



General Assembly

PROVISIONAL

A/40/PV.61
5 November 1985

ENGLISH

Fortieth session

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE SIXTY-FIRST MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Monday, 4 November 1985, at 3 p.m.

President: Mr. DE PINIÉS (Spain)
later: Mr. AL-ASHTAL (Vice-Chairman) (Democratic Yemen)

- The situation in Kampuchea [22] (continued)
 - (a) Report of the Secretary-General
 - (b) Draft resolution

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The meeting was called to order at 3.35 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 22 (continued)

THE SITUATION IN KAMPUCHEA

- (a) REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (A/40/759)
- (b) DRAFT RESOLUTION (A/40/L.4 and Corr.1)

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): In accordance with the decision taken at this morning's meeting, the list of speakers in the debate on this item will be closed today at 5 p.m.

Mr. PHILIPPE (Luxembourg) (interpretation from French): I have the honour to speak on behalf of the 10 member States of the European Community.

This is the seventh year in a row that the Assembly has considered the question of the Vietnamese invasion and occupation of Cambodia.

We have six times in succession adopted by an overwhelming majority a resolution that has affirmed that the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Cambodia, the re-establishment and preservation of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of that country, recognition of the right of the Cambodian people to decide their own future and the commitment on the part of all States not to interfere or intervene in the internal affairs of Cambodia are the main factors in any just and lasting settlement of the Cambodian problem.

But what is the actual state of affairs?

The Vietnamese occupation of Cambodia continues. Furthermore, at the beginning of the year Vietnamese troops stepped up their attacks against refugee camps located along the Thai frontier and even went so far as to violate the territorial sovereignty of that country.

(Mr. Philippe, Luxembourg)

At that time we expressed our grave disquiet at these developments and at the serious violations of human rights that accompanied them and the risk that the conflict might spread, which could well further exacerbate tension in South-East Asia.

The Charter states, inter alia, that all Member States shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State. The contempt shown by Viet Nam for the fundamental principles of international law is disquieting and endangers the stability and security of the region. That Member State's persistent refusal to respect the resolutions of the General Assembly continues to be a matter of considerable concern to us.

This attitude on the part of Viet Nam is the main reason why every effort and initiative to find a political solution to the problems that beset that region have not led to any effective dialogue between the parties.

Generally speaking, we favour regional approaches, such as that initiated by the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN), among which we have supported in particular the initiative concerning the convening of the International Conference on Kampuchea. We support the principles in the Declaration adopted at that Conference and believe that they provide an excellent foundation for a political settlement. We have noted the report of the Ad Hoc Committee on the International Conference and we would encourage it to continue its task.

We believe that the establishment of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, under the presidency of Prince Norodom Sihanouk, represents a significant step and we welcome the appeal for national reconciliation made by the President.

(Mr. Philippe, Luxembourg)

We also note the recent ASEAN initiative aimed at initiating indirect negotiations between Viet Nam and the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea and we regret that so far this has not been followed up.

We welcome the continuing readiness of the Secretary-General to carry out his mission of good offices, which enjoys the support of all the parties concerned, and we hope that he will be able to help them promote the process of dialogue.

The ASEAN States have had to face a number of difficult problems which stem directly from the situation in Cambodia and, more specifically, the problem of refugees. In this context we should like to pay a tribute to the Royal Thai Government for the generosity and highmindedness that it has constantly shown in welcoming such a large number of refugees despite the difficulties that this cannot but create for the administration and people of Thailand.

We remain concerned about the humanitarian aspect of this question and are closely following the problem of refugees in the region. We have condemned the intensification of Vietnamese attacks against the camps of refugees and displaced persons, which are a flagrant violation of fundamental humanitarian principles and of the United Nations Charter. The resumption of hostilities has resulted in a serious loss of security for Cambodian civilians who have been seeking refuge along the frontier between Thailand and Cambodia and has given rise to great difficulties for the United Nations Border Relief Operation.

(Mr. Philippe, Luxembourg)

We note with satisfaction the efforts undertaken in recent years by countries and international organizations to help the Cambodian people and that have made it possible to offset to a certain extent the scarcity of food.

We would like to express our appreciation to international institutions and charitable bodies for the assistance they have provided. For its part, the European Community will continue to support relief operations in the region as long as there is a need for them. We are convinced, nevertheless, that a final solution to the humanitarian problems involved can only be found within the context of an over-all political settlement of the Cambodian conflict.

The ten States members of the European Community attach great importance to the future of the Cambodian people and to the preservation of their identity. It is high time that their suffering come to an end and that they be allowed to exercise their right to self-determination safe from disorder, intimidation and coercion. In fact, before being subjected to the Vietnamese invasion, that people was suffering under a régime of an unprecedented brutality which did not baulk at resorting to genocide to carry out its political ideas.

The odious Pot Pot régime, which tortured the Cambodian people for over three years with an unparalleled cruelty and unequalled contempt for human life has always met with the total disapproval of the ten States members of the European Community who have often expressed their horror at those excesses. Nevertheless, that does not justify the invasion and continuing occupation by a foreign Power. We remain convinced that had the Cambodian people been able to hold free election they would have categorically rejected the Kmers Rouges. Instead, however, their country has been invaded and occupied for almost seven years by Vietnamese forces and they are suffering under a régime that has been set up by a neighbouring country upon which they remain totally dependent. We cannot allow that illegal situation to lead to a change in of the identity of the Cambodian people.

(Mr. Philippe, Luxembourg)

It is high time that the Cambodian people be enabled freely to determine their own future and choose their Government, to enjoy the most basic human rights and the right to live in peace with their neighbours. It should, indeed, be possible to find some solution that would take into account the legitimate concerns of all the parties involved.

As we have stated on many occasions, we are prepared to support any initiative that could lead to the installation of a democratic government in an independent and neutral Cambodia that would maintain friendly relations with all the States of the region. We are convinced that the key element in any just and lasting solution of the Cambodian problem lies in the complete withdrawal of Vietnamese forces. Effective steps should also be taken to prevent any armed group from seizing power by force or resorting to the threat of force to intimidate the Cambodian people and thereby deprive them of their right to sovereignty and free choice of their future.

We remain convinced, as the Secretary-General emphasizes in his report, that the problems of the region cannot be settled by military means and that a prolonged confrontation can only aggravate tensions and increase the risk of escalation.

We believe that there can be no peaceful solution without the participation and co-operation of all the parties to the conflict. We appeal to all the parties concerned to demonstrate open-mindedness and to be prepared to play their part in seeking a negotiated political solution based on the resolutions of the United Nations.

What we have just said indicates that once again we will give our full support to the draft resolution submitted by the countries members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN), as we have done ever since 1979.

Mr. SHAH NAWAZ (Pakistan): Seven years ago, Viet Nam intervened militarily in Kampuchea, violating its sovereignty and territorial integrity and trampling upon the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. The resulting

(Mr. Shah Nawaz, Pakistan)

conflict, involving more than 200,000 Vietnamese troops, has continued unabated, causing untold suffering and misery to millions of Kampuchean and forcing hundreds of thousands of them to flee their homes and to seek shelter in neighbouring Thailand. The situation in Kampuchea remains a source of grave danger to the peace and stability of the entire South-East Asian region.

The various assertions made by Viet Nam to justify its military intervention in Kampuchea have no validity whatsoever in international law. The ugly reality in that unfortunate land cannot be hidden by the invader's transparent efforts to cover his trail.

The claim that the troops were introduced to save the Kampuchean people from the tyranny of the despotic Pol Pot rule is quite untenable. To condone military intervention under the cloak of humanitarian considerations is to provide license and convenient cover for intervention and manipulation of the internal affairs of small States by powerful neighbours.

The contention that the Vietnamese forces are in Kampuchea to help the Heng Samrin régime, which, at best, represents one of the factions on the Kampuchean political scene, is equally unacceptable. Nothing in international law permits a neighbouring State to intervene on behalf of one faction against another in an internal struggle.

Viet Nam has also maintained that the change in Kampuchea is irreversible. This is a dangerous doctrine, as untenable on moral as it is on legal grounds. Assuming responsibility for guaranteeing irreversibility amounts to claiming the right of permanent intervention in order to maintain, in another country, an endless situation of one's own preference.

The Vietnamese presence in Kampuchea clearly violates the principles of the United Nations Charter and the universally recognized norms of inter-State conduct. Peace and normalcy will not return to Kampuchea unless the principles

(Mr. Shah Nawaz, Pakistan)

which have been contravened are respected and Viet Nam heeds the repeated calls of the General Assembly to terminate its intervention in that country.

The elements of a just and peaceful settlement of the Kampuchean problem have been repeatedly spelled out by the General Assembly as follows: the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea; the right of the Kampuchean people to determine their own destiny; the restoration and preservation of Kampuchea's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and its neutral and non-aligned status; the commitment by all States to non-interference and non-intervention in the internal affairs of Kampuchea.

(Mr. Shah Nawaz, Pakistan)

After protracted and intense negotiations with all the parties concerned, including the countries of South East Asia, the Secretary-General and his Special Representative, Mr. Rafeeuddin Ahmed, identified the elements for a political settlement of the Kampuchean problem. In his report in document A/40/759 of 17 October 1985, the Secretary-General maintains that his discussions during the course of the year point to the emergence of a reasonable degree of convergence on the main elements of a comprehensive political settlement, which include, inter alia, the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea; non-return to the universally condemned policies and practices of the recent past; promotion of national reconciliation; exercise by the Kampuchean people of the right to determine their own destiny; respect for the independence, territorial integrity and non-aligned status of Kampuchea; ensuring the security and sovereignty of all States in the region; international guarantees for and supervision of the implementation of the agreements reached; and establishment of a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in South East Asia.

Despite significant differences on the interpretation of goals and modalities for achieving them, which still exist, the Secretary-General says these elements provide a broad framework capable of being progressively elaborated and defined with a view to creating mutual understanding and confidence. The Secretary-General rightly calls for a determined effort directed to initiating a sustained process of dialogue, which alone can ensure the achievement of the desired goals.

It is evident from the elements prescribed by the General Assembly and the Secretary-General for a settlement that the crux of the Kampuchean issue is the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea, national reconciliation and the restitution of the Kampuchean people's right to self-determination. The 1981 International Conference on Kampuchea provided the most judiciously designed blueprint for the attainment of that objective. This was followed by concrete

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proposals by ASEAN countries, which have a vital stake in the stability and peace of the area.

Apart from the withdrawal of foreign troops from Kampuchea, which remains the sine qua non of any Kampuchean settlement, the proposals by the 1981 International Conference on Kampuchea, and those subsequently endorsed by the ASEAN countries, envisage measures for holding elections under United Nations supervision to enable the Kampuchean people freely to elect a Government of their own choice. All these proposals await a positive response from Viet Nam.

