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PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE FORTY-SECOND MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Wednesday, 2 November 1988, at 10 a.m.

President: Mr. CAPUTO (Argentina)
later: Mr. HUERTA MONTALVO (Vice-President) (Ecuador)

- The situation in Kampuchea [23]
 - (a) Report of the Secretary-General
 - (b) Draft resolution
 - (c) Report of the Fifth Committee

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The meeting was called to order at 10.20 a.m.

AGENDA ITEM 23

THE SITUATION IN KAMPUCHEA

- (a) REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (A/43/730)
- (b) DRAFT RESOLUTION (A/43/L.12)
- (c) REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/43/766)

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): I propose that the list of speakers in the debate on this item be closed this afternoon at 4 o'clock. May I take it that the Assembly agrees to my proposal?

It was so decided.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): In view of that decision, I request those representatives wishing to participate in the debate to put their names on the list of speakers as soon as possible.

I call on Mrs. Diallo of Senegal, who will speak on behalf of her delegation and also in her capacity as Chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee of the International Conference on Kampuchea.

Mrs. DIALLO (Senegal), Chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee of the International Conference on Kampuchea (interpretation from French): Today for the tenth consecutive year the General Assembly is beginning its annual debate on the question of Kampuchea. For 10 years now the Kampuchean people have been living under foreign occupation or have been forced into exile. No one is unaware of the causes of this misfortune that has befallen that country, a friend of Senegal, resulting from the foreign invasion and the flagrant violation of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries.

The United Nations has repeatedly expressed its concern at this situation, which unjustly creates pointless suffering for the population of a Member State and is a continuing threat to international peace and security. This concern was fully

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reflected at the International Conference on Kampuchea, which was convened here in July 1981. The principles set forth by the Conference for a political settlement of the question of Kampuchea include the complete withdrawal of foreign troops, respect for the right of the Kampuchean people to self-determination and the restoration to Cambodia of independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity.

From the beginning of the conflict my country, Senegal, has assisted in the activities designed to find a political settlement by supporting the Declaration of the International Conference on Kampuchea and agreeing to preside over the Ad Hoc Committee established by that Conference. My country has always been totally committed to the cause of peace in Kampuchea and in South-East Asia as a whole. We believe it is the duty of the international community to restore law in that country and to help the Kampuchean people, who are so proud of their history and their identity, to regain the ability to determine their own future, free from any outside interference and in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

My country has no hostility towards any of the parties involved, and its position is based on the fact that one cannot on any pretext whatsoever accept the use of force to overthrow the régime of another country. My delegation has already stated here that to authorize or endorse such manoeuvres would be seriously to jeopardize the security of many States and, particularly, the security of countries that do not possess great military strength. It would also be tantamount to recognizing and accepting the principle that might is right, which would in the long term lead to a challenge to the rules that govern international relations.

I emphasize that Senegal entirely shares the concerns expressed by the international community over human rights in Cambodia. In our view, the United Nations, within the context of its responsibility for protecting fundamental human

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rights, should do everything possible to prevent any return to the repression and atrocities that the Cambodian people have suffered in the recent past. The well-known policy carried out by my country in promoting and protecting human rights leads me to assure this Organization of Senegal's complete co-operation in this area.

However, Senegal could never agree to the prevention of a return to such abuses being used as a means of imposing a *fait accompli* or legitimizing occupation by force of the territory of a sovereign State, in violation of international law and the principles of our Organization.

For the first time since the last world war there has been a considerable reduction in the level of intensity of regional conflicts and in some cases there has been a period of relative calm. Thanks to an international atmosphere of *détente*, dialogue and negotiation have taken the place of confrontation, which restores to the United Nations an opportunity to fulfil effectively its primary function, namely, the maintenance of international peace and security. It is fortunate that the question of Kampuchea has to some extent been affected by these positive changes, which must be encouraged by the international community so as to speed up the movement towards a lasting political settlement.

In this spirit, we support the process of moving towards agreement which was begun at Bogor, Indonesia, within the framework of the Jakarta Informal Meeting. The importance of that Informal Meeting was emphasized unanimously from this rostrum by the major speakers in the general debate, a few weeks ago. The main advantage of the Meeting was that it brought to the negotiating table for the first time all the parties to the conflict and other interested countries of the region.

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Senegal always supports regional initiatives in the search for solutions to local conflicts. It encourages the South-East Asian countries to continue to explore all the ways and means available to them within the regional framework. My country reaffirms its support for the countries of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) in their efforts to find an appropriate political settlement of the question of Kampuchea in accordance with the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

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The central role of Samdech Norodom Sihanouk in any political settlement of the question of Kampuchea has always been emphasized by my country. This is why in Senegal we take a particular interest in the initiatives of Prince Sihanouk, among which the meetings in France in December 1987 and January 1988 with Mr. Hun Sen, the leader of the régime now in power in Phnom Penh, represented an encouraging move towards establishing a dialogue. We trust that the third such meeting, which is scheduled to take place in a few days' time in France, will confirm our view. For his part, the Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, continues to offer his good offices to the parties. The recent proposals to this end, which are referred to in paragraph 10 of his report (A/43/730) deserve close consideration.

More recently the non-aligned countries have established a committee to consider what contribution they could make to the quest for a solution to the problem of Kampuchea. In its dual capacity as a member of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and Chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee of the International Conference on Kampuchea, Senegal welcomes that initiative. The increased interest thus shown by the non-aligned countries provides my country with an opportunity to reaffirm its determination to continue to contribute within this framework also to the quest for a solution.

Senegal noted Viet Nam's decision announced last May to withdraw 50,000 soldiers from Kampuchea by the end of this year and the rest by 1990 at the latest. In the view of my delegation, as of the United Nations and most Member States, the withdrawal of foreign troops from Kampuchea is still the main key to a political solution. This withdrawal must be without pre-conditions and cannot be delayed under any pretext. We have unwavering faith in the wisdom and maturity of the Khmer people and believe that, freed from any outside interference, the Cambodians will take up the challenges of national reconciliation and the

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establishment of an independent, neutral and non-aligned Cambodia under the enlightened leadership of Samdech Norodom Sihanouk.

My delegation has studied with interest the report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Kampuchea (A/43/730). The proposals submitted this year to the Kampuchean parties and the other countries of South-East Asia are an important contribution to the search for a negotiated solution. My delegation also appreciates the work done by the Organization in co-ordinating humanitarian assistance to Kampuchean refugees. My Government takes this opportunity to pay a special tribute to the Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, for his tireless efforts in promoting peace in Cambodia. I associate in this tribute his principal colleagues in this difficult task, particularly Mr. Rafeeuddin Ahmed and Mr. Hedi Annabi. We would also like to express our thanks to donor countries and to Thailand, the host country, without which it would have been difficult to do anything to improve the fate of the Kampuchean refugees.

This year the Ad Hoc Committee of the International Conference on Kampuchea, over which my country has the honour and privilege of presiding, has held consultations with some interested Governments in pursuance of the mandate entrusted to it by the International Conference. The purpose of the consultations was to emphasize the continuing concern of the international community over the situation in Kampuchea and to win the broadest possible support for efforts to find a solution to the problem. On behalf of my country and of the members of the Committee, I should like to acknowledge the support and encouragement which my predecessor, Ambassador Massamba Sarré, and the members of his delegation were given in the countries visited by the Committee. I am also happy to emphasize the usefulness of the talks between members of the Committee and Mr. Leopold Gratz, President of the International Conference on Kampuchea. The yearly high-level

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contacts between President Gratz and the leaders of the countries concerned with the question of Kampuchea, and his advice and counsel, have indeed been indispensable to the proper discharge of our mandate. We wish to express once again our thanks and appreciation to Mr. Gratz.

I draw the attention of the General Assembly to the annual report of the Ad Hoc Committee, in particular paragraph 26, which reads as follows:

"The Ad Hoc Committee believes that the mission it has undertaken has served the objective of highlighting the concerns of the international community on the Kampuchean issue. The discussions held by the mission have been useful in focusing on the various related and complex issues. The Committee is encouraged that there seems to be a general convergence of views and interests for an early solution to the Kampuchean problem."

(A/CONF.109/13, para. 26)

Cambodia's history in the past decade has been characterized by misunderstanding, confrontation and needless suffering. This situation has lasted too long. We must redouble our efforts to help restore peace to the country without further delay. The positive developments since last year permit us to regard the future of Cambodia with somewhat more optimism. As stated in the annual report of the Ad Hoc Committee, a speedy solution to the Kampuchean problem is possible and desirable. All the parties concerned must continue to demonstrate the greatest political will, and the international community must take advantage of the opportunities offered by the present situation to advance the cause of peace in that subregion.

