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PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE THREE THOUSAND
ONE HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-FIRST MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Monday, 8 March 1993, at 4.05 p.m.

<u>President:</u>	Mr. McKINNON	(New Zealand)
<u>Members:</u>	Brazil	Mr. SARDENBERG
	Cape Verde	Mr. JESUS
	China	Mr. CHEN Jian
	Djibouti	Mr. OLHAYE
	France	Mr. LADSOUS
	Hungary	Mr. ERDOS
	Japan	Mr. HATANO
	Morocco	Mr. SNOUSSI
	Pakistan	Mr. MARKER
	Russian Federation	Mr. VORONTSOV
	Spain	Mr. YAÑEZ BARNUEVO
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David HANNAY
	United States of America	Ms. ALBRIGHT
	Venezuela	Mr. ARRIA

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The meeting was called to order at 4.05 p.m.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

THE SITUATION IN CAMBODIA

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL ON THE IMPLEMENTATION OF SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 792 (1992) (S/25289)

The PRESIDENT: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Security Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General on the implementation of Security Council resolution 792 (1992), which is contained in document S/25289.

Members of the Council also have before them document S/25376, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

I should like to draw the attention of members of the Council to the following additional documents: S/25133, letter dated 20 January 1993 from the Permanent Representative of Singapore to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council; and S/25366, letter dated 4 March 1993 from the Permanent Representative of Viet Nam to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General.

It is my understanding that the Security Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. If I hear no objection, I shall take it that that is the case.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

(The President)

Before putting the draft resolution to the vote, I shall call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements before the voting.

Mr. LADSOUS (France) (interpretation from French): My delegation welcomes the prospective adoption of the draft resolution before the Council. The draft resolution focuses primarily on the elections in Cambodia, which constitute the cornerstone of the peace process and one of the central purposes of the Paris Agreements, which created the most ambitious United Nations operation in history. It is therefore essential at this stage that the Security Council act unanimously.

First of all, we welcome the compliance with the timetable established for the elections; my delegation reaffirms its full confidence in the ability of the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC), which has already done remarkable work, to organize truly free and fair elections.

In our view, the draft resolution will send a clear political signal to all the Cambodian parties: they have no choice but to respect the rules of democracy. No use of violence will be tolerated. The Security Council will endorse the outcome of the elections - if, of course, they are declared by the United Nations to have been free and fair - and the Council will continue to lend its support to the constituent assembly that will emerge from the elections, and to the process of drafting a constitution and of putting in place a Government for all of Cambodia.

The international community will then help the authorities who will have been constitutionally put in office. That means a long-term commitment from the international community and the Security Council. We cannot, therefore, be indifferent to what happens in Cambodia following the elections.

(Mr. Ladsous, France)

We also want firmly to remind all the Cambodian parties that they have undertaken to respect the outcome of the elections; we urge them to do so.

The election campaign will begin in a few weeks. We remain gravely concerned by the acts of violence and intimidation in the country. We therefore appeal for tolerance, moderation and political maturity on the part of the people and the leaders of the Cambodian parties, so the elections can take place in the neutral political climate specified and required by the Paris Agreements.

My delegation fully endorses the Secretary-General's reminder that the Cambodians themselves bear the primary responsibility to restore peace and stability in Cambodia. That is no less true today than it will be tomorrow. The United Nations intervened at the request of the Cambodians themselves, and it can in no case replace them if their political will should flag.

Sir David HANNAY (United Kingdom): I should like to take this opportunity, Sir, slightly belatedly, to congratulate you on having assumed the presidency of the Security Council, and to thank your predecessor, Ambassador Snoussi, for the remarkable way in which he chaired the Council in an extremely busy month - even if it was the shortest month of the year.

My delegation very warmly welcomes the draft resolution before us. In particular, it welcomes the Council's endorsement of the dates set for the constituent assembly election by the Supreme National Council (SNC). This is an absolutely key element in the implementation of the Paris Agreements, and we were particularly pleased that it was possible to reach this agreement in the SNC and that it will now be endorsed by the Security Council. This will be the first election ever entirely organized by the United Nations, and it is very good that it is being held on time as planned under the Paris Agreements, despite all the difficulties there have been in implementing those Agreements.