We agree with the Secretary-General's assessment, contained in his report, that the problems of the region cannot be solved by military means and that protracted confrontation can only generate tension and enhance the risk of escalation. He further states that the fundamental interests of the parties concerned, and above all those of the Kampuchean people, will best be served by a peaceful solution reached through the process of genuine negotiation and mutual accommodation.

In this regard, the Secretary-General speaks in his report of the idea of a limited international conference first explored in 1982. This idea is promising and needs to be pursued.

Progress towards a political settlement will depend on Viet Nam's willingness to withdraw its forces from Kampuchea, on the one hand, and the readiness of the various political factions in Kampuchea to work towards a national reconciliation, on the other. In this context we welcome the call made by Prince Norodom Sihanouk for national reconciliation among all Kampuchean factions, which we regard as a positive step towards the restoration and maintenance of the independence and national unity of Kampuchea in an enduring political settlement.

Regrettably, the recent actions of Viet Nam show little sensitivity to the need for a political solution based on the principles outlined by the General Assembly.

(Mr. Shah Nawaz, Pakistan)

It has intensified its military campaign inside Kampuchea. Even the refugees fleeing into Thailand have been pursued and attacked without mercy. There is also growing evidence of a systematic scheme of Vietnamization of parts of Kampuchea. Such a course of action would only prolong the tragedy of Kampuchea and darken the prospects of peace in the region. We hope that Viet Nam will soon abandon its military intervention in Kampuchea and join hands with the other nations of South East Asia in building the region into a zone of peace and co-operation.

The United Nations has a two-fold responsibility - political and humanitarian - towards the Kampuchean people while they remain engaged in their struggle to regain their freedom and to achieve national reconciliation.

Politically, the General Assembly should maintain its moral pressure for the termination of the foreign intervention in Kampuchea. Strong support for draft resolution A/40/L.4 and Corr.1 will send a clear signal that the international community will continue to raise its powerful voice against the breach of the Charter principles, regardless of who is the transgressor. Such support for the resolution would also strengthen the hands of the Secretary-General in his effort to find a just and durable political settlement of the Kampuchean problem consistent with principles. I take this opportunity to express our profound appreciation to the Secretary-General and his Special Representative, Mr. Rafeeuddin Ahmed, for their untiring efforts devoted to finding an early solution.

At the humanitarian level, the United Nations is required to mobilize resources to alleviate the hardship faced by the Kampuchean people, particularly the hundreds of thousands of Kampuchean refugees in Thailand. The relief efforts already undertaken by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and the international humanitarian agencies are praiseworthy and need to be augmented.

As a country which is hosting more than three million Afghan refugees, Pakistan appreciates the gravity and magnitude of the responsibility imposed on

(Mr. Shah Nawaz, Pakistan)

Thailand by the presence of the large numbers of Kampuchean refugees in that country. We are also concerned over the serious situation along the borders of Thailand and the repeated violations of Thai territory as a result of wanton attacks on Kampuchean refugees.

Pakistan fully sympathizes with the cause of the Kampuchean people and pledges its solidarity with them in their struggle to free their homeland. We support the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea and wish to place on record our deep admiration and respect for the perseverance and dedication with which Prince Norodom Sihanouk has pursued the objective of national reconciliation. We are confident of the early success of his efforts and look forward to the day when under his leadership the Khmer nation will be reunited once again in peace and harmony.

Mr. SHINDE (India): India has historically enjoyed close cultural, social, intellectual and linguistic links with the countries in South-East Asia and has always sought to maintain friendly and cordial relations with them. Working together with them, India has sought to establish for the countries of Asia and other continents an independent voice in world affairs and conditions for the fulfilment of their own national aspirations free from outside interference and control. For the valiant people of Indo-China, who fought so bravely against powerful forces to gain their freedom, we have great admiration. It has also been our hope that all the States in the South-East Asia region would move towards an era of peaceful reconstruction and economic development in an atmosphere of peace, stability, friendship and co-operation. My delegation notes with profound regret that our hopes in this respect have yet to be realized.

The General Assembly is once again reviewing the situation in Kampuchea. A few days ago, during consideration of the report of the Credentials Committee by the General Assembly, my delegation had occasion to reiterate that India recognizes the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea in Phnom Penh as the legal and legitimate Government representing the people of Kampuchea and that the People's Republic of Kampuchea should be enabled to take its rightful place in the United Nations. We fail to see what good could come out of a discussion of the situation in that region without the participation of the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

The recent events affecting international peace and security in that region, which is in our own neighbourhood, is a cause of deep concern to us. It will be recalled that the Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, at the Seventh Summit Conference, in New Delhi in March 1983, expressed grave concern over the continuing conflicts and tension in the region. They reaffirmed their support for the principles of non-interference in the affairs of sovereign States and the inadmissibility of the use of force against sovereign States. They warned that there was a real danger that the tensions in and around Kampuchea would escalate

(Mr. Shinde, India)

over a wider area. They were convinced of the urgent need to de-escalate these tensions through a comprehensive political solution which would provide for the withdrawal of all foreign forces, thus ensuring full respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of all States in the region, including Kampuchea.

The Heads of State or Government further reaffirmed the right of the people of Kampuchea to determine their own destiny free from foreign interference, subversion and coercion, and expressed the hope that through a process of negotiations and mutual understanding a climate conducive to the exercise of that right would be created. They also agreed that the humanitarian problems resulting from the conflicts in the region required urgent measures which called for the active co-operation of all the parties concerned. They urged all States in the region to undertake a dialogue which would lead to the resolution of differences among them and the establishment of durable peace and stability in the area, as well as the elimination of involvement and threats of intervention by outside Powers. In this context, they noted with approval the efforts being made towards the early establishment of a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in the region and called upon all States to give those efforts their fullest support.

It is our conviction that any solution of this problem should be based on the foregoing principles and the framework accepted by the Seventh Summit Conference of Non-Aligned Countries, which were reaffirmed by the Ministerial Conference of Non-Aligned Countries held in Luanda, Angola, in September 1985.

We have read with considerable interest the report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Kampuchea (A/40/759). We have noted the efforts undertaken by the Secretary-General during 1985 to achieve progress towards a peaceful solution of the problem. We agree with his conviction that it is important to create mutual understanding and confidence among all the parties concerned through resolute

(Mr. Shinde, India)

efforts to ensure the initiation of a sustained process of dialogue to reach a comprehensive political settlement. The Secretary-General has stated

"The events of the past year have demonstrated, once again, that the problems of the region cannot be solved by military means and that protracted confrontation can only generate further tension and enhance the risks of escalation. Clearly, the fundamental interests of the parties concerned and, above all, those of the Kampuchean people will best be served by a peaceful solution, reached through a process of genuine negotiations and mutual accommodation." (A/40/759, para. 21)

In this context, we have noted the various proposals on the format for dialogue and negotiations which have been put forward in recent months.

The major concern of my delegation in addressing the question of Kampuchea is twofold. First, our concern is directed to the alleviation of the effects upon the people of Kampuchea of the sufferings brought about in so calculated and deliberate a manner by the Pol Pot régime. The people of Kampuchea are now beginning to emerge from the after-effects of the despicable policies pursued by the Pol Pot régime and are engaged in a massive effort at economic and social reconstruction under the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea. The prospect of widespread famine and disease has receded and the process of the stabilization of the lives of the masses has been placed on a firm footing. These efforts have received the support of the international community and the co-operation of the various United Nations agencies operating within Kampuchea. The Secretary-General's report gives us useful information regarding the implementation of the programmes of humanitarian assistance to the Kampuchean people. We appreciate the tireless efforts made by the agencies in the United Nations system, as well as many non-governmental organizations, whose officials have worked selflessly in the discharge of their duties. India has continued its modest

(Mr. Shinde, India)

modest bilateral efforts to ameliorate the conditions in Kampuchea despite our own problems and pressing needs. We would like to stress that the international community should make further efforts to extend all possible material, financial and economic assistance to Kampuchea to enable it to speed up its economic recovery.

Our second concern is about the tension still prevailing in the region of South-East Asia. We believe that recourse to any hard positions and the demand for the restoration of the status quo ante would not help to resolve the problems in the region. It is our firm conviction that dialogue among the parties concerned alone can create the conditions in which a peaceful and lasting political solution can be found. The urgent need of the hour is to promote the atmosphere of trust and mutual confidence in which such consultations could proceed with a view to bringing about the desired results. There can be no military solution to this question. What is needed is a balanced approach that takes into account the security and other considerations of all the countries in the region and eliminates outside interference.

India has consistently extended support and assistance to efforts to find a peaceful solution to the problems of the region. We continue to be prepared to support any constructive action leading to the defusing of tension and a viable political solution. We believe, however, that the approach embodied in draft resolution A/40/L.4 and Corr.1 is not directed towards such an end. We shall therefore abstain on the draft resolution, as we have done during the past few years when similar resolutions have been put forward.

Mr. FISCHER (Austria): The General Assembly has been considering the situation in Kampuchea for the past seven years. Every year it has called for the withdrawal of the foreign troops and for the re-establishment of a sovereign, independent and non-aligned Kampuchea. But in spite of these resolutions, which were supported by an overwhelming majority of States, the situation in Kampuchea has not changed.

The illegal occupation of Kampuchea continues. Fighting between foreign troops and Kampuchean resistance forces has actually escalated over the past year. The Kampuchean people remains trapped in an unending cycle of violence, repression and economic deprivation. The refugee problem, although alleviated through international relief efforts, remains a human tragedy and a heavy economic burden. The Kampuchean problem continues to be the main obstacle to peace and stability in South-East Asia.

The prolongation of the occupation of Kampuchea must not lead to the acceptance of the status quo by the international community. At stake are fundamental principles of the Charter, such as the principle of the inadmissibility of the threat or use of force, the principle of the non-interference in the internal affairs of States, and the right of self-determination of peoples. The consequences of the use of force and intervention must not be legitimized. The international community has to continue to support a comprehensive political settlement and the restoration of an independent and free Kampuchea. The basic framework of such a settlement was already established by the International Conference on Kampuchea in July 1981.

If we review the developments over the past year, we note some encouraging elements. Numerous diplomatic contacts among parties to the conflict and some important initiatives have resulted in an improved atmosphere. There are indications of greater flexibility; prospects for a genuine dialogue appear to have

(Mr. Fischer, Austria)

improved. The concept of proximity talks proposed by the members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) is an approach that should be further pursued. Of course, there remain many open questions and differences of view. Fear and mistrust constitute formidable obstacles. The geostrategic implications of the Kampuchean problem put severe constraints on the peace efforts. But if the positive seeds in the present situation are nurtured and allowed to grow, if mutual understanding is further developed, a real chance for a just settlement could emerge.

All parties must now recognize that the fundamental interests of the peoples of the region, in particular the Kampuchean people, have primacy over all considerations of regional and global power politics. They must show the necessary political will to enter into a process of negotiations and accommodation that will lead to a just and lasting settlement acceptable to all.