Senegal will continue to make its modest contribution to the search for a political solution in Kampuchea, within the framework of the United Nations and,

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more particularly, through the Ad Hoc Committee. However, with the sole desire of helping the Khmer people to regain peace as soon as possible, my country is also open to any other framework for a settlement approved by the international community that could lead to a peaceful solution, in accordance with the principles set forth in the United Nations Charter. Such a settlement must be based on the inalienable right of the Kampuchean people to self-determination and to establish an independent, neutral and non-aligned Kampuchea.

In accordance with these principles, my delegation agreed to be a sponsor of draft resolution A/43/L.12, which is now before the General Assembly and which we recommend for adoption.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): The next speaker is the Prime Minister of Democratic Kampuchea, Mr. Son Sann, who has expressed the wish to make a statement 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): The debate on agenda item 23, entitled "The situation in Kampuchea", of the forty-third session of the United Nations General Assembly also marks today a decade of occupation of Cambodia by the Vietnamese forces of aggression, still estimated at 130,000 men. So long as these forces of aggression remain in our country, the situation in Cambodia will remain precarious and miserable. Because of this military occupation, normal life and social and economic development will be impossible.

The number of votes of States Members of the United Nations in favour of draft resolutions on Kampuchea grows every year, in particular since the formation of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea in 1982. Last year, the votes in favour reached the maximum figure of 117 countries. This political and diplomatic pressure, together with international economic pressure and pressure exerted by the Cambodian people on the ground against both the Vietnamese Government and the Vietnamese occupying forces, remain an appropriate and effective means of forcing the Hanoi leaders to give up their expansionist policy and come to the negotiating table. Shifting from the "irreversible" situation in Cambodia, on which they prided themselves, the Hanoi leaders are now engaged in delaying diplomatic manoeuvres to loosen these pressures and rescue the tottering régime of their puppets in Phnom Penh. The question is whether or not Hanoi is sincerely interested in an equitable political solution in Cambodia.

The political leadership of Hanoi has shown much ingratitude towards Prince Norodom Sihanouk, who had helped it during the 1960s in its war of national liberation. Not only were the Hanoi leaders, in particular His Excellency Pham Van Dong, then Prime Minister of North Viet Nam, ungrateful, in addition they broke their pledge made to Prince Norodom Sihanouk somewhere in southern China in the spring of 1970 before the late Chinese Prime Minister, His Excellency

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Mr. Chou En Lai, that Hanoi would never invade Cambodia and would always be grateful to Prince Norodom Sihanouk. As for gratitude, Mr. Pham Van Dong sent back the five letters - three unopened - addressed to him by Prince Norodom Sihanouk in 1979 recalling these past ties and debts of gratitude in order to attain a just and equitable solution to the Cambodian situation created by the invasion by Hanoi's troops. The only token of gratitude by the Hanoi leaders was to declare the situation in Cambodia under Vietnamese domination to be "irreversible". In order to complete its age-old ambitions of expansion and domination - since the Kingdom of Champa was completely absorbed in the middle of the eighteenth century, and South Cambodia, a region formed by the Mekong delta and the Saigon area, was colonized in the nineteenth century - Viet Nam has not hesitated, either, to show ingratitude towards China, which had sacrificed men, equipment and \$20 billion to help Hanoi in its two Viet Nam wars, by choosing deliberately the Soviet camp.

In fact, had Hanoi sincerely wanted an equitable political solution in Cambodia, it would have agreed to participate in the meetings between Prince Sihanouk and Mr. Hun Sen in December 1987 and January of this year, as the other Cambodian parties had invited it to. The two meetings between Prince Sihanouk and Hun Sen did not succeed, obviously because of the intransigence of the Phnom Penh régime, dictated by the Hanoi leaders, as stated by Prince Sihanouk himself. Similarly, Hanoi had refused the International Conference on Kampuchea as a framework for a comprehensive settlement of the Cambodian situation created by the invasion and occupation of Cambodia by the Vietnamese forces of aggression. We should like to take this opportunity to reiterate our gratitude to the President of the International Conference on Kampuchea, as well as to the Chairman and members of the Ad Hoc Committee, for their untiring efforts to find a political solution to the situation in Kampuchea.

If Viet Nam can be brought to adopt a less intransigent attitude, it will be as a result of the ever-increasing votes of the United Nations Member States in favour of draft resolutions on Kampuchea and the pressure exerted on the ground. These favourable votes are in keeping with the wishes of the Cambodian people, who seek the total and unconditional withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia and the exercise of their right to self-determination. The two fundamental principles of international law - non-interference in the internal affairs of another country and the right of a people to self-determination - are also in accordance with the United Nations Charter. They are contained in the draft resolution on Kampuchea now before the Members of the United Nations.

Thanks to the encouragement of the 117 votes cast in favour last year, political and diplomatic moves have been undertaken to resolve the situation in Cambodia created by its invasion in late 1978 and occupation by Vietnamese troops to this day. Besides the International Conference on Kampuchea, which remains for us the ideal framework for negotiation towards a comprehensive political solution to the Cambodian problem, the Jakarta Informal Meeting (JIM), which took place in Bogor from 25 to 28 July 1988, has tried to serve as a starting-point for a peace process and negotiated withdrawal of Vietnamese occupying forces from Cambodia.

The Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, of which I am Prime Minister, supports the United Nations draft resolution on Kampuchea which is before the Assembly today. Nevertheless, we deem it necessary to make the following comments. The Samdech Norodom Sihanouk side and its military organization, the ANS, will remain an integral part of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, and Prince Sihanouk himself will remain the head of the Khmer resistance as long as the Vietnamese occupying forces remain in Cambodia. Prince Norodom Sihanouk has repeated time and again that he will never accept the framework of the Phnom Penh régime, nor will he ever return to Cambodia as long as

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the Phnom Penh régime refuses to dissolve itself. Moreover, he will agree to lead only when a quadripartite government of national reconciliation is formed. The Democratic Kampuchean side has already accepted the principle of dismantling the State of Democratic Kampuchea if the Phnom Penh régime agrees to dissolve itself at the same time in order to pave the way for the formation of a provisional quadripartite government of national reconciliation. We do not intend to exclude anyone. Quite the contrary, this is the only way to a genuine national reconciliation acceptable to the Cambodian people and the international community.

The Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea is convinced that - without the establishment of a mechanism to monitor the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia and ensure that they do not return on any pretext whatever - peace and security in the country will remain precarious and threatened. The international force for the maintenance of peace and security and the international commission on control and supervision are appropriate mechanisms for a lasting peace called for by the whole Cambodian people and their Coalition Government.

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These mechanisms would also serve to reinforce the authority of the provisional quadripartite government of national reconciliation, whose task would be to prepare and organize free general elections, to strengthen a genuine reconciliation in which no Cambodian party would be able to dominate or eliminate the others, to ensure respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for the whole Cambodian people, and to prevent any return to universally condemned policies and practices, as well as ensuring respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of a genuinely neutral and non-aligned Cambodia, and respect for the right of the Cambodian people to self-determination, free from outside interference.

When we speak of universally condemned policies and practices we mean especially those carried out by the Phnom Penh régime, which is the instrument of the invasion and occupation of Cambodia by Vietnamese troops.

During the Jakarta Informal Meeting held in Bogor from 25 to 28 July this year, Mr. Hun Sen, who led the delegation of the Phnom Penh régime, and Mr. Nguyen Co Thach, Deputy Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs of Hanoi, stated that all Vietnamese troops would be withdrawn from Cambodia in 1989 and during the first quarter of 1990 at the latest. Those statements were made in the presence of delegations from the 12 countries and parties concerned. On behalf of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea I requested that the timetable of the withdrawals be discussed in negotiations and carried out under international control and in the presence of an international force for the maintenance of peace.

To date, Viet Nam has opposed any international control of the so-called troop withdrawals and categorically refuses the dismantling of the régime which it installed at Phnom Penh two months after the invasion. Further, it demanded that the timetable of its so-called troop withdrawals from Cambodia be linked with the cessation of aid and assistance to the national resistance forces. Such an

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attitude clearly shows that Hanoi's statements on its troop withdrawals from Cambodia are mere manoeuvres aimed at sowing confusion and diversion within the international community. In fact, Viet Nam continues to send reinforcements into Cambodia to make up for its losses, and Vietnamese soldiers have already begun to wear the uniforms of soldiers of the Phnom Penh régime. Viet Nam's ultimate goal remains the legalization of the Phnom Penh régime and acceptance of the Vietnamese fait accompli in Cambodia by the international community, as well as the Vietnamization of Cambodia by Vietnamese settlers, who today total between 800,000 and 1 million.

All agree that if the Vietnamese do not end their occupation of Cambodia and withdraw all their forces they will never be able to solve their political, social and economic problems; nor will they be able to undertake development in their country. However, instead of coming to their senses in the interests of Viet Nam and its people, the Hanoi leaders have been pursuing their efforts in the international arena and diverting attention from the real root of the Cambodian problem, splitting the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea and destroying our unity and preventing reconciliation.