My delegation would also like to congratulate the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) on the work it has done up to now. There has been a major success in electoral registration, as the Secretary-General's report reminds us, and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees has also done a remarkable job in repatriating a very large number of the refugees who have spent so many years on the Thai-Cambodian border.

But, of course, much remains to be done if the Paris Agreements are to be implemented as fully as possible. It is essential that every step be taken to prevent intimidation of political parties in the electoral process. We rely very much on UNTAC's redoubling its efforts in that sense.

It is important that all the parties should work for a successful outcome of the elections, and should not disrupt UNTAC's work in the next few months.

(Sir David Hannay, United Kingdom)

In that respect, the detention of a number of UNTAC military and civilian personnel by the Khmer Rouge has been particularly reprehensible. We hope it will not be repeated in the next few weeks before the elections.

In the same context, we were extremely disturbed by the evidence of Vietnamese personnel - small in numbers, admittedly - remaining in the State of Cambodia's armed forces.

All parties are obliged under the Paris Agreements to respect the holding of free and fair elections and to respect their outcome. We are delighted that the Council is thus stating that it will itself do its best not only to make those elections a success, but the process that comes out of them successful, too.

Ultimately it is for the Cambodians themselves to bring about reconciliation and prepare the ground for the future of their country. It is crucially important that the constituent assembly, once elected, completes its task of drafting a new constitution and creating a new Government in the time allocated for it - three months.

Of course, we recognize that the situation between the election of the constituent assembly and the formation of a new Government will be particularly uncertain and fragile, and that this is of course accentuated by the fact that the Khmer Rouge have chosen to exclude themselves from this part of the Paris process. We therefore look forward to the Secretary-General's recommendations on how best to get through this period while preserving intact the whole process agreed at Paris.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of the United Kingdom for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. CHEN Jian (China) (interpretation from Chinese): First of all, Sir, I would like to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of March. I am confident that with your rich diplomatic experience and talent, you will successfully guide the work of the Security Council this month. I also wish to take this opportunity to thank your predecessor, His Excellency Mr. Snoussi, Ambassador of Morocco, who steered the work of the Security Council last month with remarkable skill.

China has consistently advocated the comprehensive implementation of the Paris Agreements on the question of Cambodia and the realization of Cambodia's national reconciliation. The Paris Agreements are the results of the concerted efforts of the various Cambodian parties as well as the international community, and constitute, therefore, the foundation for the comprehensive political settlement of the Cambodian question. Only when the Paris Agreements are comprehensively implemented, and when all the Cambodian parties participate fully in the peace process, can the success of the peace process in Cambodia be guaranteed.

With regard to the difficulties and differences arising from the implementation of the Paris Agreements, we always hold that they should be resolved by the joint efforts of the parties concerned through consultation and dialogue. We are not in favour of any act that runs counter to the Paris Agreements. We hope that the peaceful settlement of the Cambodian question and genuine national reconciliation will be achieved through the joint endeavour of all the Cambodian parties under the guidance of the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) and the leadership of Prince Sihanouk.

(Mr. Chen Jian, China)

It is an important step in the Cambodian peace process to hold the constituent assembly election in accordance with the Paris Agreements. In our view, the establishment of a neutral political environment is a key factor in ensuring a free and fair election in Cambodia. We have noted that certain progress has been made in the preparation for the election in Cambodia. However, it is regrettable that, as rightly pointed out by the Secretary-General in his report, politically motivated violence has been occurring continuously and that a neutral political environment is yet to be established. We urge UNTAC to take all practical and effective measures to create the necessary neutral political environment so as to ensure the conduct of a free and fair election. We call on the various Cambodian parties to make positive efforts towards this end.

The question of how to maintain peace in Cambodia after the election in May and how to build an independent, sovereign, unified, peaceful and neutral Cambodia is of universal concern. China neither wishes to see the recurrence of civil war in Cambodia nor supports any party in resorting to force. What we stand for is the realization of genuine national reconciliation. We believe that at this important juncture in Cambodian history Prince Sihanouk, as the leader of the Cambodian people, will play an important role in achieving peace and national reconciliation. We also hope that the endeavours of the international community will be conducive to the realization of this objective.