Let me turn now briefly to the humanitarian dimension of the situation in Kampuchea. Over the past decade the Kampuchean people have had to endure suffering on an inconceivable scale. Their trials and hardship are not over. But their situation would be much worse today if the international community had not responded to their plight by a massive expression of solidarity. The large-scale humanitarian assistance programmes, funded mainly by voluntary contributions, have resulted in a significant improvement of the living conditions in Kampuchea. But the economic situation in the country is still precarious and further assistance is required, in particular for the refugees along the Thai-Kampuchean border. In this context I should like to express our appreciation to the donor countries, to the United Nations and to other international organizations, including the voluntary agencies, which are contributing to these vital relief efforts in such an efficient manner.

(Mr. Fischer, Austria)

I should like to express our gratitude to the members of the Ad Hoc Committee established by the International Conference on Kampuchea and to its Chairman, Ambassador Sarré, for their efforts in maintaining contact with the countries directly and indirectly involved in the Kampuchean problem. I also wish to thank the Secretary-General and his Special Representative, Mr. Rafeudin Ahmed, for their constructive work on this issue.

The President of the International Conference on Kampuchea, Ambassador Willibald Pahr, has recently informed the Secretary-General that his function as President of the Conference will come to an end on 31 December 1985, since he will assume his function as Secretary-General of the World Tourism Organization at the beginning of next year.

Upon the request of various Governments, the Federal Minister for Foreign Affairs of Austria, Mr. Leopold Gratz, has expressed his willingness to assume the presidency of the Conference if this should be the wish of its Member States. Austria stands ready actively to assist the parties to the conflict in bringing about a peaceful settlement of the Kampuchean problem.

The draft resolution (A/40//L.4 and Corr.1) submitted to us by the ASEAN countries contains the elements which in our view are necessary for a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement of the Kampuchean problem. Let me express the hope that in the months to come we shall achieve real progress towards its implementation. Austria will support the draft resolution, as it supports all efforts which would enable the Kampuchean people to live at last in freedom, peace and prosperity.

Mr. ALZAMORA (Peru) (interpretation from Spanish): This year the General Assembly is once again called upon to consider, as it has done every year since 1979, the situation in Kampuchea. Regrettably, the international community has had no very promising sign that we are approaching a peaceful political solution to this problem, which continues to be the major obstacle to peace and stability in South-East Asia. The peoples of that region have endured for so many years now the ravages of war, including extermination, and have been deprived of the opportunity to realize their full potential for development, in conditions of peace in the region.

Owing to circumstances beyond their control, the people of Kampuchea continues to be denied the right to choose, of its own free will and without external pressure or interference, the type of Government it wishes; and the war that has so prolonged its suffering goes on unabated.

(Mr. Alzamora, Peru)

At the same time, the problem of refugees in the vicinity of the Thai-Kampuchean border is becoming worse; not only does it create political friction in the area but has also developed into a grave humanitarian problem for the hundreds of thousands of people uprooted from their homes in the quest for basic survival and needing assistance and relief.

In its search for a peaceful solution to the problem, the United Nations has provided a broad framework for the consideration of the necessary solutions through the International Conference on Kampuchea and the Declaration on Kampuchea adopted there. We continue to believe that the guidelines laid down by the Conference constitute a sufficiently broad base for the negotiation of a political solution which could lead to a just and lasting settlement of the Kampuchean problem. In this same context, it is worth bearing in mind the relevant resolutions on this issue adopted by the General Assembly and the recent resolution 39/5, which was supported by a growing number of countries and which, among other things, recognized the right of the Kampuchean people to determine their own destiny, called for the restoration and preservation of its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, recognized the non-aligned character of Kampuchea, and called upon all States not to intervene in the internal affairs of Kampuchea.

Given the failure of political efforts up to now, my Government would like once again to express its conviction that a just and lasting solution can be achieved only through negotiations within the framework of international law, the provisions of the United Nations Charter and the principles of the Non-Aligned Movement. We reaffirm our resolute support for United Nations efforts to bring about a solution to the Kampuchean problem.

(Mr. Alzamora, Peru)

On the basis of the foregoing, I might sum up Peru's position as follows with respect to Kampuchea: support for a lasting political solution, comprehensive and concerted in nature, to the problem of Kampuchea along the lines laid down in the relevant resolutions of the United Nations and by the Non-Aligned Movement, that would guarantee its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, full respect for human rights, and safeguard it from any interference or intervention in its internal affairs; a cease-fire agreement concluded among the parties to the conflict and the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Kampuchea at the earliest possible moment, under the supervision and with the verification of a United Nations peace-keeping force; appropriate measures to maintain public order and to hold free elections after the withdrawal of all foreign forces, enabling the Kampuchean people to exercise its right to self-determination and to elect its own Government.

It is for these reasons that my country took part in the International Conference on Kampuchea and subsequently decided to become a member of the Ad Hoc Committee established by that Conference, so as to contribute to the achievement of a comprehensive political solution to the Kampuchean question.

Especially noteworthy is the report drawn up by the Committee, under the chairmanship of Ambassador Sarré of Senegal, to whom we should like to express our special thanks. My country was honoured to receive the visit of the mission of the Committee during its visit to Latin America, which offered the opportunity for interesting exchanges of views between the authorities of our country and the members of the Committee.

I should like to draw to the attention of the Assembly the report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Kampuchea, in document A/40/759. In his conclusions the Secretary-General states his belief that:

(Mr. Alzamora, Peru)

"the problems of the region cannot be solved by military means and that protracted confrontation can only generate further tension and enhance the risks of escalation."

and he appeals for a peaceful solution to be found:

"through a process of genuine negotiations and mutual accomodation ... to overcome the obstacles to a truly constructive dialogue ..." (A/40/759, para. 21)

We believe that it is on this basis that we should concentrate our efforts so that these ideas may at last be translated into reality and so that, with safeguards for all and security for all concerned, this chapter, so painful to the Kampuchean nation and to the South-East Asian region and the international community as a whole, may be closed once and for all.

Mr. WIRYONO (Indonesia): For the past six years we have been searching for a solution to the conflict in Kampuchea that would be just, as well as comprehensive and durable. Regrettably, however, the reality is that despite all these efforts a Member State of this Organization and of the Non-Aligned Movement continues to be occupied by foreign forces in contravention of the most fundamental norms and principles of the Charter. Because of this violation, as well as its implications for regional peace and international security, this Assembly has at successive sessions expressed its censure and pronounced its unambiguous position on the fundamental issues involved. Moreover, the International Conference on Kampuchea convened in 1981 set forth a balanced and realistic framework to transform Kampuchea from an arena of unceasing conflict and strife to a land of peace and tranquillity, taking into account the legitimate interests of all parties concerned.

(Mr. Wiryono, Indonesia)

For more than a generation the region of South-East Asia has hardly enjoyed peace. When the protracted wars in Indo-China came to an end in 1975 they engendered the hope that the nations of the region could redirect their attention and energies to the pressing task of national development and regional co-operation to accelerate economic growth. It opened the prospect for the reordering of their mutual relationships on the basis of the Ten Principles of Bandung and those of the United Nations Charter. Indonesia and all other nations of the region welcomed the advent of peace in Indo-China for it did not only mean the end of the bloodshed but also the hoped-for beginning of a new era of peace, stability and co-operation. It was my Government's sincere expectation that all of the countries in South-East Asia would henceforth be able to work together in promoting common interests, free from foreign interference and great Power rivalries, thereby allowing their peoples to move forward to greater prosperity in freedom and dignity.

But our hopes of developing a new pattern of relationships, a new structure of stability and harmony in South-East Asia were shattered by subsequent events in Kampuchea, which plunged the region once again into a renewed agony of conflict and turmoil. Certainly the most profound impact has been borne by the people of Kampuchea whose untold suffering has forced hundreds of thousands to flee their homeland into neighbouring countries to escape death and destruction. The Kampuchean conflict also re-introduced intensified major Power contention in the region and has caused a severe setback to the possible emergence of a new South-East Asia as an area of enduring peace.

It was the added awareness of these wider ramifications, over and above the unacceptable fact of foreign armed intervention in the internal affairs of a sovereign, non-aligned neighbouring State, which prompted the members of the

(Mr. Wiryono, Indonesia)

Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) to request United Nations involvement in the question of Kampuchea. It was our hope then, as it is now, that by bringing this matter before our Organization there could be an early and comprehensive settlement of the conflict.

(Mr. Wiryono, Indonesia)

It is a matter of profound regret to my delegation that after six years of deliberations and concerted efforts by the United Nations we are not very much closer to a settlement than we were in 1979. Foreign forces still occupy Kampuchea and its people are still being denied the right to determine their future under a Government of their choice. Rather than a positive response to the world-wide concurrence of views regarding the modalities for a solution there has instead been a persistent reliance on a policy of military imposition. Consequently the people of Kampuchea have been forced to continue their struggle to liberate their country from foreign domination. The determination and tenacity with which this struggle is being waged, led by the patriotic forces of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, is spurred by the realization that they are fighting for their very identity and survival as a nation. The success of the Coalition Government in rallying the nationalist resistance under its banner signifies the fact that it truly embodies the deep-seated aspirations of the Kampuchean people. Moreover, the ever-increasing support of the international community for the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, under the presidency of His Royal Highness Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, is also a source of encouragement.

Prince Sihanouk's patriotism and dedication to the independence and territorial integrity of his country are beyond question. His statement before the plenary meeting on 2 October was a clear reaffirmation of his Government's resolve to restore the sovereignty and non-aligned status of his nation. He also projected a determined and yet realistic vision of an equitable and honourable peace for Kampuchea. The Coalition Government has been acknowledged by the United Nations, which recognizes Prince Norodom Sihanouk as the legal representative and undisputed leader of Democratic Kampuchea. It is therefore essential to recognize that in any efforts to resolve the conflict there is really no alternative to negotiations between Viet Nam and the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea.

(Mr. Wiryono, Indonesia)

The already formidable obstacles in the way of progress towards a settlement were further compounded early this year when we witnessed large-scale attacks against Kampuchean encampments near the border with Thailand. While such attacks have, regrettably, become an annual tragedy for the Kampuchean people, the intensity of this year's attack is unparalleled in its ferocity and in the indiscriminate use of force. Tens of thousands of refugees have again streamed across the border into Thailand in search of safety and shelter. Although this has resulted in renewed hardship for the Thai villagers, the Thai Government has none the less steadfastly and selflessly upheld humanitarian commitments by continuing to welcome Kampuchean refugees and facilitate relief aid programmes. The Thai Government deserves more than commendation for these efforts, particularly through the much needed increase in international assistance for the Kampuchean refugees and the Thai population along the border.

Throughout its existence as an independent nation Indonesia has upheld the principles of the equality of States, the self-determination of peoples and peaceful coexistence. We have opposed foreign intervention and any kind of pressure, whether political, economic or ideological, by one nation upon another and we have unequivocally condemned any interference in national political processes whether by force or by subversion.*

It is in the context of this position of principle that Indonesia has consistently viewed the situation in Kampuchea. Hence our approach to a durable solution has always been motivated by a desire to seek a peaceful solution that would take into account the legitimate interests of all the parties concerned.