In order to reach a political solution of the Cambodian situation, it is essential that Hanoi sincerely accepts the reality of the facts. The Member States of this Organization are observing the Vietnamese delegation to see what Viet Nam can offer at this session of the General Assembly. In no event can it avoid the well-known fact that the Cambodian problem is by no means a problem of civil war but is indeed the result of the invasion and occupation of Cambodia, an independent and sovereign country, a Member of the United Nations and the Non-Aligned Movement, by the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam in flagrant violation of the United Nations Charter, the principles of the Non-Aligned Movement and of international law. It

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is the persistence of that invasion and occupation which constitutes the main threat to peace, security and stability in South-East Asia and Pacific Asia.

It is undeniable that the cessation of Soviet aid to Viet Nam would contribute rapidly to the withdrawal of its occupying forces from Cambodia. As long as the Soviet Union continues to help Viet Nam to occupy Cambodia it will not be able to convince anyone, in particular the countries of South-East Asia, of its policy of glasnost, even less of its peaceful intentions and its will to establish friendly relations with all the countries of the region.

Our eight-point peace proposal of 17 March 1986 bears witness to our sincere wish to put an end as speedily as possible to the war which has brought about the destruction of Cambodia and brought ruin to Viet Nam. It is time that we sat down at the negotiating table to find, between our two peoples and nations, a solution to the immediate and long-term problems, forgetting the past that has so divided us. An end to the war in Cambodia and to tension in South-East Asia is dependent on Viet Nam and the Soviet Union.

Before concluding, I should like to share a recent experience when visiting the site 2 border camp, sheltering over 170,000 displaced persons, following the Jakarta informal meeting. While there, I met a group of Khmer children. During five decades of service to my country, I have had the privilege of meeting leading figures from all the continents of the world, but I find that children often have great insight and great spontaneity. One of those children - who may have been in their twenties but whose physical appearance due to malnutrition and deprivation made them seem well below their real age - was listening attentively and quietly to my statement. When I had finished he stood up and asked me: "When can we go back home?" I was taken aback for a moment, but I answered him: "Soon". On hearing this he gathered what seemed to me to be a great deal of courage in his voice and said: "We shall wait". Those three words of hope did not leave my mind for many

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days. They were words of hope, just as the camps sprinkled along the border represent an oasis of Cambodian hope.

We Cambodians have suffered for a very long time. However, I am impressed by the spirit of tenacity of the Khmer people. Even after the worst moments of foreign occupation they have maintained their hope. The population of these camps, and in fact of all Cambodians, retain their hope today. They can hope because if there is a single fact that feeds their hope it is in the increased support of the United Nations. Many representatives in this Hall and the countries they represent can credit themselves with having fuelled the hope inspiring our people.

We have gone a long way together for nine years, and we can only hope that this problem will be settled as soon as possible. We need your support more than ever. We need this support in order, as in Afghanistan, to maintain the necessary pressure to obtain the withdrawal of foreign troops from Cambodia. We need this support to proclaim "No" to aggression. We need this support to say "No" to foreign occupation and domination. We need this support to say "Yes" to a Cambodia for Cambodians. We need this support to say "Yes" to a neutral, non-aligned and free Cambodia which finally, in peace, can participate positively in the work of the United Nations. We need this support as a step forward in the long ascent towards peace and stability in the world.

We are more than ever close to a settlement. It is necessary that we cast our votes in favour of the draft resolution on the situation in Cambodia so that we can bring the result to the negotiating table as a symbol of international support for the principles of freedom and self-determination in which we believe.

I should like to thank beforehand all representatives - I think it will be the great majority - who will vote tomorrow in favour of the draft resolution before the General Assembly. I should like to express my gratitude for your steadfast support.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the Prime Minister of Democratic Kampuchea for the important statement he has just made.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): I now call on the representative of Brunei Darussalam, who will introduce draft resolution A/43/L.12.

Mr. ZAKARIA (Brunei Darussalam): Just over four years ago, on the occasion of the admission of Brunei Darussalam as the 159th Member of this Organization, His Majesty the Sultan and Yang Di-Pertuan of Brunei Darussalam, in his address to the Assembly said that Brunei Darussalam

"accept[s fully] the obligations enshrined in the United Nations Charter....

[Brunei Darussalam believes] in the preservation of world peace through collective security....

"We have a major stake in the efficacy of international law, in the principles of the United Nations Charter and in the collective security system which the United Nations represents.... Our only hope is to look to the moral and persuasive authority of the United Nations and its machinery for the maintenance of international peace and security.... We firmly believe that the security and well-being of our country can be assured only on the basis of strict adherence to the basic principles of the United Nations Charter."

(A/39/PV.3, pp. 31-35)

I begin my address in such a manner because we feel that it is important that we constantly remind ourselves of our obligations to uphold the principles and objectives enshrined in the United Nations Charter. We also believe that the United Nations can be effective, as it has shown in a number of cases, especially in the last couple of months. All it needs is for each of us to show our willingness to accept our responsibilities which we pledged to this Organization. I am happy to say that there is now a visible trend evolving that shows that problems and conflicts can be settled by peaceful means and an awareness that wars can only bring misery and destruction.

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In the next two days we shall be considering an item that has been before the Assembly since 1979, an item that is of utmost importance to countries in South-East Asia, in particular to the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN), of which Brunei Darussalam is proud to be a member. The item entitled "The situation in Kampuchea" has been debated and discussed not only in the Assembly but also in other forums, both regional and international. I do not wish to recount the circumstances that brought about this problem. Suffice it for me to say that it is about foreign intervention and occupation, an act that is in contravention of the United Nations Charter, which states that

"All Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the Purposes of the United Nations".

The invasion and occupation of Kampuchea by Viet Nam is in contravention of this principle. This behaviour is in complete disregard of the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other States and in violation of international law and normal standards of international behaviour. This view is not ours alone, as many Members of the Organization have said the same thing. This is made abundantly clear by the fact that since the General Assembly first considered this item at its thirty-fourth session in 1979, almost 10 years ago, there has been a gradual increase in the number of votes calling for Viet Nam to withdraw its forces from Kampuchea. Last year 117 countries voted in favour of a draft resolution similar to the one that is now before the Assembly for consideration.

What does all this mean? Why did the 117 countries vote in favour of the draft resolution? They did so because they believe, as we do, that foreign intervention and occupation of any country is wrong. It is against the principles

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of the United Nations Charter. When the majority of Members of the Organization have expressed unequivocally their view that the invasion and occupation of another country is wrong, the only honourable way to put it right is to accept the weight of international opinion. To ignore the majority view can only lead to more suffering.

In ignoring the relevant United Nations resolutions, which had been supported by an overwhelming majority, Viet Nam must realize that it can only prolong the suffering not only of the people of Kampuchea but also of its own people. As a result, Viet Nam has been isolated and left out of the rapid economic development that has been taking place in the neighbouring countries. This stand will lead other countries, especially those in the region, to view Viet Nam with the suspicion that Viet Nam is not sincere, that it is not interested in working together to build a peaceful and stable region in South-East Asia.

We have stated many times and maintained that the countries in the region, including Viet Nam, have much to benefit from each other's co-operation. South-East Asia is already acknowledged as a fast growing region economically. It is already seen as a region of the twenty-first century. I am sure that no country in the region would want to miss the opportunities that lie ahead. But so long as the problem of Kampuchea is not resolved it will be difficult for Viet Nam to participate.

Since Brunei Darussalam joined the United Nations in 1984 we have made our position clear with regard to Viet Nam's occupation of Kampuchea. We have repeatedly called for the total withdrawal of all Vietnamese forces from Kampuchea. We view the intervention in and continued occupation of Kampuchea as obstacles to peace and stability in South-East Asia. We hope that in the present atmosphere of good will and optimism we can expect Viet Nam to show some measure of

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good faith and good will. We hope that the trend that is developing, a trend that leads us to believe that acceptance that conflicts can be resolved peacefully, will encourage Viet Nam to resolve this problem. We welcome the announcement that Viet Nam is going to withdraw some 50,000 of its troops by the end of the year. We welcome and appreciate its willingness to enter into a discussion, as shown by its participation in the Jakarta Informal Meeting (JIM), as well as the JIM working group meeting held recently. We want to encourage this process. We want to see, and I am sure the international community expects the same, that the announcement to withdraw 50,000 troops is sincere and that it will really be implemented, not as in the past as merely an annual exercise in public relations. Viet Nam's words will be judged by its deeds.

(Mr. Zakaria, Brunei
Darussalam)

We have all been made aware of recent developments regarding this problem. My delegation is encouraged and hopeful that a solution acceptable to all can be reached. Our view is reinforced by the willingness of all parties concerned to participate in the Jakarta Informal Meeting, held in Bogor, Indonesia, last July. That was the first meeting of its kind, wherein the representatives of all the four Khmer factions, Viet Nam, Laos and the countries of the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) met. Admittedly the meeting did not resolve the issue, but the important thing is that the Jakarta Informal Meeting brought together the parties involved. The initiative of the Non-Aligned Movement, the talks between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China, the meetings between His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk and Hun Sen in Paris are all efforts to resolve the problem.