Based on the position I have stated, the Chinese delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution before us.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of China for the kind words he addressed to me.

I shall now put to the vote the draft resolution contained in document S/25376.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Brazil, Cape Verde, China, Djibouti, France, Hungary, Japan, Morocco, New Zealand, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Venezuela

The PRESIDENT: There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has therefore been adopted unanimously as resolution 810 (1993).

I shall now call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

Ms. ALBRIGHT (United States of America): Let me join those who have congratulated you on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council; I look forward very much to working with you. Let me also give very warm congratulations to Ambassador Snoussi for his remarkable leadership of the Council last month.

The United States is pleased to vote in favour of this resolution, which marks another milestone towards achieving the major goal of the Paris Agreements. That milestone is allowing the Cambodian people to determine their own destiny through the conduct of free and fair elections. Despite the many problems, great progress has been made towards this goal.

We urge all parties to desist from further cease-fire violations and to halt immediately any attacks upon or detentions of United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) personnel. We call on all parties to cooperate

(Ms. Albright, United States)

fully with UNTAC to ensure that political intimidation and violence are ended and to establish a neutral political environment necessary for the conduct of free and fair elections.

The United States notes that the holding of elections in May will be only one step towards the ultimate goal of creating a peaceful, democratic Cambodia. For elections to be successful and national reconciliation to occur, all of the Cambodian parties must be prepared to respect the results. We call upon all the parties to put aside the animosity that has divided them and caused the Cambodian people such suffering and hardship.

In voting for the resolution, we are committing ourselves to supporting only the Government that will emerge from the elections as the sole legitimate authority for all of Cambodia.

Finally, the United States would like to pay tribute to the President of the Supreme National Council, Prince Sihanouk, and Special Representative of the United Nations Secretary-General Yasushi Akashi for their invaluable contributions towards the cause of peace and democracy in Cambodia. We also would like to express our respect and admiration for the men and women of UNTAC, and for the Cambodian people, who have shown through their participation and actions their desire for a peaceful, independent and democratic Cambodia.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of the United States for the kind words she addressed to me.

Mr. HATANQ (Japan): Since this is the first time I am addressing the Council this month, let me express to you, Sir, my warmest congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of March. I

(Mr. Hatano, Japan)

should also like to express the gratitude of my delegation to Ambassador Ahmed Snoussi for the exemplary manner in which he guided the business of the Council during the month of February.

Japan would like to express its satisfaction at the unanimous adoption of the resolution, which will facilitate the Cambodian peace process as it enters a very critical phase. Significant progress has been made in the implementation of the Paris Agreements in spite of the difficult situation still prevailing in Cambodia. I refer in particular to the national voter registration campaign, which has been very successful, and the repatriation of refugees, which has proceeded much more smoothly than had been originally anticipated.

It is clear that such achievements are due in no small measure to the commitment and energy that the Secretary-General and his Special Representative have brought to their awesome tasks. Japan pays high tribute to the Secretary-General and his personal representative and reiterates its strong support as they continue to work for peace in Cambodia.

This resolution contains a number of important elements which address, in a constructive manner, those issues that have arisen in the course of the peace process. One to which Japan attaches particular importance is the decision of the Supreme National Council to endorse the conduct of an election from 23 to 27 May 1993. Japan hopes that the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) will continue to take every necessary measure to create and maintain a neutral political environment.

As stated in the resolution, the Security Council will endorse the result of the election, provided it has been certified as free and fair by the United Nations, and will support the constituent assembly to be established accordingly.

(Mr. Hatano, Japan)

Japan takes this opportunity to appeal to all Cambodian parties to likewise respect the outcome of the election, which is fundamental to the restoration of peace and stability in Cambodia.