*Mr. Al-Ashtal (Democratic Yemen), Vice-President, took the Chair.

(Mr. Wiryono, Indonesia)

We are more convinced than ever before that as long as foreign forces remain in Kampuchea, as long as the Kampuchean people are denied the right to determine their own future and to choose their political and economic system free from external interference, no just and durable solution can be found. We further believe that it is in the interest of all the States in the region to seek a peaceful solution through constructive diplomacy leading to a negotiated settlement.

During the past year Indonesia, as the designated interlocutor of ASEAN vis-à-vis Viet Nam, has endeavoured to reinforce ASEAN's efforts in seeking a genuine dialogue and to find a viable approach to a solution within the strategic framework for the future stability of South-East Asia. In this regard we are encouraged that at least there is a greater convergence of views on the framework and the main elements around which a comprehensive political settlement should be built. However, as the Foreign Minister of Indonesia observed in the general debate on 26 September, while these ongoing talks between Indonesia and Viet Nam have brought mutual clarification on a number of aspects of the problem, differences still exist on some important points and these will have to be resolved if the process towards genuine dialogue is to be sustained. The principal among those points is the need for recognition by all the parties that the Kampuchean problem is not one between ASEAN and Viet Nam or the Indo-Chinese States but one between the Kampuchean people and Viet Nam. Hence, Indonesia's role as the interlocutor and ASEAN's involvement in general are essentially those of seeking to facilitate meaningful negotiation among the parties directly involved.

It is necessary to underscore, therefore, that ASEAN believes that a cease-fire and a staged territorial withdrawal of foreign troops within a specific time-frame, leading to the establishment of safe areas to be overseen by supervisory or peacekeeping forces, continue to be part of a viable framework for a solution. Progress on those aspects would be greatly facilitated by a process of

(Mr. Wiryono, Indonesia)

national reconciliation and unity among the leaders of the various Kampuchean factions and groups. To advance those ends, the Foreign Ministers of ASEAN last July proposed proximity talks between the major protagonists. At the same time ASEAN has always remained willing to consider other approaches to these modalities. Yet Viet Nam's response appears still to be premised on the contention of the irreversibility of the situation in Kampuchea, which would be tantamount to international acceptance of the fait accompli it has created in Kampuchea.

It is ASEAN's view that the major issue to be resolved and settled first is the restoration of Kampuchea's genuine independence. The world's major concern is the re-establishment of Kampuchea as a sovereign, independent, neutral and non-aligned nation, posing no threat to and having friendly relations with all its neighbours, including Viet Nam. Only then can the other problems in the region be resolved, as the Kampuchean question lies at the core and is at the same time the fulcrum of the disturbance of peace and stability in the region.

(Mr. Wiryono, Indonesia)

We have taken note with appreciation of the Secretary-General's report, which showed his keen interest in and commitment to finding a comprehensive political settlement. His reference to the evolution of the idea of a limited international conference seems to us a pertinent observation worthy of further consideration by all parties. Further, we should like to underscore his belief that the problems of the region will not be solved by military means and that continuation of the conflict may well portend further tension and the risk of escalation. It is in the context of the potential for such ominous developments that it is necessary, indeed imperative, that the United Nations continue to be seized of this issue until it is comprehensively and justly settled.

My delegation would like to take this opportunity to express its sincere appreciation to the President of the International Conference on Kampuchea, Mr. Willibald Pahr and to the Chairman of its Ad Hoc Committee, Ambassador Sarré, and other members of the Committee for their constructive endeavours. The many missions they have undertaken have made an important contribution to the search for a better understanding that could facilitate meaningful exchanges. Equally, we are grateful to the Secretary-General and his Special Representative, Mr. Rafeuddin Ahmad, for their indefatigable efforts and continuing dedication to the cause of peace in the region. Our gratitude goes also to Mr. Tatsuro Kunugi and his staff for their unrelenting efforts to alleviate the plight and suffering of the refugees.

Indonesia's commitment to a just and peaceful solution hardly needs reaffirmation, and it is on the basis of this determination that my delegation views draft resolution A/40/L.4 and Corr.1. We believe that, given the necessary political will, we could begin the process of restoring harmony, stability and common progress for the benefit of all States in the region. My delegation therefore strongly commends adoption of the draft resolution by this Assembly.

Mr. KURODA (Japan): The Kampuchean people are still being denied their right to self-determination. We deeply regret that, immediately following the adoption, on 30 October last year, of the General Assembly resolution on the situation in Kampuchea, Vietnamese forces launched a massive offensive that lasted through the dry season. This forced all Khmer civilian refugees who had been receiving humanitarian assistance in camps in the vicinity of the Thai-Kampuchean border area to be evacuated to sites inside Thailand. As a result of these hostilities the lives of tens of thousands of Thai villagers also were seriously disrupted. Tensions remain high all along the border. The situation is imposing tremendous social and economic strains on Thailand.

However, reports indicate that the occupying forces continue to face strong resistance from the Kampuchean people, once again showing the world that a military solution to the problem of Kampuchea is not only unacceptable but also impossible.

In the interests of both regional and international peace and security, my Government appeals to Viet Nam to respond positively to the voice of the overwhelming majority of Member States, which, as reflected in the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and in the Declaration and resolution of the International Conference on Kampuchea, call upon Viet Nam to enter into negotiations that will lead to a peaceful and comprehensive political settlement of the problem.

Japan believes that in view of the present impasse it is important to continue to explore various means of finding a solution to the problem. From this point of view, we firmly support the joint appeal of the Foreign Ministers of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) of September 1983, which remains valid. In an effort to give an impetus to that appeal, at the Ministerial Meeting of ASEAN and its dialogue partners in July 1984, in Jakarta, Japan announced a three-point proposal centring upon financial support, that is, contributions

(Mr. Kuroda, Japan)

towards expenses for international peace-keeping activities, co-operation such as dispatching personnel when free elections are held, and economic and technical co-operation for reconstruction in the Indo-Chinese countries when true peace has been restored.

Japan remains convinced that if a relationship of coexistence and co-prosperity is to be established between the ASEAN countries and the Indo-Chinese countries and peace and stability realized in South-East Asia, the Kampuchean problem must be solved as soon as possible. Based on these considerations and bearing in mind the medium-term and long-term reconstruction needs of Kampuchea, at the ASEAN post-ministerial conference with the dialogue partners this July the Japanese Government proposed the following four principles which should underlie future efforts in this problem.

First of all, there can be no compromise on the two pillars of a political settlement of the Kampuchean problem, namely, the total withdrawal of Vietnamese forces, through a phased process should their immediate total withdrawal be difficult, and respect for the right of the Kampuchean people freely to determine the future of their country.

Secondly, as a step towards the realization of a political settlement, dialogue between the countries concerned, including Viet Nam, should be promoted, to engender mutual trust among the parties in the search for a breakthrough in the present impasse. From this point of view, Japan appreciates the proposal for proximity talks made by the ASEAN side as a manifestation of its sincere efforts to bring about a dialogue between the parties concerned and hopes that such dialogue will materialize and that mutual trust will be nurtured.

Thirdly, support should continue in the United Nations and other forums for the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea.

(Mr. Kuroda, Japan)

Fourthly, when national reconciliation is attained the Kampuchean people themselves will have a major role to play in their country's reconstruction. The international community should provide education and vocational training to those Kampuchean now taking refuge in Thai territory to help develop the human resources of the Kampuchean people. Japan hopes that an appropriate programme will soon be formulated through the co-operation of the parties concerned and is prepared to extend as much assistance as possible in implementing such a programme.

Along with these concrete proposals Japan has been actively engaged in contacts with the Governments concerned, including the Vietnamese Government and the Democratic Kampuchean Coalition, with a view to creating the atmosphere for a just and lasting political settlement of this conflict. We are determined to continue such efforts.

(Mr. Kuroda, Japan)

The Government of Japan wishes at this time to express its thanks to the Chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee, Ambassador Massamba Sarré of Senegal, and the other officers of the Ad Hoc Committee, for their continuing efforts to promote a process of negotiation directed towards a comprehensive political settlement of the problem. We would also like on this occasion to express our appreciation to the Secretary-General and to his Special Representative, Mr. Rafeuddin Ahmed and his staff, for their efforts directed towards a negotiated settlement of the problem. We would request that they continue working for a peaceful solution of this pressing international issue.

Japan fully recognizes the enormous burden of refugees and displaced persons which is being shouldered by the Government of Thailand and expresses its admiration for Thailand's courage and determination to alleviate the sufferings of the Kampuchean refugees. In this regard we are deeply grateful for the selfless devotion of all those who are 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 a number of voluntary agencies.

For its part my Government has contributed generously to those activities, for humanitarian reasons, and also in the hope of alleviating the burden borne by Thailand, and it will continue its efforts to the best of its abilities. Japan calls upon all countries in a position to do so to continue and to strengthen their assistance to the refugees who are still in need, especially those along the Thai-Kampuchean border and in the holding centres in Thailand, as well as to the affected Thai villagers.

In closing I wish to confirm that Japan fully supports, and has once again joined the countries members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN)

(Mr. Kuroda, Japan)

in sponsoring, a draft resolution on the subject, in this case draft resolution A/40/L.4 and Corr.1.

We urge all Member States that respect international justice and seek world peace to support this draft resolution in the recognition that armed intervention in another country must be categorically rejected and the right to self-determination restored to the Kampuchean people.

Mr. MAHBUBANI (Singapore): On the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations many Heads of Government and Heads of State have made a special effort to visit the United Nations to reaffirm their support for the United Nations Charter and to help rebuild the prestige and credibility of the Organization. Others have sent messages. One message which I saw and which I found to be rather heartening was the message sent by the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, Mr. Pham Van Dong, who said:

"For our part we would like to take this opportunity to reaffirm our support for the noble goals and principles embodied in the Charter of the United Nations and our resolve to contribute to the realization of these goals." (A/40/793, p. 2)

Viet Nam, we believe, can indeed make a tremendous contribution towards the realization of the goals of the United Nations Charter and towards the rebuilding of the prestige of this Organization. If the prestige of the Organization has suffered in recent years, it has been primarily because several Member States, notwithstanding their open and constant commitment to the United Nations Charter, continue to defy or ignore the resolutions and decisions of this Organization.

Each year, for example, the United Nations General Assembly has called upon several Member States to withdraw their armed forces from neighbouring States that they have illegally occupied. To cite just three examples - and there are, of

(Mr. Mahbubani, Singapore)

course, many - the United Nations has called for the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Afghanistan, South African forces from Namibia and Vietnamese forces from Cambodia. Regrettably, those three countries continue to ignore or defy United Nations resolutions. And we believe that Viet Nam is aware of the consequences of ignoring such resolutions. I notice, for example, that the official Vietnamese newspaper, Nhan Dan, in a recent commentary on the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations, stated:

"Especially the South African racists, in disregard of United Nations resolutions, still refuse to return independence to the Namibian people led by the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO)."