Much work needs to be done as basic difficulties still remain, but the momentum must not be lost. International awareness and support can keep up the pressure and motivate all concerned to continue in earnest their search for a comprehensive and durable solution to the problem. This we believe is the role that must be played by the United Nations.

I wish now to introduce formally, on behalf of the 57 sponsors listed in document A/43/L.12 and seven others - namely, Cameroon, Djibouti, Greece, Guatemala, Lesotho, Nigeria and Senegal - the draft resolution entitled "The situation in Kampuchea", which is before the Assembly. This is an important resolution for us, member countries of ASEAN. Among other things, this draft resolution calls for the withdrawal of foreign forces from Kampuchea within the context of a comprehensive political settlement. This is the core of the resolution, the real issue. The problem of Kampuchea cannot be resolved until and

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Darussalam)

unless all foreign forces are withdrawn. The international community must continue to make this point to Viet Nam.

The draft resolution also reiterates conviction on the restoration and preservation of Kampuchea's independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and neutral and non-aligned status. It reaffirms the right of the Kampuchean people to determine their own destiny and their own future.

I must emphasize here that in order to achieve an independent, sovereign, neutral and non-aligned Kampuchea it is necessary that all States be committed to non-interference and non-intervention in the internal affairs of Kampuchea.

The draft resolution also mentions the non-return of the universally condemned policies and practices of the recent past. Some may interpret this provision as an interference in the internal affairs of Kampuchea, but that is not intended. It is not aimed at any faction. The reference is meant to reflect the expressed concern of the international community regarding the violation of human rights. The international community has some moral responsibilities and obligations to ensure that policies and practices of future Governments respect the sanctity of the basic human rights of the people it governs.

The United Nations, through its Secretary-General, Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, and his Special Representative, Mr. Rafeeuddin Ahmed, has played a significant role in the search for a comprehensive political solution to this problem. Mr. Rafeeuddin Ahmed has made many journeys to our region, and we hope that the Secretary-General will continue to work towards finding a solution.

We have pinned our hopes on the United Nations. We consider the United Nations as our protector, a body we can look upon to ensure our future well-being.

(Mr. Zakaria, Brunei
Darussalam)

We are all aware that the fundamental objective of the United Nations is to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war. The United Nations should continue to exert pressure on Viet Nam. All the members of this body should whole-heartedly support the efforts of the United Nations. We therefore call upon all present in this Assembly to vote in favour of the draft resolution before us. We feel that we are all at a crucial juncture and that there is an urgent need for international support, for this conflict must be resolved, and resolved soon.

Mr. KAGAMI (Japan): On behalf of the Government of Japan I should like first of all to express my appreciation to the President of the International Conference on Kampuchea, Mr. Leopold Gratz, to the Chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee, Ambassador Absa Claude Diallo of Senegal, and the other members of its Bureau for their efforts to promote, through a process of negotiation, a comprehensive political settlement of the Kampuchean problem. My Government's thanks go as well to Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar, his Special Representative, Mr. Rafeeuddin Ahmed, and his staff for the leadership and commitment they continue to demonstrate. I wish to assure them of Japan's committed support as they work for a peaceful resolution of the Kampuchean situation.

For nearly a decade now the Kampuchean people have been suffering under Vietnamese military and political domination. It was 10 years ago that Viet Nam sent its troops into neighbouring Kampuchea. Their campaign to regain their rights as an independent people under a Government of their own choosing has been costly. Many, including innocent women and children, have lost their lives; thousands of others have had to flee their homes and seek refuge in Thailand. The struggle

(Mr. Kagami, Japan)

merely to survive from day to day has left little energy and few resources for the rebuilding of their country and the luxury of planning a better future for the next generation.

What was clear 10 years ago remains clear today: the situation in Kampuchea cannot be resolved by military means. Only when a comprehensive political settlement has been achieved will the Kampuchean people, with assistance but not interference from the international community, be free to exercise their rights as a sovereign nation.

(Mr. Kagami, Japan)

In the year since we last gathered in this General Assembly Hall to discuss this matter we have witnessed some positive developments, including the series of talks being held between Prince Sihanouk and Hun Sen, Prime Minister of the so-called People's Republic of Kampuchea, as well as the convening in Indonesia last July of the Jakarta Informal Meeting, and we hope that the process of dialogue that was initiated through those forums will continue to be pursued.

Japan pays the highest tribute to Indonesia and the other members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) for their dedicated and farsighted efforts, and sincerely hopes that they will achieve steady progress toward our common goal of a comprehensive political settlement.

At the same time, I wish to reaffirm Japan's full support for the peace initiative of Prince Norodom Sihanouk, who has been actively engaged in a process of dialogue, specifically with Hun Sen. Prince Sihanouk continues to play a pivotal role in restoring peace and democracy to his country, and Japan is prepared to extend its co-operation as appropriate.

In his speech before the ASEAN post-ministerial conference with dialogue partners this past July, our Foreign Minister Sousuke Uno emphasized the three objectives which the international community must pursue as essential elements of a comprehensive political settlement: first, the complete withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea, under the supervision of an international observer team and an international peace-keeping force - indeed, the Vietnamese withdrawal is a prerequisite for a political solution; secondly, the restoration of an independent, neutral and non-aligned State of Kampuchea through fair and free elections; thirdly, the convening of an international conference to secure a political settlement and guarantee the settlement that is eventually achieved.

(Mr. Kagami, Japan)

The attainment of these three objectives will require the patient and persevering efforts of all parties concerned. Japan is ready to extend appropriate co-operation and support as concrete progress is made at each stage of the process. As Foreign Minister Uno stated last July, the Government of Japan will consider extending support in the form of financial contributions to help cover expenses involved in the deployment of an international peace-keeping force; Japanese civilian personnel to serve on an international supervisory team at the time of free elections; and the provision of necessary non-military material.

I believe it is appropriate on this occasion to point out that, while the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops is essential to a political solution, the recurrence of the inhuman policies and practices of the past must be prevented.

The thousands of Kampuchean people who have sought refuge in Thailand are placing enormous burdens on that country's Government and people. Thailand's courageous efforts to alleviate the suffering of refugees within its borders deserves our sincere admiration. Japan also pays a high tribute to the selfless devotion of all those engaged in the humanitarian refugee assistance activities of the United Nations Border Relief Operation, the World Food Programme, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the International Committee of the Red Cross and numerous voluntary agencies. The Government of Japan has contributed substantially to those activities and intends to extend human resources development assistance to help prepare the Kampuchean people for the task of nation-building. Japan calls on all countries to do their utmost to extend assistance, especially to the refugees along the Thai-Kampuchean border and in the holding centres in Thailand, as well as to affected Thai villagers.

Developments this past year have given us cause to hope that progress is indeed being made. It is thus more important than ever before that all Member States which respect international peace and justice continue to show their

(Mr. Kagami, Japan)

determination to achieve a peaceful and comprehensive settlement of the Kampuchean problem. For this reason, Japan supports, and has once again joined the ASEAN countries in sponsoring, draft resolution A/43/L.12. We call upon all Member States likewise to support it.

Mr. TRINH XUAN LANG (Viet Nam): Our world today is witnessing an important evolution from tension and confrontation to dialogue and co-operation in the settlement of disputes and conflicts at the global as well as the regional level. In keeping with that universal trend, the situation in South-East Asia has recently experienced far-reaching developments. Favourable factors have emerged for an early political solution of the Kampuchean question as well as for peace, stability and co-operation in this part of the world.

The situation in Kampuchea has steadily evolved for the better as a result of the great achievement of the remarkable revival of the Kampuchean people over the past nine years, and the encouraging outcome of the policy of national reconciliation of the People's Republic of Kampuchea. As a result, it has been possible for the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and the People's Republic of Kampuchea unilaterally to carry out six annual troop withdrawals since 1982 and to undertake the present, seventh, troop withdrawal. The great significance of this year's withdrawal is that it involves a large number of troops - 50,000, that is, half the remaining Vietnamese volunteer forces in Kampuchea - and their command, which was effectively withdrawn last June. The remaining forces have retreated 30 kilometres from the Thai-Kampuchean border and have been placed under the command of the People's Republic of Kampuchea. As in the case of last year's troop withdrawal, we welcome foreign observers to witness this year's withdrawal, announced in the 19 October 1988 communiqué of the Defence Ministries of Viet Nam and the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

(Mr. Trinh Xuan Lang, Viet Nam)

Obviously, the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and the People's Republic of Kampuchea are resolutely implementing the agreement between the two countries whereby all Vietnamese volunteer forces will be withdrawn by the end of 1990, or earlier, if a political solution to the Kampuchean question is achieved.