The safety and security of UNTAC personnel is a source of continuing concern to Japan. We therefore reiterate the Council's demand that all parties make every effort to safeguard the lives of UNTAC personnel throughout Cambodia and to ensure that no hostile action will be taken against them.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Japan for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. VORONTSOV (Russian Federation) (interpretation from Russian): The Russian delegation welcomes the unanimous adoption by the Security Council of a resolution intended to ensure the successful completion of the United Nations operation in Cambodia. We consider it especially important to achieve consensus on such issues as support for the holding of elections in Cambodia within the timetable set up by the Supreme National Council - 23 to 27 May - and the preparedness of the Council to support fully the constituent assembly, the constitution it is to draft and the formation of a new government for all of Cambodia.

We value highly the efforts of the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) in fulfilling its mandate pursuant to the Paris Agreements, in spite of certain substantial difficulties relating in particular to Democratic Kampuchea's non-compliance with its obligations under the Paris Agreements, inter alia, with regard to participation in elections for a constituent assembly.

Today, with so little time remaining before the May elections, it is important to support and enhance the positive dynamic in the pre-election

(Mr. Vorontsov, Russian Federation)

process and to ensure a neutral political environment and cooperation by all Cambodian factions with UNTAC in achieving the basic objectives of the Paris Agreements.

With regard to UNTAC's finding of three persons who are covered by the recently adopted new UNTAC definition of foreign military personnel, we believe that this question, which has been raised here, will not be of great importance and that this so-called three-person problem will be successfully resolved by the Cambodian parties themselves.

(Mr. Vorontsov, Russian Federation)

We believe that at the current stage the question of the safety of UNTAC and all international personnel in Cambodia takes on special significance. In this connection, we emphasize the responsibility of all the Cambodian factions to ensure normal conditions for UNTAC activities.

It is also important to give priority attention to the problems involved in the maintenance of security in the country during the post-election period, before the formation of the country's new Government and the completion of UNTAC's mandate. We welcome the intention of the Secretary-General to submit recommendations to the Council in that regard.

In conclusion, I wish to emphasize our readiness to cooperate with all the parties to the Paris Agreements in the successful completion of its full implementation.

The PRESIDENT: I should now like to make a brief statement in my capacity as representative of New Zealand.

New Zealand welcomes the adoption of this resolution by the Council. Cambodia is of special importance to the countries of the Asia-Pacific region, and it is thus an issue to which New Zealand attaches great weight.

The discharge of the United Nations role in Cambodia involves the participation of a very large number of countries, including many which are not at present Council members. The Council's management of the peace process on behalf of the United Nations must accordingly, in our view, take account of the perspectives of the wider membership, especially those countries with personnel in Cambodia. This will be even more important as, with the support of all Cambodian parties, the peace process and the United Nations involvement in it come to an end.

(The President)

The task assigned to the United Nations in Cambodia is novel, innovative and onerous. It is not altogether surprising, therefore, that events have not proceeded as smoothly as had been originally hoped. None the less, the progress that has been made in the fulfilment of the Paris Agreements and the Council's earlier resolutions on Cambodia is, New Zealand believes, significant and, as is reflected in the resolution we have just adopted, should be endorsed by the Security Council.

New Zealand welcomes the fact that all Council members have voted in favour of the resolution and that there is therefore general agreement on the situation now prevailing in Cambodia and on the steps to be taken to move the peace process ahead. The key elements in the resolution, as we see them, are: the momentum towards the elections, which has already been demonstrated in the gains that have been made in the implementation of the peace process, must be maintained; the obligation upon UNTAC and all the Cambodian parties to ensure that the election campaign is conducted in a neutral political environment, with fair access to the media by all parties; the complete cessation by all Cambodian parties of acts of violence, threats and intimidation, as well as offensive military activity; the necessity that the elections be free and fair and certified as such by the United Nations; the recognition that it is the Cambodians themselves who bear the real responsibility for the peace process and their future, including the preparation of a constitution and the subsequent establishment of a Government for all Cambodia; and it is axiomatic that the safety and security of UNTAC personnel must be respected - UNTAC personnel must be permitted to perform their mandate without interference.

(The President)

For New Zealand, the unanimity of the Council in the adoption of this resolution is a reaffirmation that the peace process for Cambodia has the full support of the international community which this Council represents. That is a timely contribution that the United Nations Security Council can offer towards the success of the elections that are to be held in May and the formation of the Cambodian Government which is to follow.

I now resume my functions as President of the Security Council.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 4.35 p.m.