Please let me stress the phrase, "in disregard of United Nations resolutions". If Viet Nam is aware that the disregard of United Nations resolutions in one area can have damaging effects, it is surely aware that the consequences of ignoring United Nations resolutions in Cambodia can also have a very damaging effect.

And the reason for that is that United Nations resolutions cumulatively form a fabric of moral authority which we weave each year. That fabric is like a seamless web: all the resolutions hang together. You cannot accept some and reject the others.

Viet Nam should not underestimate the damage it is doing to the fabric of moral authority of the United Nations. By selectively accepting or rejecting resolutions, Viet Nam has torn large holes through the United Nations fabric of moral authority, and through those holes others, like the South African racists, have also escaped from the moral authority of this Organization.

Singapore has not been alone in expressing its concern over the decline of the moral authority of the United Nations. The Non-Aligned Movement at its most recent meetings, both in Luanda in September 1985 and at the Ministerial Meeting in

(Mr. Mahbubani, Singapore)

New York on 1 October 1985, has explicitly reaffirmed its faith in the United Nations Charter and in United Nations resolutions. Surely, as one of the States Members of the Non-Aligned Movement, and since Viet Nam has often declared its fundamental commitment to respect the decisions of that Movement, it can begin by setting an example for the other Member States of this Organization by agreeing to implement the resolutions adopted by this body on the issue of Kampuchea.

Regrettably, however, we have to report that Viet Nam still refuses to heed the views of the General Assembly. In spite of six explicit resolutions that we have adopted in the past six years calling upon Viet Nam to withdraw its forces from Cambodia and to allow the Kampucheans to determine their own future, Vietnamese forces remain in Kampuchea.

(Mr. Mahbubani, Singapore)

At the same time, we regret to note that Viet Nam continues its efforts to deceive the international community. If this sounds a little harsh, please allow me to repeat a point I made in the same debate last year. I said then:

"Each year, just before the session of the United Nations General Assembly, we hear whispers and rumours of peace emanating from the Indo-Chinese peninsula. ... These rumours are coupled with 'reports' of Vietnamese troop withdrawals from [Kampuchea]. ... [However,] as soon as the General Assembly session is over ... this army of occupation will once again resume ... its military offensive against the resistance forces".

(A/39/PV.42, pp. 12 and 13-15)

I called it then a cynical cycle of aggression and deception.

It is with deep regret that I have to inform the General Assembly that my predictions last year came true. I derive no satisfaction from knowing that my predictions came true, for I know that the Kampuchean people have suffered as they have undergone the cynical cycle of aggression and deception each year. In fact, in December 1984, as soon as last year's General Assembly session was over, and as soon as the Vietnamese were convinced that the gaze of this General Assembly had been averted, the Vietnamese army of occupation launched probably its most brutal and bloody offensive of the last seven years against the Kampucheans - against both the resistance forces and innocent Kampuchean civilians.

It has been said many times in the course of this debate, and it has been said also by the Secretary-General in his report:

"The events of the past year have demonstrated, once again, that the problems of the region cannot be solved by military means and that protracted confrontation can only generate further tension and enhance the risks of escalation." (A/40/759, p. 5)

(Mr. Mahbubani, Singapore)

That is what the Secretary-General said, and his views have been supported by many speakers. And yet, in spite of that, Viet Nam continues its practice of launching brutal and bloody offensives against the Kampuchians.

Even more insidiously, Viet Nam has continued quietly to populate Kampuchea with Vietnamese civilians. I have taken the liberty of attaching to my text a copy of a press report about one Cambodian doctor, Dr. So Saren. He used to run the largest hospital in Phnom Penh, and he, incidentally, was the President of the Kampuchean-Soviet Friendship Society. Presumably he is not naturally ill-disposed towards the Vietnamese. But he had to flee his country and, as the story reads, he, his wife and six children had to flee to Thailand, himself walking the last 40 kilometres carrying his 17-year-old polio-stricken son on his back. Now, why would someone want to flee with his family and risk so much? His answer was that he had to flee his homeland to escape what he said were Vietnamese plans to colonize his country. He also said that the Vietnamese intended to kill the Kampuchians off.

That is just one story, but from this one story one can understand the trauma the Kampuchians face as they witness the Vietnamization of their country.

However, of course, with the approach of this year's session of the General Assembly, Viet Nam, as usual, silenced its guns and then made an announcement that troop withdrawals would take place. This year Viet Nam has even gone one step further and announced that all of its troops will be withdrawn by 1990. However, Viet Nam has carefully glossed over the fact that such withdrawal would be conditional upon the elimination of all Kampuchean nationalist resistance forces - surely an impossible condition for the Kampuchians to meet. More importantly, we must recall that this is not the first time Viet Nam has announced troop withdrawals. It announced its first troop withdrawals as early as 1983 and 1984, and upon subsequent checking we learned that each troop withdrawal only

(Mr. Mahbubani, Singapore)

turned out to be a rotation of troops. With such experience, can we really believe that this time around Viet Nam is being sincere in stating that its troops will be withdrawn by 1990?

Viet Nam has also created a great deal of confusion for many countries by circulating reports that satisfactory talks are taking place in the South East Asian region. They have asserted this in a joint statement signed by both Laos and Viet Nam dated 28 October 1985. This document has, I believe, not only been circulated in the United Nations as an official document but also in the hall this morning, for all the delegations to read. In that document it is stated that:

"while the dialogue between the Indochinese and the ASEAN groups of States has started addressing the substance of the matter, the continued polemics at the United Nations aimed at securing an erroneous resolution on Kampuchea as in the past six years appear all the more regative and outmoded."

Why is Viet Nam circulating such reports? The reason is very simple. The purpose here is to persuade Member States not to vote for the draft resolution on Kampuchea, to convince them that if talks are taking place regionally there is no reason to continue to vote for a resolution here. Therefore, in response to this, several of my colleagues from the ASEAN countries, the Ambassadors of the Philippines, Indonesia and others, have responded by pointing out that the chairman of the ASEAN standing committee has on behalf of the six ASEAN Foreign Ministers said in a letter to all Member States that:

"there is as yet no regional dialogue in South East Asia on the Kampuchean problem. It is therefore essential that this international community continue to be seized with this issue."

I urge members to read that letter, for it provides a definitive refutation of the claims that have been floated so intensively by Viet Nam in the last few months.

(Mr. Mahbubani, Singapore)

All this sounds depressing. But we should not despair. Over the years some progress has been made. With the authority mandated to them by the United Nations General Assembly's resolutions on Kampuchea, the Secretary-General, his Special Representative and the Ad Hoc Committee of the International Conference on Kampuchea have conducted several consultations with all interested parties, and, significantly, in his latest report the Secretary-General has suggested:

"that a reasonable degree of convergence has emerged on the main elements of a comprehensive political settlement. These elements include inter alia: withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea; non-return to the universally condemned policies and practices of a recent past; promotion of national reconciliation; exercise by the Kampuchean people of the right to determine their own destiny; respect for the independence, territorial integrity and non-aligned status of Kampuchea; ensuring the security and sovereignty of all States in the region; international guarantees for and supervision of the implementation of the agreements reached; and establishment of a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in South East Asia." (A/40/759, para. 13)

(Mr. Mahbubani, Singapore)

These points seem very obvious. It seems somewhat strange that we have taken seven years to reach agreement on such basic points. Nevertheless, since they are so important, I hope I shall be allowed to depart from my prepared text to speak briefly on each of these points, for I believe that they contain in themselves the elements for a peaceful solution of the Kampuchean problem.

The first point is withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea. That may not seem to be very much of an advance, but all we have to do is recall that in the very first debate that we had in this hall on Kampuchea in 1979 Viet Nam at first denied that it had any foreign forces in Cambodia. Subsequently it said that it did not have foreign forces but that it had some volunteers in Kampuchea. The very fact that now there is an acknowledgement that there are foreign forces in Kampuchea which need to be withdrawn is, I submit, a significant advancement.

The second element is non-return to the universally condemned policies and practices of a recent past. We all know how much Kampuchea suffered in the years 1975 to 1978, when some rather brutal practices infringing on human rights were carried out in Kampuchea - and of course we also know that Viet Nam took advantage of that to use those practices to justify the invasion and occupation of Kampuchea. This has been called, in brief, the Pol Pot factor. Yet here again it is useful to recall that it was Viet Nam that once defended Pol Pot, in the United Nations Commission on Human Rights in 1977. It is also useful to recall that after Viet Nam invaded and occupied Cambodia it had to install the Heng Samrin régime, and several of the leading figures, including Heng Samrin and Hun Sen, were ex-Pol Pot cadres, thereby revealing a great degree of hypocrisy on its part in suggesting that it was condemning Pol Pot's policies. Nevertheless, it is a significant advancement that we all now agree that we should not return to the policies of that era.

(Mr. Mahbubani, Singapore)

The third factor is called promotion of national reconciliation, and we think that that is an extremely important factor. As far back as 1983 the countries of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) issued a statement appealing for national reconciliation to take place in Kampuchea following a settlement of the problem. We all know how long Kampuchea has suffered. Its sufferings began as far back as 1970. For 15 years now the country has known ceaseless war and constant bloodshed, and inevitably the wounds of that war must be fresh and alive and indeed continuing. It will not be easy to have peace and harmony after a settlement, but as part of the process there will need to be national reconciliation. As part of this, the ASEAN countries have also suggested that when there is a comprehensive political settlement in Kampuchea all parties, including Heng Samrin, should be allowed to participate.

Fourthly, there is a call for respect for the independence, territorial integrity and non-aligned status of Kampuchea. This point is self-evident.

Fifthly, it says: "ensuring the security and sovereignty of all States in the region". This is a point that is extremely significant, because we have always maintained that Viet Nam, as one of the countries of South-East Asia, has a legitimate interest in Cambodia. Viet Nam has the right to expect that Cambodia, which is its neighbour, should respect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Viet Nam. Viet Nam has the right to expect that Cambodia should also pursue a policy of peace and good-neighbourliness towards it. Viet Nam has the right to demand that no outside Power use Cambodia as a base for subversion and aggression against Viet Nam. On all these points we would agree with our Vietnamese colleagues. By the same token, however, we should point out that Cambodia also has the right to demand and expect that Viet Nam should also observe the same principles and norms towards Cambodia.

(Mr. Mahbubani, Singapore)

Sixthly, there is a call for international guarantees for and supervision of the implementation of the agreements reached. This is an absolutely critical point. I referred earlier to the troop withdrawals being announced by Viet Nam, and we all know that subsequently the troop withdrawals never took place. If we are to believe that the Vietnamese forces are going to withdraw from Cambodia, we have to have impartial international supervision to ensure that the troop withdrawals actually take place and that the troops are not merely rotated.