(Mr. Trinh Xuan Lang, Viet Nam)

On the basis of the agreements reached in Ho Chi Minh City in July 1987 between Indonesia and Viet Nam, representing the two groups of South-East Asian countries, the four parties of the two opposing sides in Kampuchea and the two groups of countries in South-East Asia, for the first time after 10 years of intense confrontation and stalemate, came together at the Informal Meeting in Jakarta (JIM) from 25 to 28 July 1988 for a dialogue, for discussions on a political solution to the Kampuchean question and peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia. At that meeting the delegation of the People's Republic of Kampuchea put forth a seven-point proposal aimed at solving the Kampuchean question, and the delegation of the Lao People's Democratic Republic advanced a seven-point proposal on peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia. The frank discussions at that meeting yielded important results, especially the consensus reached by the participants on the two key, interlinked issues of a political solution to the Kampuchean question - namely, the withdrawal of Vietnamese forces from Kampuchea and the prevention of the return to Kampuchea of the genocidal Pol Pot régime; and the timetable for the troop withdrawal, to be closely linked with the timetable for the cessation of all military aid to opposing Khmer forces and of foreign interference in Kampuchea. The meeting decided to set up a working group to examine all questions relating to a political solution and to make preparations for the second JIM. Those results were explicitly enunciated by the representative of Indonesia, as Chairman of JIM, in her reports to the meetings of non-aligned countries in Harare and Nicosia, as well as in the 5 October 1988 statement by Mr. Ali Alatas, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Indonesia, at this very rostrum.

Also in Jakarta, at the meeting with the four Kampuchean parties outside JIM, Prince Sihanouk put forward a five-point proposal, in the fourth point of which he accepted the maintenance of the existing framework of the People's Republic of

(Mr. Trinh Xuan Lang, Viet Nam)

Kampuchea, on the understanding that it would gradually evolve into a quadripartite administration. Prince Sihanouk and Chairman Hun Sen also agreed to meet again in Paris early this month for their third round of talks.

In sum, the outcome of JIM and the agreement reached between Prince Sihanouk and Chairman Hun Sen have not only broken the stalemate of the past 10 years but also created a framework for a political settlement of the Kampuchean question in both its internal and its international aspects.

Motivated by constructive goodwill as well as the earnest desire for the early achievement of a fair and reasonable political solution to the Kampuchean question, the delegations of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, the Lao People's Democratic Republic and the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam on 17 October, at the recent meeting of the JIM Working Group held in Jakarta, put forward a joint proposal regarding the settlement of the international aspect of this question. The joint proposal puts into concrete form the agreements already reached at JIM in July 1988 - namely, respect for and guaranteeing of the fundamental national rights of the Kampuchean people; the timetables for the withdrawal of the Vietnamese forces and for the cessation of all supplies of arms to the opposing Khmer parties as well as of all outside interference, with a view to implementing the conclusion reached at JIM on the two key, interlinked issues of the Kampuchean question; international control and supervision; establishment of a zone of peace in South-East Asia, with the principles governing the relations among countries of the region; and the convening of an international conference with a view to guaranteeing the implementation of the agreements to be reached. The full text of that proposal is contained in document A/43/758.

Faced with the aforementioned positive evolution, certain forces, for the sake of their own selfish interests and considerations, are trying to stonewall,

(Mr. Trinh Xuan Lang, Viet Nam)

exerting all possible pressure in an attempt to hinder or reverse that ongoing process of dialogue. That can be seen not only in the obstructive stance of the Khmer Rouge at JIM and its absence from the recent meeting of the JIM Working Group, which made the discussions there on the internal aspect of the Kampuchean question impossible, but also in the unconstructive attitude adopted by some of the members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) at that meeting.

At the meeting, one ASEAN country put forth a separate counter-proposal, which pursues the same old objectives, insisting only on a unilateral withdrawal of the Vietnamese forces and demanding that the cessation of the supplying of arms to the Kampuchean parties be implemented only after Viet Nam withdraws all its forces from Kampuchea and that the People's Republic of Kampuchea be abolished, and so forth. In fact, that was an attempt to minimize and reshape the results of JIM while resorting to distortions so as to shift onto Viet Nam the blame for delaying the search for a solution to the Kampuchean question. But that design and those acts were to no avail. The meeting of the Working Group, though it failed to yield the desired results, reaffirmed the agreements reached at the first JIM in its press statement released in Jakarta on 20 October 1988, which, among other things, contained the following passage:

"All participants shared the view that the two key issues of the Kampuchean problem, which are interlinked, are the withdrawal of Vietnamese forces from Kampuchea, to be carried out within the context of an overall political solution, the prevention of the recurrence of genocidal policies and practices of the Pol Pot régime, and the ensuring of the cessation of all foreign interference and external arms supplies to the opposing Kampuchean forces. They also saw the need to set definite timetables and to provide an effective international presence to supervise these processes".

(Mr. Trinh Xuan Lang, Viet Nam)

The statement also indicated that the JIM Working Group would meet again from 12 to 14 December 1988 to prepare for the meeting of the second JIM, to be convened in January 1989. In the coming days, Prince Sihanouk and Chairman Hun Sen will hold their third round of talks, in Paris, as agreed. It is clear, therefore, that, despite numerous obstacles and difficulties, the process of dialogue now under way among the South-East Asian countries and between the Kampuchean parties cannot be reversed, because it conforms with the universal trend and meets the common aspirations of the peoples of the region.

(Mr. Trinh Xuan Lang, Viet Nam)

It is necessary to stress further that a solution in the JIM spirit of the two key interlinked issues is absolutely essential for a just and durable settlement of the Kampuchean question as well as for lasting peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia. The withdrawal of the Vietnamese forces must be closely linked to the prevention of the return of the Pol Pot-ists, because only on this condition can the Kampuchean people fully exercise their fundamental national rights, including the right to live without the danger of genocide and to build a peaceful, independent, neutral and non-aligned Kampuchea, contributing to peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia. Should the Vietnamese troops be withdrawn without the genocidal Pol Pot régime being prevented from returning to Kampuchea, the terrible scourge visited upon the land and people of Kampuchea during the period 1975 to 1978, which has been condemned by the whole of mankind, would again plague the reviving land of Angkor. This is a matter of great concern to the world public, and finds its latest expression in the recent plea of 12 Nobel laureates, especially at a time when the Khmer Rouge is feverishly building up its caches of arms and intensifying its acts of sabotage inside Kampuchea, outrageously violating human rights in the refugee camps under their control, where, according to The New York Times of 23 October 1988, "7,000 Cambodians had disappeared" and others were "prisoner-slaves ... pressed into the service of the Khmer Rouge war machine".

In the present situation, there are three options for achieving a political solution of the Kampuchean problem. The first is a comprehensive settlement which solves both the internal and the international aspects of the problem, and this we desire most. The second option is a partial solution in which the internal aspect is solved first; while in the third option the international aspect is solved first. The possibility of this has been indicated by the results of JIM and the

(Mr. Trinh Xuan Lang, Viet Nam)

recent meeting of its working group. Should an agreement on the international aspect of the Kampuchean question be reached, it would encourage and provide active support for the Kampuchean parties in solving their internal problems.

Like various disputes and conflicts in other parts of the world, the Kampuchean question must be solved first of all by those directly concerned, namely, the Kampuchean parties and the countries in South-East Asia. Various forums can play a complementary and reinforcing role. Reality has also shown that only through co-operation among the countries in the region can the problems there be solved in a manner which conforms to each country's security interests and to the interests of peace and stability in the region. We therefore hold that the positive and constructive attitude at this juncture is to encourage and promote the ongoing process of dialogue among the South-East Asian countries and the Kampuchean parties, with a view to finding an early, fair and reasonable political solution to the Kampuchean issue and achieving peace and stability in South-East Asia.

Along with the judicious resolutions on South-East Asia and Kampuchea, adopted at its sixth, seventh and eighth summit Conferences, the Non-aligned Movement has, over the past several years and especially since early this year, made an active and positive contribution, supporting the South-East Asian countries and the Kampuchean parties in their endeavours to bring about a fair and reasonable solution. Very recently a 13-member committee of the Non-Aligned Movement has been established with the clear mandate of supporting and reinforcing the JIM process.

By contrast, United Nations resolutions on Kampuchea in past years not only have failed to solve the problem, but have given rise to confrontation between the South-East Asian countries in this forum. As a result, as happened with the wars that have started and ended in South-East Asia in the course of the past 40 years, the process of finding a political solution of the Kampuchean question is taking place outside the United Nations framework.

(Mr. Trinh Xuan Lang, Viet Nam)

With the desire of opening a new chapter of co-operation on the Kampuchean question between South-East Asian countries at the United Nations, as was the case at the non-aligned ministerial meeting held in Nicosia last September, and in order to support the JIM process, at the beginning of this session Viet Nam and Laos made a proposal whereby, together with the ASEAN countries, we would agree on a new draft resolution on Kampuchea that would welcome and express full support for the efforts of the South-East Asian countries and the Kampuchean parties and call on them to keep the United Nations regularly informed of progress thereon.

