principles of international law.

For this reason, we must be unstinting in our efforts to make it known to those Member States that have converted threats and aggression into instruments of foreign policy that it is in their own interest strictly to observe their obligations as parties to a legal and moral order.

Paraguay has always supported, and indeed will continue to support, negotiations as a means of settling conflicts, in the hope that those peoples today suffering foreign domination or threats to their security or integrity will as soon as possible enjoy self-determination, peace and security, which in turn should make it possible for them to promote their development and well-being. Attention to national security at the expense of the sovereignty of neighbouring States is inadmissible, given an international order that is interdependent.

(Mr. Canete, Paraguay)

In the case of Kampuchea, nearly nine years of occupation have passed. Eight sessions of the General Assembly have taken place, producing an equal number of resolutions urging Viet Nam to withdraw its troops. Though the basis for an agreement was established at an international conference in 1981, and good offices have been exercised by the Secretary-General, hundreds of thousands of Kampucheans have been obliged to abandon their homes. But the invading Power has not yet abandoned its intransigent attitude towards stable procedures for negotiations.

The repeated appeals of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea and of other Governments for a negotiated settlement of the conflict through reasonable proposals have been rejected by Viet Nam. Any delay only adds to the suffering of the people of Kampuchea and prompts the parties to the conflict to take even more radical positions.

The immediate withdrawal of occupying troops is the first step that must be taken towards restoration of Kampuchea's sovereignty and integrity; it would allow the people to determine their destiny without foreign interference.

We most certainly do not intend to do anything that will lead to a return of the untold suffering that took place under Pol Pot's notorious régime. Nor do we wish by silence or weakness of expression to contribute to the prolongation of retrograde conduct among civilized nations.

Peace for the people of Kampuchea is essential. We express our gratitude to the Government of Kampuchea headed by Prince Norodom Sihanouk. The achievement of peace in Kampuchea is in the interests not only of that country. The countries of South-East Asia attach paramount importance to peace, especially in the present circumstances, which threaten the stability and security of the subregion. But if peace is to be sound and lasting, it must be achieved by respecting the honour of nations, human dignity and the immutable standards of justice.

(Mr. Canete, Paraguay)

We appeal to the collective sense of responsibility in situations such as this which affect international peace, and we urge Member States to support the draft resolution sponsored by 63 States, which expresses our faith in law, as indeed it demonstrates our rejection of the use of force in international relations.

Mr. ALZAMORA (Peru) (interpretation from Spanish): Peru is speaking in this debate as a member of the Ad Hoc Committee on Kampuchea, as a Latin American country, as a country of the third world and of the non-aligned world committed to a political, negotiated solution to the situation in Kampuchea, a solution which allows its people freely to choose their own destiny.

(Mr. Alzamora, Peru)

In speaking this year, we are well aware of the initiatives put forward by various parties suggesting a development that could lead to a situation propitious to dialogue and understanding. This development should be encouraged by the international community in the interests of supporting the cause of peace and stability in the region and coexistence among its people in freedom and justice. Hence our statement is in keeping with the defence of self-determination, independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, and opposed to any outside intervention or interference. That has always been the basis of our position, as we defend these values in our own region and in others. Those values have also enjoyed international solidarity.

That international solidarity has been convincingly demonstrated today by the awarding of the Nobel Peace Prize to President Arias of Costa Rica for his invaluable contribution to peace and self-determination in Central America. That award corresponds to the world's endorsement of the efforts of Latin Americans to defend their right to self-determination, non-interference and peace. It will encourage us to continue our struggle with the same optimism and determination with which we must also pursue efforts in the international community to achieve in Kampuchea, whatever the specific circumstances, a solution based on political understanding that will restore peace and harmony to that part of the world.

Nevertheless, this debate should not be limited to the mere presentation of positions. We must draw conclusions from the Kampuchean experience and learn from it. Especially, we must bear in mind the two main elements of that situation: on the one hand the inevitable results of violations of the principle of non-intervention wherever they may occur; on the other hand the grave consequences to the very people of those régimes that use terror to gain and remain in power. Hence, we are committed to an overall and a balanced solution in Kampuchea which will put an end to foreign intervention and interference. Such a solution must take into account the need to ensure strictly full respect for human rights in

(Mr. Alzamora, Peru)

Kampuchea in such a way there will never be a repetition of the terrible crimes of the past. On no spurious political pretext, on the basis of no doctrine, must the people of Kampuchea again suffer the massive terrorism that has acquired such notoriety throughout the world.

Today, more than ever, it is imperative that we put an end to the long suffering of the fraternal people of Kampuchea. Their right to determine their future and carry on their national life in freedom, security and dignity must be fully restored.

We are prepared to make a contribution to this task in a spirit free of prejudice and extraneous interests. We wish only to see the restoration of peace and harmony in a free, independent, united and sovereign Kampuchea. Since we believe that the draft resolution contains the elements necessary to achieve those ends, by means of dialogue and negotiation, my delegation will support it.