Finally, there is a call for the establishment of a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in South-East Asia. We believe that when we have achieved a peaceful settlement in Cambodia we will have finally removed the last main cause of tension in South-East Asia, and that would pave the way for peace, freedom and neutrality in our region.

Therefore all these points suggest that there has been some progress made. They also suggest, perhaps more critically for all of us here who may be tired of the debate, that the deliberations and resolutions of this body have had some impact over the years. Indeed by voting for this year's draft resolution the States Members of this Organization would not only be reiterating their commitment to the principles of the United Nations Charter but also be making a positive contribution towards a peaceful settlement of the Kampuchean problem by assisting the efforts of the Secretary-General and his colleagues.

Therefore it is a pity that this year, as was the case last year, Viet Nam has decided to boycott the debate again. It is a pity, for we shall not know what Viet Nam thinks on the subject, and it is a pity because, by not participating in the debate, Viet Nam is setting an extremely bad example for other nations to follow, and it will also help to undermine further the credibility and prestige of the Organization.

(Mr. Mahbubani, Singapore)

We believe that ultimately the real solution for the Kampuchean problem lies in the hands of Viet Nam. Therefore we appeal once again to Viet Nam to heed the views of the international community and perhaps to begin by talking directly, or indirectly as proposed in the ASEAN draft resolution, to all the Kampuchean parties. The longer Viet Nam delays such talks the more the Kampuchean will suffer and the more we will see a cynical cycle of aggression and deception.

Finally, they say that if the heavens could weep over a people's suffering Kampuchea would never know drought. If the Kampuchean have been able to endure their suffering for so long, the least we can do here in this hall is not to tire of this problem but rather seize the opportunity to reaffirm our solidarity with the long-suffering people of Kampuchea.

Mr. McDOWELL (New Zealand): Seven years ago Vietnamese forces invaded Kampuchea. The invasion took place in flagrant violation of the fundamental principles of international law and of the United Nations Charter. For those seven years the foreign troops have remained as occupation forces. So a cycle of violence and bloodshed has been imposed on a people whose suffering in recent years has been of an appalling dimension.

New Zealand is a sponsor of the draft resolution before this Assembly on the situation in Kampuchea, of which the representative of Singapore has just spoken so eloquently. We do so because it is our firm belief that the people of that country must be able to shape their future free from outside interference and free from external oppression.

(Mr. McDowell, New Zealand)

The New Zealand Government has repeatedly stated that this can be achieved only by the withdrawal of Vietnamese forces, followed by an internationally guaranteed recognition of the right of the people of Kampuchea to elect their own leaders and to decide for themselves the form of their own Government. These rights continue to be denied them, and New Zealand continues to deplore this situation.

The New Zealand Government does not believe that the clear and repeated rejection by this Assembly of Viet Nam's invasion and occupation of Kampuchea will alone bring about the solution required to end the tragic suffering of the people of Kampuchea. What this Assembly must do is point to ways in which the framework for a comprehensive settlement of the problems of Kampuchea can be achieved. The New Zealand Government supports and applauds the efforts of the sponsors of this draft resolution that are members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN). We commend the part they have played and continue to play in the process leading towards a solution to the problems of Kampuchea.

The first major step towards a settlement must be for the parties involved to sit down together and negotiate. There is a mechanism within the United Nations, through the International Conference on Kampuchea, to facilitate negotiations. We applaud the work already done through that Conference. But it is the substance rather than the procedures of negotiation that are of paramount importance. If other forums would be more conducive to real negotiation, then we would give support to help ensure the success of such talks.

The New Zealand Government notes that there has been some evidence - and I underline the word "some" - since the Assembly last considered this issue that the Government of Viet Nam is willing to talk to the ASEAN countries to begin to explore the possibilities of a solution. We support the process of dialogue. We commend also the Secretary-General's efforts to assist the parties concerned to

(Mr. McDowell, New Zealand)

resolve their differences. The New Zealand Government has also taken careful note of the comments by the Foreign Minister of Viet Nam that Viet Nam intends to withdraw from Kampuchea by 1990. We regard withdrawal as an essential part of any solution to the problem of Kampuchea. We therefore urge that negotiations proceed with a view to ensuring that this withdrawal takes place, and that it takes place a good deal sooner than the date proposed by Viet Nam. This morning the representative of Senegal asked rhetorically - and we believe quite rightly - whether it was reasonable to expect the people of Kampuchea to wait a decade for the withdrawal of the Vietnamese. As a fellow-cosponsor of the draft resolution, our response is that it would be most unreasonable: the Kampuchean people have waited too long now to run their own country.

The New Zealand Government looks forward to peace in Kampuchea. The draft resolution before the Assembly incorporates the elements that will be essential to the achievement of a comprehensive settlement. It seeks the re-establishment of Kampuchea's independence, of Kampuchea's sovereignty and of Kampuchea's territorial integrity. We urge all Members of this Organization to give it their support.

Mr. HEPBURN (Bahamas): Few of us in the international community would contest the viewpoint that four of the essential elements of a just and lasting solution to the Kampuchean problem are: the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchean territory; the restoration and preservation of Kampuchea's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity; the right of the Kampuchean people to determine their own destiny; and the commitment of all States to non-interference and non-intervention in the internal affairs of Kampuchea.

Similarly, there are few of us who, were it not for the untiring efforts of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative, Mr. Ahmed, and his staff, would not have given up hope of ever seeing this prolonged and unhappy situation resolved.

(Mr. Hepburn, Bahamas)

Once again in this regard, we must pay a tribute to the Secretary-General, who has persisted in the herculean task, within the framework of his good offices, of trying to establish a sustained process of dialogue between the concerned parties.

Needless to say, we are most heartened to learn from the Secretary-General's report (A/40/759) that over the past year there has seemed to be some convergence on the main elements of a comprehensive political settlement of the Kampuchean problem. With a view to furthering this incipient convergence, the Bahamas considers the proposal of a limited international conference involving the participation of all parties directly concerned, as well as the five permanent members of the Security Council and other mutually acceptable countries, as a necessary measure whereby common understanding can be reached so as to ensure that the conference will begin on as positive a foundation as possible.

While we are convinced that great strides could be made through diplomatic channels, the Bahamas delegation believes that we ought also to pay closer attention to finding ways to alleviate the suffering of the Kampuchean people under the present situation. We are pleased to note, in the Secretary-General's report, that the number of refugees in Thailand has been greatly reduced between 1980 and 1 October of this year. There are still, however, too many Kampuchean people seeking refuge along the Thai-Kampuchean border. The United Nations Border Relief Operation, which has worked against great odds - having to abandon established shelters and reconstruct new ones in the face of ongoing hostilities - must be given due credit for the vital role it has played and continues to play in accommodating all who have sought shelter.

From that perspective, it is obvious that the refugee problem not only is devastating for the large number of Kampuchean people who have been forced to flee their country, but also threatens Thailand's social, economic and political

(Mr. Hepburn, Bahamas)

infrastructure. Suffice it to say that the Kampuchean problem is not confined to Kampuchea but has far-reaching implications for the peace and security of the entire South-East Asia region.

The Bahamas finds merit in the joint statement of the ASEAN Foreign Ministers of 8 July 1985, wherein they call for the start of proximity talks between Viet Nam and the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea with the participation of Heng Samrin as part of the Vietnamese delegation, and which delineates the following as basic elements of a comprehensive political settlement of this problem: first, withdrawal of foreign forces from Kampuchea; secondly, United Nations control and supervisory commission; thirdly, national reconciliation; and fourthly, United Nations-supervised election and exercise of self-determination.

When all is said and done, we support the earnest hope, stated in the Secretary-General's report, that

"it will be possible to put an end to the intense suffering which has been the tragic lot of the peoples of the region for so long and to enable them to look to a future of peace, stability and prosperity". (A/40/759, para. 22)

Finally, the Bahamas delegation feels that the text of draft resolution A/40/L.4 and Corr. 1 contains those elements which could effect a just and comprehensive solution to this vexing question, and we support it.

Mr. THOMPSON (Fiji): Every year since 1979 the United Nations has regularly and consistently sought to resolve the problem of Kampuchea. No real progress towards a satisfactory political solution leading to an independent Kampuchea has yet emerged despite comprehensive United Nations resolutions and the Declaration of the International Conference on Kampuchea. Foreign armed occupation continues to cause havoc and hardship to the Kampuchean people and the conflict seriously undermines peace and stability in the region.

Since the invasion and occupation of Kampuchea the overwhelming majority of the international community has repeatedly called for a negotiated settlement. The principal elements of the proposed settlement were elaborated by the July 1981 International Conference on Kampuchea and include the withdrawal of Vietnamese forces, recognition of the right of the Kampuchean people to determine their own future and the restoration of the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-aligned status of Kampuchea.

It is regrettable that Viet Nam continues to insist that the situation in Kampuchea is irreversible. For our part, on this question, as on other issues, we continue to be guided by the Charter principles. Foreign intervention and the use of force in Kampuchea or elsewhere must not be condoned.

While Viet Nam refuses to comply with United Nations resolutions, the outcry of the international community has prevented the illegal situation prevailing in Kampuchea from becoming a fait accompli. Viet Nam's considerable military strength has not been able to subdue the Kampuchean people. The Kampuchean resistance forces are increasingly active and the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, under the presidency of Prince Norodom Sihanouk, is receiving widening support from the Kampuchean themselves as well as from the international community.

(Mr. Thompson, Fiji)

Neighbouring States have had to cope with the spill-over from the Kampuchean conflict, placing an unwarranted burden on them and especially on Thailand, which has had to absorb hundreds of thousands of refugees.

My delegation would like to pay a tribute to all the countries and international organizations that have actively supported the humanitarian programmes in the border areas, and also to the Secretary-General and his Special Representative for their tireless work in trying to resolve the Kampuchean problem. My delegation commends the latest peace initiative proposed by the Foreign Ministers of the member States of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) at their July meeting in Kuala Lumpur. We are convinced that the proposed proximity talks can significantly advance the prospects for a political settlement in Kampuchea if given the chance.

The great majority of the international community wishes for a just and durable settlement in Kampuchea. The present draft resolution contains all the essential elements for such a settlement. We are pleased to be one of the 58 co-sponsors and we urge all delegations to support this resolution.

Mr. HUSSAIN (Maldives): The United Nations is celebrating its fortieth anniversary this year. My country, which has enjoyed 20 years of its complex and rich history as a Member, is hopeful and optimistic of what our Organization can do for us in the future.

Today this plenary meeting of our Assembly is devoted to a question which involves many disturbing realities of a political and humanitarian nature. I am referring to the frustrating situation in Kampuchea. The direction of the solution to it is clearly indicated and the origin of that situation needs no further elaboration. All foreign forces must be withdrawn to make possible the achievement of a comprehensive political solution based on the will of the Kampuchean people themselves.