Regrettably, however, the ASEAN countries did not accept our constructive proposal. On the contrary, they pressed on with their own draft resolution, which does not reflect the JIM consensus but repeats many points of the old resolutions, which we have rejected. That is why Viet Nam and its friends will once again have to reject the ASEAN countries' draft resolution as clearly pointed out in the statement dated 18 October 1988 by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Viet Nam (A/43/725).

We reiterate once again that only through dialogue and co-operation among the countries in the region and among the Kampuchean parties can an early, satisfactory political solution be found to the question of Kampuchea and that of peace and stability in South-East Asia. In this spirit, we welcome all initiatives that help stimulate the ongoing process of dialogue in the region. We also welcome the United Nations Secretary-General's continuing efforts to contribute to that process.

At this juncture the only positive and constructive attitude for the United Nations and other international forums to adopt is, in our view, to encourage and reinforce the JIM process, or at least to respect the regional consensus and to

(Mr. Trinh Xuan Lang, Viet Nam)

refrain from doing anything that might hinder the ongoing process of dialogue, such as adopting the one-sided draft resolution before us.

Mr. SUTRESNA (Indonesia): Ever since the beginning of the conflict in Kampuchea, our Organization has been continuously preoccupied with efforts to bring to an end the protracted strife and bloodshed in that hapless nation and the immense suffering of its people. Because of the magnitude of the violations of the Charter principles, this Assembly, at successive sessions and by overwhelming majorities, has unambiguously pronounced itself on the fundamental issues involved. Thus, it has emphatically reaffirmed the inadmissibility of foreign intervention in the internal affairs of Kampuchea, and upheld its people's right to determine their destiny, while at the same time offering an equitable framework for a comprehensive political settlement of the problem.

(Mr. Sutresna, Indonesia)

Rather than receiving a positive response to this world-wide concurrence of views and to various other initiatives and proposals, the international community has been in the past faced by the untenable claim of the irreversibility of the situation and by a persistent reliance on a policy of seeking a militarily imposed solution.

Although the question of Kampuchea has been perceived to be locked in a stalemate, it is being considered this year against the backdrop of some encouraging trends in the international arena marked by a relaxation of tension and the opening of new possibilities for resolving protracted conflicts in various regions of the world. In Asia, Africa, Europe and Central America, political dialogue and rapprochement are taking place for the first time between erstwhile adversaries and hostile neighbours. These developments have brought about a sense of fluidity on the global political scene and have raised hopes that many regional problems may now be moving towards meaningful negotiations instead of being mired in prolonged hostilities and armed confrontation.

On the problem of Kampuchea as well, there has been a discernible movement. Indonesia believes that we should seize the momentum for the peaceful resolution of disputes as well as the new opportunities and challenges to forge ahead in the efforts to resolve the conflict situation in our own region. Our hopes were further heightened by Viet Nam's intention to withdraw 50,000 troops by the end of this year and the rest by 1990, as well as the meetings held between Prince Sihanouk and Mr. Hun Sen in December 1987 and January 1988.

From the very beginning of the conflict, Indonesia and the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) have been motivated by the sincere desire to contribute to a just and lasting settlement based on the immutable principles of self-determination, sovereign equality, non-aggression and non-interference

(Mr. Sutresna, Indonesia)

enshrined in the Charter. Hence, the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchean soil and the restoration of Kampuchea's independence and sovereignty under a freely elected government of its people's own choice must necessarily form the basis for any solution, as this would constitute a revindication of those principles. Firmly convinced of the validity of these principal elements, ASEAN launched a series of initiatives, including the Joint Appeal made on 21 September 1983 by the ASEAN Foreign Ministers, which outlined a series of initial steps, including inter alia a cease-fire and the introduction of peace-keeping forces. Subsequently, in May 1984, they issued a Joint Statement endorsing the call for national reconciliation. In yet another manifestation of ASEAN's sincerity, the annual Ministerial Meeting in July 1985 proposed indirect or proximity talks between the parties directly concerned. Finally, the Manila summit meeting of ASEAN in December 1987 affirmed its previous pronouncements and called on Viet Nam to undertake positive measures to resolve the situation in Kampuchea.

For its part, Indonesia, as the designated interlocutor of ASEAN, has sought to bridge the widely divergent positions and endeavoured to explore all avenues which could lead to genuine dialogue among the parties to the conflict. In this, the Ho Chi Minh City Understanding reached between the Foreign Ministers of Indonesia and Viet Nam in July 1987 was an important development as it provided a viable framework for preliminary discussions in an informal setting for the parties directly involved and other concerned countries. As a result of extensive contacts and the resulting positive responses to our invitations, the Jakarta Informal Meeting was convened last July. Attending the Meeting in the first stage were the four Kampuchean factions. This was followed by the second stage, which, in addition to the four Kampuchean factions, also was attended by the Ministers for Foreign Affairs or other high-level officials of ASEAN, Viet Nam and Laos.

(Mr. Sutresna, Indonesia)

Availing itself of the unique opportunity for dialogue, the Meeting proceeded in a constructive atmosphere characterized by a willingness on all sides to find areas of common ground on the complex and difficult aspects of the problem. It also signalled a determination to discuss the situation in Kampuchea in all its ramifications and a wish to move forward in a purposeful and serious manner. Above all, it reflected acceptance of the proposition that consultation should replace sterile confrontation.

At the conclusion of the Jakarta Informal Meeting, the Foreign Minister of Indonesia, in his capacity as Chairman, with the concurrence of the participants issued a statement reflecting consensus on certain aspects of a settlement. First, the Kampuchean problem could be resolved only through political means and not through force of arms or military means. Secondly, self-determination and national reconciliation should constitute the basis for the ultimate objective of an independent, sovereign and non-aligned Kampuchea. Thirdly, the two interlinked issues of the Kampuchean question are the withdrawal of all Vietnamese forces from Kampuchea, to be carried out within the context of an overall political solution, and the prevention of the recurrence of the situation that prevailed prior to 1978. Fourthly, there should be a cessation of all foreign interference and external arms supplies to the opposing Kampuchean forces. Fifthly, definite timetables should be set, and an effective, international presence to supervise these processes should be provided for.

The concluding document also contained an agreement for a Working Group to identify areas of convergence on the detailed and specific aspects of a political solution or define in concrete terms those outstanding issues requiring further consideration. While the Working Group has yet to issue its final report, it has

(Mr. Sutresna, Indonesia)

already recommended the convening of the Second Jakarta Informal Meeting next January in order to sustain the momentum of these efforts.*

Indonesia was greatly honoured by the confidence and trust reposed in us to host and prepare the convening of the informal meeting as envisaged by the Ho Chi Minh City Understanding. From the outset, the Meeting has set itself the modest goal of exploring areas of common ground, and it can rightly be said to have made a constructive beginning towards this objective. It is Indonesia's hope that, by facilitating and providing an appropriate venue and climate for the holding of this informal meeting, it has created an opportunity for progress.

Nevertheless, wide divergences still exist, especially on the modalities for reaching a solution. These include: the question of the withdrawal of foreign forces from Kampuchea; the formation of a provisional government; the creation of an international body to supervise the process of withdrawal and to organize a general election; the future political status of a Kampuchea under a government elected by the Kampuchean people themselves, free from foreign interference and posing no threat to any of its neighbours; and, finally, guarantees of adherence by the major Powers to any peaceful solution arrived at by the parties involved through the mechanism of an international conference.

These are indeed formidable problems. However, if these efforts continue in an atmosphere of good will and a spirit of compromise, we shall succeed in identifying the essential ingredients as regards all these aspects. A beginning has been made, and we should continue to work assiduously to achieve a general framework for an overall political solution. If we can summon the political will

*Mr. Huerta Montalvo (Ecuador), Vice-President, took the Chair.

(Mr. Sutresna, Indonesia)

and political vision to recast our relationships within that broad perspective, dialogue will continue to be meaningful and of real and lasting value.

In this context, my delegation has noted the Joint Proposal contained in document A/43/758. Without prejudice to the proposal itself, it is the view of my delegation that at this delicate stage it should best be left for consideration within the already-established framework of the Jakarta Informal Meeting. Ultimately, it is up to the parties directly involved to take up this and other proposals during the forthcoming Second Jakarta Informal Meeting.

(Mr. Sutresna, Indonesia)

We are aware that in addition to the process begun by the Jakarta Informal Meeting, there are other initiatives and parallel efforts under way towards a settlement of the Kampuchean problem. We welcome them as we believe they also constitute a meaningful contribution to the search for peace. But to the extent that the Jakarta process has provided a substantive basis for preparing and defining the essential components for a solution, it should contribute to all other efforts and initiatives to resolve the question.