Mr. BAGBENI ADEITO NZENGEYA (Zaire) (interpretation from French): For eight years now the situation in Democratic Kampuchea has been of concern to the General Assembly. Once again this year, for the ninth time in succession, the General Assembly is being asked to consider the question in order to formulate a new position in the light of new developments. Certainly, the objective to be pursued by the General Assembly remains: first, the withdrawal of all foreign, all Vietnamese, forces from Kampuchea; secondly, the restoration and preservation of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of that country; thirdly, the right of the Kampuchean people to decide on its own future; and, fourthly, a commitment by all States not to interfere in the internal affairs of Kampuchea.

However, it appears in the light of recent developments on the question that, as mentioned in the Secretary-General's report, that there have been many missions undertaken by the Ad Hoc Committee on the International Conference on Kampuchea, in Washington and in Singapore, where Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the States

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members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) have met, as well as in Vienna, Bangkok and Helsinki.

For his part the Secretary-General has initiated other missions to Hanoi, led by his Special Representative, Mr. Rafeeuddin Ahmed, who met with the Minister and Vice Minister for Foreign Affairs of Viet Nam, and in Bangkok, where he had talks with the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Thailand.

Furthermore, Under-Secretary-General Ahmed held talks in New York with the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Indonesia, who has been appointed spokesman for ASEAN on this question.

The Secretary-General himself has used his good offices in organizing many meetings with various parties to the situation in Democratic Kampuchea, especially with Prince Norodom Sihanouk of Kampuchea, the representative of the present régime in that country, the Prime Minister of Thailand, the Vice-President of the Lao People's Democratic Republic and the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of China, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines and Viet Nam, as well as with the President of the International Conference on Kampuchea.

For their part the parties directly concerned in the situation in Kampuchea acted in the following way: Prince Norodom Sihanouk made a statement on 18 September 1987 in which he expressed his readiness to take part in a joint meeting of the various Kampuchean parties, while the representative of the present régime in Kampuchea, replying to the initiative of Prince Norodom Sihanouk, issued a declaration in this connection on 28 September 1987.

The States members of ASEAN, in their efforts to ensure a peaceful, comprehensive settlement of the Kampuchean question, sent one of their representatives, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Indonesia, to Ho Chi Minh City to begin talks with the Vietnamese Government on the withdrawal of Vietnamese forces from Democratic Kampuchea and on the need to establish direct contacts between that Government and the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea.

(Mr. Bagbeni Adeito Nzengeya, Zaire)

None of these initiatives on peace, dialogue and negotiation can succeed unless the Vietnamese Government decides to withdraw its military forces from Kampuchea not partially or in stages, but completely. Only this can guarantee the success of all of these diplomatic activities.

My delegation is perplexed by the Memorandum on South-East Asia and Kampuchea issued jointly by the representatives of Viet Nam and the Lao People's Democratic Republic, in the sixth paragraph of point 1 of which there is the following statement:

"In consultation with the People's Republic of Kampuchea, Viet Nam will undertake another partial withdrawal of troops from Kampuchea before the end of this year. Since 1982 Viet Nam has, to this date, effected five annual withdrawals of its volunteer forces from Kampuchea. The forthcoming withdrawal will be carried out, however, for the first time, under foreign observation." (A/42/622, p. 2)

This statement is ambiguous and does not in any way indicate the willingness of the Vietnamese Government to withdraw immediately from Kampuchea, pursuant to resolutions 34/22, 35/6, 36/5, 37/6, 38/3, 39/5, 40/7 and 41/6.

My delegation would like to appeal to the Vietnamese Government to end its procrastination over the total and immediate withdrawal of all its military forces from Kampuchea and to refrain in future from interfering in the internal affairs of that neutral State member of the Non-Aligned Movement.

The conduct of States which are large in size and powerful in material and human terms compared to small States should be in accordance with the spirit of the Charter and not with the adage concerning the use of the right of force or of the more powerful to the detriment of the force of right in international relations.

Kampuchea is an independent, united, peaceful State and it wishes to play its

(Mr. Bagbeni Adeito Nzengeya, Zaire)

rightful part in the political settlement of the overall Kampuchean question and to contribute to the emergence of a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in South-East Asia so as to establish an atmosphere conducive to regional co-operation.

In view of the goodwill frequently expressed by the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, especially in proposing an eight-point peace plan in March of 1986 with a view to a political settlement of the problem of Kampuchea - a plan which, even though it is generous in every respect to Viet Nam, since it proposes the withdrawal of Vietnamese forces in two phases over a determined period and under the supervision of the United Nations, the Vietnamese Government simply dismissed - my delegation has become a sponsor of draft resolution A/42/L.1, which requires, in operative paragraph 2, the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea. My delegation is convinced that the draft resolution will win the unanimous approval of all delegations.

The meeting rose at 7.45 p.m.