(Mr. Hussain, Maldives)

The General Assembly has adopted by an increasing majority successive resolutions calling upon the foreign aggressor to withdraw its troops from Kampuchea. It is our firm belief that the noble objective of lasting peace in South-East Asia can be achieved only through urgent action by this international community to find a sound political solution to the Kampuchean problem. It should be the firm commitment of each Member State of this body to adhere to the principles of the Charter, which calls upon us all to respect the national independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of all States, not to intervene or interfere in the internal affairs of other States, to refrain from the threat or use of force and to settle disputes through peaceful negotiations.

We are impressed by the tragic plight of the Kampuchean people and by the increasingly significant support rendered by the international community year after year. We are encouraged by the progress made by the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea under the leadership of Prince Norodom Sihanouk. Further, the desire of the Khmers to seek an equitable and honourable political solution to the differences is a definitive and positive element. We applaud the honourable efforts continuously being made by the regional body, the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN).

My delegation is convinced that the right of small and weak nations to choose their own destiny without being threatened by the big and the strong should be safeguarded. The historic decisions of the General Assembly on the struggle of the Kampuchean people for their national liberation add very much to our comfort and satisfaction. They are the symbolic expression of the commitment of Member countries of our Organization to justice and peace in the world we live in.

My delegation is disturbed by the recurring assaults on Kampuchea by the massive military forces of the foreign aggressor, for which there is no precedent.

(Mr. Hussain, Maldives)

These actions take a great toll of human lives and force the displacement of thousands of Kampuchean, who spill over into the neighbouring nations as refugees. It is common knowledge that even if those nations have in the past been sympathetic in accepting those refugees, the continued growth of their numbers has added yet another dimension to the Kampuchean problem. We respect and applaud the willingness demonstrated by the ASEAN member States to provide refuge for displaced persons. Further, we are aware of the additional problems that those States will continue to confront as a result of the growing burden.

Our Organization has seen too often that, if questions relating to national independence, territorial integrity and sovereignty resulting from foreign intervention or interference continue to exist without a viable solution, every additional month or year is fraught with further complex problems and frustrations. The mere fact that this body is adopting an ever larger number of resolutions on such issues, which have remained on its agenda for several years, is a clear example. Timely action is rewarded by good results.

My delegation therefore reaffirms its conviction that the immediate withdrawal of all foreign forces is the first and most essential action towards safeguarding the independence, territorial integrity and sovereignty of the Kampuchean people. We believe that such a solution is a possibility that would conform to international norms as far as the legitimate national security of all the countries of that region is concerned.

Mr. DIATTA (Niger) (interpretation from French): Once again the General Assembly is seized of the question of Kampuchea, which continues to be a cause of serious concern for the whole international community and a grave threat to international peace and security. For seven years now Kampuchea has been the victim of occupation by foreign armed forces in flagrant breach of the fundamental principles of the Charter. It is a disquieting fact that this foreign occupation has over the years degenerated into a real tragedy for the Khmer people. Prince Norodom Sihanouk, President of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, in his eloquent and clear-sighted address in the general debate at this session, described developments in Kampuchea and the manifold sufferings of compatriots. This tragedy has taken the form, in the main, of the death of thousands of innocent civilians, the exodus of tens of thousands, the breaking up of settlements, the taking away of lands and traditional fishing grounds from the indigenous population and many other afflictions of all kinds which I cannot describe in full here.

The situation prevailing in the country is most disturbing and calls for concentrated attention on the part of all States which cherish peace and freedom and are eager to see the purposes and principles of our Organization prevail, for each passing day brings deepening ruin and destruction to that country. Happily, however, the courageous people of Kampuchea has not succumbed to adversity but has rallied to the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea and organized a steadily mounting resistance which, as is evident from the international press, is causing the occupiers serious trouble and concern. We take this opportunity to pay a heartfelt tribute to the patriotic, just struggle of the courageous Kampuchean people, which, faithful to its age-old traditions of freedom, independence and dignity, is doing everything in its power to restore sovereignty and territorial integrity to its country.

(Mr. Diatta, Niger)

The delegation of Niger sees this occupation of Kampuchea by foreign troops as a challenge to the United Nations system and the international community. The basis for the settlement of this question already exists in the successive resolutions adopted by this General Assembly since 1979. Alas, those resolutions have not had any effect because the main party concerned has refused to implement them. They call, among other things, for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Kampuchea, the restoration and preservation of the country's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, recognition of the right of the Kampuchean people freely to determine its own future and a commitment on the part of all States to refrain from interfering in the internal affairs of Kampuchea. Those are the basic elements for the settlement of this question and they are supported by a sizeable majority of the Member States of our Organization. Only strict adherence to them could rapidly bring about the restoration of peace in that country and thus in the region.

In this belief my country, which has always looked to negotiation and peaceful means for the settlement of disputes and defended the principle of respect for the sovereignty of nations and the right of peoples to live in peace and to choose freely their own political and social systems, has become a sponsor of draft resolution A/40/L.4 and Corr.1, which once again reaffirms the basic elements for settlement of this question. We hope that it, too, will receive the support of the vast majority of States. Accordingly, we appeal to all the protagonists to spare no effort to comply with the spirit and letter of the draft resolution.

Furthermore, as was so rightly said by the Secretary-General in his report on this issue, all the parties concerned must engage in a sustained dialogue in order to foster understanding and mutual trust, which are vital prerequisites for a political solution to the conflict.

(Mr. Diatta, Niger)

The indispensable role which the Secretary-General of this Organization plays, together with the members of the Ad Hoc Committee, in fostering a favourable climate should be acknowledged and should receive our constant support.

We hope that this fortieth anniversary of the founding of our Organization will mark the beginning of a new era of hope for the Kampuchean people, whose sole aspirations are peace, stability and unity. Niger, for its part, will contribute to and fully support any endeavours to bring the suffering of the Kampuchean people to an end once and for all.

Mr. CHARLES (Haiti) (interpretation from French): At the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly, in the debate on the situation in Central America, the representative of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam said the following:

"We are confident that at the age of 40 the United Nations will be more effective in its actions, thereby living up to its role as the defender of justice and of peoples faced with aggression and threats of aggression."

(A/39/PV.37, p. 33-35)

Unfortunately it appears that the forecast of the representative of Viet Nam has not been borne out. Our Organization continues to be ineffective and incapable of serving the purposes for which it was created. How could it be otherwise with an Organization whose Member States can, as they see fit, act at variance with its purposes and principles or ignore its decisions?

That is precisely what has happened in the case of Viet Nam, which, notwithstanding the principles of non-interference and non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States and respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Kampuchea, has been keeping an army of occupation in that country for almost seven years now. In the course of those seven years the United Nations has never ceased to concern itself with that situation, which has caused

(Mr. Charles, Haiti)

such indescribable suffering to the people and is endangering peace, stability and the efforts to bring about regional co-operation.

A number of resolutions, inter alia, resolution 39/5, which were adopted by an overwhelming majority, have condemned foreign intervention and armed occupation and demanded the withdrawal of foreign troops from Kampuchea to make it possible for the people of that country to choose their own destiny free from any outside interference or pressure. Unfortunately, no progress has been made towards finding a just and negotiated settlement. If indeed the situation has evolved at all this year, it is rather for the worse. Indeed, far from accepting the verdict of world public opinion and the United Nations, the all-powerful Viet Nam has chosen the military option. That has been confirmed by the extent of the offensive launched against the resistance forces, which have no choice but to continue the unequal struggle for their national survival. Thus, fresh waves of refugees have been pouring over the frontier, frequently with the Vietnamese hordes in hot pursuit right into the territory of Thailand.

For my country, which has always condemned foreign intervention and occupation no matter whence it comes, the Vietnamese presence in Kampuchea cannot be justified even by security needs, whether real or imaginary, because no people has the right to strengthen its own security at the expense of another's.

(Mr. Charles, Haiti)

To accept such behaviour in relations between States can only spell anarchy, chaos and a return to the law of the jungle, of which small States would be the first victims. We believe that individual security can be better served by a system of collective security, the primary prerequisite for which is the strictest respect for the purposes and principles of the Charter, the principles of the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, and so on.

Accordingly, we welcomed the statement made by Prince Norodom Sihanouk at the thirty-ninth session when he said that if Viet Nam withdrew its occupying army he would endeavour with that country

"relations of friendship and co-operation based on the five principles of peaceful coexistence based on equality, mutual respect and common interest ..." (A/39/PV.7, p. 66)

We also welcome the readiness of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea to begin

"negotiations with Viet Nam in order to consider the fundamental elements of a comprehensive, lasting settlement of the Kampuchean problem."

In this connection, we pay a tribute to the member countries of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) for their persistent efforts to bring about a process of political settlement that would pave the way for the establishment of a zone of peace and co-operation in an area whose reconstruction can no longer be delayed.

This is also the aim of my delegation in becoming a sponsor of draft resolution A/40/L.4 and Corr.1, which - to quote the Secretary-General - "with the good will and active co-operation of all parties concerned" (A/40/759, p. 5), will contribute to putting an end to the terrible suffering which has for so long been

(Mr. Charles, Haiti)

the tragic lot of the peoples in that region and make it possible for them to look forward to an era of peace, stability and prosperity.

Mr. BAGBENI ADEITO NZENGEYA (Zaire) (interpretation from French): On 25 December 1978 foreign forces, Vietnamese forces, invaded Kampuchea, overthrew the legitimate Government and installed a Government in their own service, supported by troops estimated to number 180,000 men. For almost seven years, therefore, Kampuchea has suffered illegal occupation by aggressive forces which have become masters of the country and have expressed no clear intention to withdraw from Kampuchea. The vague, approximate dates for partial or total withdrawal of the invasion forces - namely about 1990 - envisaged by the leaders of the invasion forces are indications, even statements, of their intention to perpetuate their domination with a view to continuing to deprive the people of Kampuchea of their freedom and independence and deny their deepest aspiration to national unity.

The General Assembly, in resolutions 34/22, 35/6, 36/5, 37/6, 38/3 and 39/5, of 14 November 1979, 20 October 1980, 21 October 1981, 28 October 1982, 27 October 1983 and 30 October 1984, respectively, has called for the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea so as to ensure the restoration and preservation of that country's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, demanded recognition of the right of the Kampuchean people to decide its own destiny and called for a commitment by all States to refrain from interfering or intervening in the internal affairs of Kampuchea.

In connection with the implementation of those resolutions the Secretary-General, Mr. Perez de Cuellar, has submitted a very concise, instructive and comprehensive report to the General Assembly at this session on the way in which he has sought ways of making progress towards the peaceful settlement of the problem.

(Mr. Bagbeni Adeito Nzengeya, Zaire)

From the various meetings, contacts and missions of good offices that he has undertaken in South-East Asia the Secretary-General has become convinced that a situation characterized by tensions and active hostilities all along the border between Thailand and Kampuchea persists and prevents any immediate progress towards peace or dialogue. It is accepted that the problems of the region cannot be settled by military means and that prolonged confrontation can only exacerbate the tensions and increase the risks of escalation.