In this regard, my delegation would like to express its deep appreciation for the good offices of the Secretary-General, Javier Perez de Cuellar, and his Special Representative, Mr. Rafeeuddin Ahmed. Indonesia also wishes to express its gratitude to the President of the International Conference on Kampuchea, Mr. Leopold Gratz, to the Chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee, Mrs. Absa Claude Diallo, and its members, for their dedication and contribution towards a peaceful solution to the conflict. At the same time, we welcome the initiative taken by the Chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement, especially for the endorsement given to the regional initiative and the international framework of support necessary for a comprehensive settlement of the Kampuchean problem. And Indonesia and ASEAN, of course, remain fully supportive of Prince Sihanouk who, with courage and conviction, has devoted unrelenting efforts to restore his homeland to independence, peace and harmony. His visionary leadership and the high esteem and confidence in which he is held by his people is of unquestionable importance. Therefore, in any efforts to resolve the Kampuchean problem, his views and approach should be accorded commensurate weight.

A related problem which ASEAN, as countries of first asylum, has to face is that of the influx of Indo-Chinese refugees and displaced persons. The situation has been further compounded by new flows of refugees, even while the status of numerous long-standing refugees has yet to be settled. Indeed, during the past

(Mr. Sutresna, Indonesia)

year their number has increased, imposing a mounting economic burden and serious socio-political and security problems on them, particularly Thailand. Of late the concerted efforts that are being made with the participation of Viet Nam and Laos point to the urgent need to devise a more effective strategy to deal with the root causes underlying their continuing influx.

In our continuing efforts to contribute to a just and lasting solution of the problem of Kampuchea, we have been greatly encouraged by the positive developments that have taken place in the international arena and in the regional context of South-East Asia. ASEAN believes that at this crucial stage we should move purposefully to transform Kampuchea from an arena of unceasing conflict and strife into a land of peace and tranquility, at peace with itself and with its neighbours.

Hence, draft resolution A/43/L.12, now before us, includes elements which could constitute the principal components for a lasting settlement. It also provides a broad framework for creating mutual understanding and the necessary confidence among all the parties concerned. Moreover, reflecting ASEAN's balanced approach and flexibility, the draft resolution is in some ways a departure from the past as it reflects certain significant developments that have taken place during the last year. These new elements take into account the concerns raised by the countries directly involved and other States. In this context, it envisages, among other things, the convening of an international conference under the auspices of the Secretary-General.

Broad-based support for the draft resolution would facilitate a comprehensive and negotiated settlement of the Kampuchean question, thereby allowing the nations of the region to redirect their attention and energies towards the pressing tasks of national development and regional co-operation, leading to a new pattern of relationships based on a structure of stability and harmony in South-East Asia.

Mr. SHAHID (Maldives): I should like to take this opportunity to express briefly the views of my delegation on agenda item 23, "The Situation in Kampuchea". In this context, I should like to thank the Secretary-General for his report on the situation in Kampuchea contained in document A/43/730.

Since the occupation of Kampuchea by foreign forces in December 1978, the people of Kampuchea, with the support of the countries of the region and the world community, have been trying to find a comprehensive peaceful solution to the issue. Since 1979 the General Assembly has repeatedly passed resolutions on this issue calling for 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.

My delegation has co-sponsored resolutions on the issue in successive years. Our support for these resolutions calling upon the parties involved to adhere to the United Nations Charter in solving these issues, has been based on our strong belief that just and permanent solutions to such problems should be found within the framework of the United Nations Charter and with respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of the people involved.

My delegation would like to note the positive developments mentioned in the Secretary-General's report regarding the issue and to congratulate the Secretary-General for his efforts in bringing about a more conducive environment for a peaceful settlement. In this context I shall not forget to mention the untiring efforts and commitment of the regional countries to bring about a lasting solution to the problem. Clear evidence of the present environment was the Jakarta informal talks held in July this year. My delegation earnestly awaits further positive developments from those talks.

(Mr. Shahid, Maldives)

As in past years, my delegation has this year co-sponsored the draft resolution on the issue. However, I should like to make the following remarks on paragraph 2 of draft resolution A/43/L.12. We fully understand the objectives that have led to this paragraph's inclusion in the draft resolution, and we whole-heartedly support the spirit behind it. However, commenting on this paragraph, we feel that since the prescribed arrangement is of a specific nature it could more appropriately be dealt with within the context of the political solution envisaged through negotiations and consultations among the various factions and other parties concerned. My delegation also wishes to place it on record that this view does not reflect our position in supporting and sponsoring the draft resolution in its entirety.

Mr. STRESOV (Bulgaria): For some time now the international community has been witnessing certain encouraging trends in international relations. They seem to offer better prospects for the successful solution of a number of serious problems in different parts of the world. The item under consideration is a case in point. A just settlement of the problem relating to the situation in Kampuchea is of great importance. It would contribute greatly to the efforts to secure a durable peace and strengthen security in South-East Asia.

(Mr. Stresov, Bulgaria)

Its positive impact on the overall international climate would undoubtedly enhance the chances for peace, security and co-operation throughout the world. It is for these reasons that the People's Republic of Bulgaria has always supported all efforts which genuinely aim at overcoming existing difficulties and finding a just political solution to the problems relating to Kampuchea.

The Bulgarian delegation notes with satisfaction that a number of encouraging recent developments have been improving the prospects for such a solution. On the basis, and in continuation, of steps undertaken last year, a two-stage informal meeting of the parties to the conflict and interested countries was convened at Jakarta last summer. The seven-point position of the People's Republic of Kampuchea on a comprehensive political solution of the Kampuchean problem and the seven-point proposal of the Lao People's Democratic Republic on the establishment of a zone of peace, stability, friendship and co-operation in South-East Asia are undoubtedly a significant contribution to that meeting. We were also encouraged to note agreement in identifying the interlinked key issues of the withdrawal of the volunteer Vietnamese forces from Kampuchea and of the prevention of the return there of the genocidal Pol Pot régime responsible for the tragedy sustained by the Kampuchean people in the last 1970s. A timetable for a concurrent cessation of arms supplies to the opposing Kampuchean forces and of any foreign interference was also considered.

These results are an important addition to the consistent efforts of the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea to bring about a just political solution aimed at building a peaceful, independent, democratic, sovereign, neutral and non-aligned Kampuchea. Its policy of national reconciliation and its numerous constructive initiatives designed to meet the legitimate interests of other concerned parties exemplify the seriousness and the potential of these efforts.

(Mr. Stresov, Bulgaria)

We also highly appreciate and support the unrelenting efforts of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and of the Lao People's Democratic Republic towards a comprehensive political solution of the Kampuchean problem and the establishment of a zone of peace, stability, friendship and co-operation in South-East Asia, particularly the joint proposal by the two countries made to the working group meeting at Jakarta on 17 October 1988. The Bulgarian delegation reiterates its full support for these efforts.

The results of other recent international meetings point in the same direction. Among these, the position expressed in the Final Document of the Conference of Foreign Ministers of the Non-Aligned Countries, held in Nicosia from 5 to 9 September, and the initiative to explore possibilities and prospects of the Non-Aligned Movement towards the search for a peaceful settlement in Kampuchea should be noted.

It is our view that the present moment is one of great importance. The potential of the results achieved so far should not be wasted but should be fully explored and put to good use. Reverting to one-sided and unrealistic attitudes would be detrimental both to the Kampuchean people and to peace and stability in the South-East Asian region. This must be avoided at all cost. The emerging prospects for a just political solution of the problems relating to Kampuchea should be given a fair chance to succeed.

We believe that the United Nations has its share of responsibility in this respect. As shown by recent developments, a reasonable amount of goodwill and readiness to pursue constructively the dialogue could place within reach a just political solution to the Kampuchean problem. Unfortunately, the draft resolution A/43/L.12, presented for action to the General Assembly, fails to meet these requirements or to take into account the changing realities of the situation itself.

(Mr. Stresov, Bulgaria)

There seems to be an attempt to follow the same pattern again this year, as in previous years. My delegation will not be able to support the draft resolution as it stands now. However, Bulgaria would like to reiterate its hope that the efforts of the three countries of Indo-China, of Indonesia, and the other ASEAN countries will lead to the achievement of a just political solution to the Kampuchean problem in the near future.

Mr. AL-ZADGALY (Oman) (interpretation from Arabic): Today we are once again discussing a matter of great concern to the international community, namely the situation in Kampuchea.

Since December 1978, this problem has not only threatened peace and security in the region of South-East Asia, but also led to insecurity and instability in other regions of the world. Since 1979, the General Assembly has been calling for the withdrawal of the Vietnamese forces from Kampuchea and the restoration of its independence, not necessarily because the problem creates instability in international relations but, above all, because this problem has major humanitarian ramifications owing to the deterioration of the situation within its borders and the fact that so many people have been forced into exile, not to mention the malnutrition, hunger and artillery fire visited upon the Cambodian refugee camps all along the border with Thailand - all of which has resulted from the severe deterioration of the situation on the ground.

Viet Nam has declared its wish to withdraw, but it still refuses to abide by United Nations resolutions. Viet Nam is pursuing its armed intervention and has not yet withdrawn all of its armed forces, and the economic, social and human problems persist. That is why it is imperative to respect the security and stability of States, not to interfere in internal affairs, and to preserve the right of peoples to live in peace and to choose their own system.

(Mr. Al-Zadgaly, Oman)

The progress made in the search for an overall solution has resulted from increasing awareness in the international community of the gravity of the Cambodian problem. To achieve a successful outcome, the international community must continue to demonstrate its commitment to the principles of the United Nations Charter in respect of this problem. Oman has, therefore, always supported resolutions adopted by the General Assembly on the problem of Kampuchea.

My delegation believes that acceptance and implementation of these resolutions by Viet Nam would improve relations in a manner that would be beneficial for the countries in South-East Asia and enhance peace and stability throughout the region.

My delegation believes that the eight-point plan submitted by the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea on 17 March 1986 contains many positive points attesting to the genuine desire of that Government to arrive at a just and lasting solution to the problem of Kampuchea that would ensure peace and stability for the region. Hence my delegation has endorsed the plan, which has received the support of many countries throughout the world.

(Mr. Al-Zadgaly, Oman)

That is why my delegation reaffirms once again its support for the joint communiqué issued at the conclusion of the twentieth ministerial meeting of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN), held in Singapore on 15 and 16 June 1987. That communiqué reaffirmed the desire to arrive at a just and lasting settlement of the Kampuchean problem, under the auspices of the United Nations, based on the complete withdrawal of foreign troops, the restoration of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Kampuchea, and the right of the Kampuchean people to self-determination, in the interest of national reconciliation.

I cannot fail to commend the efforts of the ASEAN countries in this regard, and in particular those of the Foreign Minister of Indonesia, the representative of ASEAN in the talks with Viet Nam, on the possibility of arriving at a settlement of the problem of Kampuchea.

We also endorse the recommendations adopted at the Jakarta Informal Meeting in July this year.

The Sultanate of Oman has adopted a position of principle in this matter. It associates itself with all those that call for the implementation on United Nations resolutions aimed at reaching a just and lasting solution to the problem of Kampuchea so that the people of that country may once again enjoy the peace and harmony of which they have been so cruelly deprived, under a Government of their own choosing.

On behalf of the Government of Oman, my delegation wishes to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General, who is actively seeking, through the intermediary of his Special Representative, Mr. Rafeeuddin Ahmed, a solution of the Kampuchean problem. We shall continue to support all initiatives in this direction, and in particular draft resolution A/43/L.12, until a just and lasting solution to the

(Mr. Al-Zadqaly, Oman)

Kampuchean problem is achieved - that solution so long and whole-heartedly desired by the people of Kampuchea.

Mr. ESZTERGALYOS (Hungary): The international atmosphere and the work of the forty-third session of the General Assembly are favourably influenced not only by the positive change in East-West relations and the increasing momentum of the Soviet-American dialogue but by the intensification of efforts to resolve regional problems, including the elimination of hotbeds of crisis, which have destabilizing effects and impede international co-operation. Tangible and pioneering accords have been reached and encouraging negotiations are under way.

With regard to agenda item 23 of the forty-third session of the General Assembly, "The situation in Kampuchea", my Government is in agreement with, and follows with confidence, the efforts being made to settle the question of Kampuchea by peaceful means through negotiations. It appreciates the soberness and sense of reality displayed by the countries and political forces working for a settlement of this problem. As is also reflected in the report of the Secretary-General (A/43/730), the Kampuchean parties and other countries concerned have initiated a process of dialogue which they seem determined to pursue until a framework for a comprehensive political settlement is agreed upon. This is an encouraging development, which confirms the interest on all sides in abandoning the path of protracted and sterile confrontation and seeking a political solution through genuine negotiations and mutual accommodation.

In this spirit Hungary welcomes the achievements of the Jakarta Informal Meeting (JIM) held in the city of Bogor from 25 to 28 July 1988, at which all sides displayed a sincere willingness to try to identify areas of common ground and convergence of views on the issues discussed. All participants in JIM agreed that the key and interlinked issues concerning Kampuchea were the withdrawal of

(Mr. Esztergalyos, Hungary)

Vietnamese forces from that country, to be carried out within the context of an overall political solution, prevention of the recurrence of the genocidal policies and practices of the Pol Pot régime and the cessation of all foreign interference and external arms supplies to the opposing Kampuchean forces. The results of JIM have been welcomed world-wide. At the meeting of senior officials of the non-aligned countries in Harare last August appreciation was expressed of the consensus reached at JIM, which was viewed as a meaningful breakthrough in the search for a political solution of the Kampuchean problem and for peace and stability in South-East Asia. The results of JIM were likewise welcomed by the Conference of Foreign Ministers of Non-Aligned Countries held in Nicosia last September.

The results of JIM and the agreement reached between Prince Sihanouk and Chairman Hun Sen have not only broken the 10-year stalemate but have created a framework for a political solution of the Kampuchean problem in both its aspects, international and internal. The announcement by Viet Nam and the People's Republic of Kampuchea of the withdrawal of 50,000 Vietnamese troops and the command of the Vietnamese forces during 1988 reflects the profound changes that have occurred in South-East Asia.

Pursuant to the decision of JIM, a working group of senior officials of participants in JIM met in Jakarta recently to examine specific aspects of a political solution to the question of Kampuchea. The great efforts made by the host country, Indonesia, to ensure that the meeting was held as scheduled and yielded certain results that promoted the trend of dialogue to words settling the Kampuchean issue are highly appreciated.

Elimination of the regional hotbeds of crisis, which pose a threat to international peace and security, is an important element in establishing international security. The extent to which the Organization will be able to carry

(Mr. Esztergalyos, Hungary)

out its mission of maintaining and guaranteeing peace will perhaps be a touchstone of the United Nations capacity for renewal. In that context Hungary welcomes Viet Nam's position that it is necessary to begin a new chapter at the United Nations in co-operation among South-East Asian countries on the Kampuchean question, and to create the conditions necessary to enable the Organization to play a positive part in the settlement of the Kampuchean question. The encouraging ongoing dialogue among the participants in JIM could be stimulated by the United Nations only through the adoption of a resolution welcoming and expressing full support for the efforts of the South-East Asian countries and the Kampuchean parties directed towards a peaceful solution of the Kampuchean question. Therefore, it is regrettable that draft resolution A/43/L.12 fails fully to reflect the JIM spirit of dialogue and co-operation. It prolongs the deadlock at the United Nations on the question of Kampuchea and does not provide a suitable base for the Organization to fulfil its noble responsibility with regard to the Kampuchean question.

Mr. TORNUDD (Finland): The progress made recently on the question of Kampuchea is encouraging. In July this year the search for a solution, long overdue, by the countries and parties most directly concerned yielded a significant measure of success in the convening of the Jakarta Informal Meeting. This meeting was an important milestone in the process of finding a comprehensive peaceful solution to the question of Kampuchea. Every effort should now be made in order to ensure that this process will continue. We believe that the present international climate will help the parties concerned when they come together in the near future in order to continue their work towards agreement.

The Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Nordic countries expressed, at their regular meeting held in August at Kiruna in Sweden, their hope that the Jakarta Meeting would be the first step in a peace process that will result in the withdrawal of foreign troops from Kampuchea and enable the people of Kampuchea to exercise its right to self-determination without foreign intervention.

Recent developments confirm that there is now a determined interest on all sides to seek a political solution through genuine negotiations. A plan for a comprehensive settlement must be consistent with the basic purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter and must adequately protect the fundamental interests of the parties concerned, above all of course of the people of Kampuchea itself.

The determination of the parties to achieve a compromise solution through genuine negotiations represents a significant change with regard to the situation in Kampuchea. Finland supports this development, and this has also been reflected in the General Assembly debate.

The main elements for peace in Kampuchea are incorporated in the draft resolution now before us. It is to be hoped that it will help to advance further the peace process.

(Mr. Tornudd, Finland)

The efforts made by the Secretary-General in the framework of his good offices have for their part proved to be very useful in seeking ways to facilitate a peaceful solution.

Finland has noted and paid particular attention to the wide agreement discernible on all sides regarding the principles that must be reflected in a durable and peaceful settlement. Therefore it is to be expected that they will be an important basis for the future negotiations. It is true that some significant questions still remain to be solved and therefore a serious effort should be made by the parties to settle the remaining issues.

We look forward to the convening of an international conference on Kampuchea that could at an appropriate moment confirm the results we expect to see emerging from the process initiated at Jakarta this year.

Meanwhile, the international community must continue to support the humanitarian assistance programmes for Kampuchean refugees launched by the United Nations and the specialized agencies. The continuous efforts of the Secretary-General in co-ordinating the humanitarian relief assistance to the Kampuchean people along the border between Kampuchea and Thailand as well as within those countries merit our deep appreciation. My Government will for its part continue to contribute to these programmes.

We were encouraged to learn that the meeting preparing for the international conference on Indochinese refugees and the boat people, intended to help solve the refugee problem, took place last week in Bangkok with wide participation.

The meeting rose at 12.35 p.m.