We must also bear in mind the suffering endured by the nearly 200,000 Kampuchean refugees who are seeking to emigrate and re-establish themselves in Thailand. I wish to pay a warm tribute to the Government of Thailand for the hospitality it has offered those refugees, as well as to all countries that have given assistance to them.

My delegation believes that in view of this tragic situation only a peaceful solution resulting from a process of true negotiation and mutual accommodation can rightly serve the fundamental interests of the parties concerned and, above all, the Kampuchean people.

My delegation agrees with the Secretary-General's analysis, which envisages a comprehensive political settlement, of which the elements would be: first, the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea; second, a renunciation of the universally condemned policies and practices which have characterized recent events; third, the promotion of national reconciliation; fourth, the exercise by the people of Kampuchea of the right to decide its own future; fifth, respect for Kampuchea's independence, territorial integrity and non-aligned status; sixth, the adoption of measures to guarantee the security and sovereignty of all States of the region, and international guarantees to facilitate supervision of the implementation of the resultant agreements; and, seventh, the creation of a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in South-East Asia.

(Mr. Bagbeni Adeito Nzengeya, Zaire)

It is against this backdrop that my delegation has become a sponsor of draft resolution A/40/L.4 and Corr.1, on the situation in Kampuchea. We hope that it will win the unanimous support of delegations of States that cherish peace and justice.

Mr. HERRERA CACERES (Honduras) (interpretation from Spanish): Honduras is convinced that in Kampuchea, as in Afghanistan, in South-East Asia, in Central America, and in all the other areas of the world where there are international conflicts, we should concentrate on ensuring respect by all States, without exception, for the universal and unconditional validity of the purposes and principles of the Charter. We expressed that conviction when we took part in the debate on the situation in Kampuchea on 30 October last year.

We are taking part in the debate once again in a constructive spirit and with the sole aim of contributing to a broad political settlement of the conflict in Kampuchea. That conflict is of concern to all the Members of the United Nations and its bodies, for it concerns human rights and the fundamental freedoms of the people of Kampuchea, as well as international peace and security in South-East Asia, matters with obvious international implications and of international interest, and no State can claim that this is a case of intervention in what are essentially its internal affairs.

We have noted the report of the Ad Hoc Committee of the International Conference on Kampuchea on its activities during 1984-85 (A/CONF.109/9), and we have studied the Secretary-General's report (A/40/759) of 17 October 1985. We have also studied the letters that the parties concerned have distributed this year as documents of the Security Council and the General Assembly.

Both the massive inflow of Kampuchean civilians into Thailand to save their lives and in search of personal security and the exacerbation of tension in the area as a result of hostilities along the frontier between Thailand and Kampuchea and the continuing incursions of foreign military forces into Thailand are causing grave concern. However, although such actions are discouraging, they should not blind us to the fundamental goal, which is a comprehensive peaceful settlement of the problem, the central issues of which are the withdrawal of all foreign forces

(Mr. Herrera Caceres, Honduras)

from Kampuchea; national reconciliation; the right of the people to self-determination and the restoration and maintenance of its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity; non-intervention and non-interference in the country's internal affairs; and the legitimate interest of the States of the region in security in order to be able to establish a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in South-East Asia.

In the light of what I have said, we applaud the Secretary-General's continuing efforts in his mission of good offices, as well as his direct evaluation of the situation and his constant consultations with the countries of the region. Very positive elements have emerged this year, and we should help to encourage them. They are described in paragraph 13 of the Secretary-General's report, where he says that.

"a reasonable degree of convergence has emerged on the main elements of a comprehensive political settlement. These elements include inter alia: withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea; non-return to the universally condemned policies and practices of a recent past; promotion of national reconciliation; exercise by the Kampuchean people of the right to determine their own destiny; respect for the independence, territorial integrity and non-aligned status of Kampuchea; ensuring the security and sovereignty of all States in the region; international guarantees for and supervision of the implementation of the agreements reached; and the establishment of a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in South-East Asia. Evidently, significant differences still exist on the interpretation of these goals and the modalities for achieving them. They provide, however, a broad framework which could be progressively elaborated and refined, with a view to creating mutual understanding and confidence among all parties concerned."

(A/40/759, para. 13)

(Mr. Herrera Caceres, Honduras)

We pay tribute to the Secretary-General for his report, as it shows that his good offices have borne fruit, and we ask him to intensify his efforts to help the parties concerned find a peaceful settlement as soon as possible through dialogue and negotiations within the framework of an international conference.

Experience teaches us that the suffering of the Kampuchean refugees will be ended only by dealing with the cause of their continuing exodus, which will be possible only when a comprehensive peaceful settlement has been achieved and they can return safely to their homeland. However, in the meantime there are urgent humanitarian problems requiring our attention, solidarity and assistance. We therefore join in urging the donor countries of the United Nations and its organs and other national and international humanitarian organizations to continue providing emergency assistance to the refugees along the frontier between Thailand and Kampuchea and in the temporary refugee centres in Thailand.

Honduras, whose peasants have also suffered loss of life and property in some border areas from repeated military incursions and bombings, fully understand the sufferings of the Thai people in the frontier areas where such action is being taken against them. We express to the Thai peasants our solidarity and sympathy.

Honduras continues to be a sponsor of the draft resolution on the situation in Kampuchea (A/40/L.4 and Corr.1), of 17 October 1985, and we share the earnest hope expressed by the Secretary-General in his report that

"with the good will and active co-operation of all parties concerned, it will be possible to put an end to the intense suffering which has been the tragic lot of the peoples of the region for so long and to enable them to look to a future of peace, stability and prosperity." (ibid., para. 22)

Mr. VRAALSEN (Norway): For the seventh consecutive year, this General Assembly is called upon to consider the continuing Vietnamese occupation of Kampuchea. Despite the many efforts that have been made to bring about a peaceful, just and comprehensive political solution and despite the overwhelming, and increasing, majority in the General Assembly in support of the United Nations resolutions on the subject, the Vietnamese forces remain in Kampuchea in clear violation of the United Nations Charter. That reflects a sad state of affairs: sad for the international community, for the region of South-East Asia and, most of all, for the people of Kampuchea, who have suffered so much.

My delegation has repeatedly stressed that the main responsibility for the present situation rests with the occupying Power. Foreign intervention violates the fundamental principles of international law and constitutes a grave threat to international peace and security. Just as the world could not condone the former régime in Kampuchea, whose gross violations of human rights caused innumerable deaths and untold suffering, so it can not acquiesce in a foreign Power invading and occupying another country. In no way do the violations of human rights by the former régime give legitimacy to the new régime or to the way in which it was installed in Phnom Penh.

The Norwegian delegation shares the view that an essential first step towards a comprehensive solution to the current situation in Kampuchea must be a firm commitment by the occupying Power to cease all hostilities and to withdraw its forces, thus paving the way for the restoration and preservation of Kampuchea's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. In our view, the draft resolution before us, of which Norway is a sponsor, incorporates the elements for a comprehensive political settlement: first, the total withdrawal of all foreign forces and, secondly, the right of the Kampuchean people freely to choose their own Government.

(Mr. Vraalsen, Norway)

My delegation is confident that the General Assembly will once again reaffirm those basic principles for a solution to the question of Kampuchea.

The Secretary-General and his Special Representative have continued to seek a peaceful solution to the Kampuchean question through extensive talks with the parties concerned. My Government has carefully studied the latest report of the Secretary-General, and we note with interest his cautiously expressed optimism that

"a reasonable degree of convergence has emerged on the main elements of a comprehensive political settlement" (A/40/759, para. 13),

as well as his proposal to convene an international conference in which the five permanent members of the Security Council would be represented.

We should like to commend the Secretary-General and his Special Representative for their tireless efforts to bring about a negotiated settlement, and we express our support for their continuing efforts. We urge the parties and States most directly concerned to renew their efforts towards genuine negotiations and mutual accommodation on the basis of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

The countries of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) are directly affected by the problems in Kampuchea. My Government fully supports the initiatives of the ASEAN countries designed to bring the parties in Kampuchea closer to the negotiating table. We should like also to express our support for and solidarity with Thailand, a country which for the last six years has been experiencing an unprecedented influx of refugees. Although the number of Kampuchean refugees in Thailand has significantly decreased over the past year, the upsurge of hostilities along the border has caused great difficulties and necessitates a continued assistance and resettlement effort. In this connection, I should like to pay a tribute to the work being done by the various United Nations organizations in the field, in particular the Office of the United Nations High

(Mr. Vraalsen, Norway)

Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), and by non-governmental organizations, and to their invaluable efforts to alleviate the plight of the refugees.

My own Government has for the last three years contributed NKr 24 million to the efforts of the United Nations Border Relief Organization, UNHCR, the World Food Programme, the International Committee of the Red Cross and various non-governmental humanitarian organizations assisting Kampuchean refugees. As long as the search for a political solution to the problems of Kampuchea goes on, there will be a need for assistance to the refugees in the border area. My Government will continue in the future to assume its fair share of the costs involved in this humanitarian effort.

Mr. OULD BOYE (Mauritania) (interpretation from Arabic): As in the rest of the world, we in Mauritania have followed with sympathy and admiration the stages of the heroic struggle waged by the peoples of South-East Asia to rid themselves of foreign rule and attain independence and freedom. The brother people of Kampuchea has won the world's admiration and support by their long and arduous struggle, in which they have given the greatest example of heroism and self-sacrifice to regain their dignity, unity and independence.

Whenever it speaks on the question of Kampuchea, my delegation feels distress and concern over the invasion and continuing occupation of the territory of Democratic Kampuchea and the resulting suffering. That is the last thing we would wish for that important region. We would very much prefer to see the peoples of South-East Asia transforming their unity in that lengthy struggle, into a beneficial understanding and co-operation bringing peace, prosperity and progress to all.

(Mr. Ould Boye, Mauritania)

Mauritania is of the view that only a comprehensive political solution will solve the problem of Kampuchea. We believe that the Declaration on Kampuchea adopted by the International Conference on Kampuchea and successive resolutions adopted by the General Assembly continue to provide a sound basis for such a solution. We reaffirm the need for the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea and for respect for the sovereignty, independence and non-alignment of that country, together with the right of its people to self-determination free from outside interference. My country welcomes the ongoing international efforts in this respect, in particular those of the Secretary-General.

My delegation is convinced that a peaceful solution to the Kampuchean problem will provide the motivation prompting the States and the peoples of South-East Asia to resume and pursue efforts to turn their area into a region of peace, unity, good-neighbourliness and prosperity.

Mauritania has traditionally maintained excellent relations with the Government and the people of Kampuchea. The eminent Head of the Government of Kampuchea, Prince Norodom Sihanouk, deserves our respect and our admiration, given his personal qualities, his modesty, his sincerity and his dedication in the service of his country.

We hope that friendly Kampuchea will soon enjoy peace, security, stability and freedom.

The meeting rose at 6.25 p.m.