



General Assembly

PROVISIONAL

A/41/PV.44
23 October 1986

ENGLISH

Forty-first session

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE FORTY-FOURTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Tuesday, 21 October 1986, at 10 a.m.

President: ~~Chairman~~

Mr. CHOUDHURY

(Bangladesh)

- The situation in Kampuchea [25] (continued)

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

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the Official Records of the General Assembly.

Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, within one week, to the Chief, Official Records Editing Section, Department of Conference Services, room DC2-750, 2 United Nations Plaza, and incorporated in a copy of the record.

The meeting was called to order at 10,20 a.m.

AGENDA ITEM 25 (continued)

THE SITUATION IN KAMPUCHEA

- (a) REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (A/41/707)
- (b) DRAFT RESOLUTION (A/41/L.2)
- (c) REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/41/735)

Mr. ENGO (Cameroon): We inscribed our name on the list not only to speak in favour of the draft resolution submitted on this item but also to express our genuine frustration. The location of the problem under review is a centre of well-known oriental wisdom, a region in which, throughout the ages, people have fought heroically for their culture and the right to maintain it in freedom; a region in which the peoples have seized the opportunities of the changing times to blend the old and the new in shaping the greatness of a new continent.

The Vietnamese people stood up against injustices and occupation in their homeland; the world stood up with them in condemnation of the outrage. The third world rallied around them as the powerful appeared to live in a world of hypocritical convenience, their compulsions and obsessions matched only by the animal instincts for subduing the weak.

We held strongly to these values, not only because they are entrenched in our African culture, but also - and more so - because they were universally shared and entrenched in the United Nations Charter to which all nations are party.

We thus rejoiced with the Vietnamese people at their freedom, finally won. We are sure the people of modern Kampuchea joined in a sense of relief. The Assembly can thus imagine the sense of outrage and frustration that our dear friends, the Vietnamese, should later be seen to reject the olive branch offered by a combination of freedom, peace, security and development; that the same nation now embraces an ambitious foreign policy which it must know itself is costly in terms of both resources and politics.

(Mr. Engo, Cameroon)

The moment the Vietnamese embarked on an incursion into Kampuchean territory, obviously with a sense of false optimism that the world would still be with them, they identified themselves with the rejects of history, like the fascist régime in Pretoria which continues to occupy Namibia illegally. They trampled upon the norms of their Asian culture, which respects the sanctity of human life and solidarity with neighbours.

(Mr. Engo, Cameroon)

What is more pertinent in universal terms is that the Vietnamese have, in ignoring the entreaties of fellow members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN), violated the peremptory norms and principles of the United Nations Charter: the right of peoples to determine their own destinies without external dictation, that is, the right of self-determination, the sovereign equality of States, the prohibition of the threat or use of force in international relations and the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of States.

If our Afro-Asian friends have given in to the alluring fantasies and aesthetics of domination, they must not seek comfort in the weakness of the unorganized, young international community and in its inability to impose effective sanctions. History prescribes costly penalties for the arrogant among nations.

There is surely an alternative to the present state of affairs. Those who saw the devastations of war produced the Charter of the United Nations, which prescribes the pacific settlement of disputes and states that armed force should not be used save in the common interest. We can find no common interest in this case.

We strongly appeal to the wisdom of the people of Viet Nam to set in motion a process of reconciliation and negotiation, if there is indeed a viable dispute to settle. This cannot be achieved without the complete withdrawal of troops and the re-establishment of conditions in which the people may freely choose their nation's institutions under preferred leadership. We make this appeal because we too are, politically and historically, Afro-Asians; we share the common values of non-alignment; we share the aspirations for the improvement of living standards for our respective peoples. We must also share an abhorrence of the futility and devastation of war and belligerency. We cannot give true leadership, as peoples with the oldest and most tested of civilizations, to a world racked by crisis and

(Mr. Engo, Cameroon)

strife, if we ourselves indulge in mere ritualistic support for universal values, for disarmament, for peace and security, and for development.

To the Kampucheans we express our firm solidarity. Through their accredited leader we also send our best wishes for courage and everything that would help to bring about the speedy termination of the agony of their present predicament.

Mr. McLEAN (Canada) (interpretation from French): At the outset my delegation would like to add Canada's voice to the condolences already expressed on the untimely and tragic death of President Samora Machel. The Government and people of Canada wish to assure the people and Government of Mozambique of their sincerest sympathy.

(continued in English)

My delegation addressed this Assembly a year ago on the unacceptable situation prevailing in Kampuchea. Since then the Government of Canada has continued to follow closely developments in that troubled country. Unfortunately, there has been no apparent change in the pattern of the illegal occupation of Kampuchea by Vietnamese troops. During the past year the occupying troops have coerced Kampuchean peasants and members of the Kampuchean Army into forced labour along the Thai-Kampuchean border in order to construct border defences, including minefields and stake pits. The purpose of this operation seems to be the creation of a no man's land. It is thus increasingly dangerous for those Kampuchean citizens who are not willing to continue to live in a country controlled by an occupying Power to seek the relative safety of a refugee camp in Thailand. It is obvious that this action is also an attempt to end border movements of resistance forces.

Peace continues to be elusive in the area. The international community has to continue to answer the call made by the Secretary-General in his last report by

(Mr. McLean, Canada)

providing humanitarian relief to the innocent Khmer civilians sheltered in various camps in Thailand.

It does not appear that any substantial progress towards peace has been achieved during the past year. The eight-point proposal issued by the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea was, unfortunately, immediately dismissed by Viet Nam. While we do not suggest that this new proposal is necessarily a panacea, we regret the almost instant dismissal of this important effort. Indeed, it seems that various proposals have been put forward over the years but that no serious effort has been made to address them or even their underlying concerns. Until a real assessment of such proposals is undertaken, we do not see how meaningful progress can be achieved.

The political and human aspects of the Kampuchean drama continue to warrant close scrutiny by my Government. This year again the Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Joe Clark, attended the ASEAN Foreign Ministers' meeting and reaffirmed Canada's continued commitment to support all, and in particular the ASEAN efforts towards a just and lasting settlement of the conflict in Kampuchea. Mr. Clark continues to join with Prince Norodom Sihanouk, leader of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, in calling for freedom and justice for the Khmer people. My country remains opposed to any return to power of a régime similar to that which prevailed under Pol Pot. Its policies were abhorrent to the Canadian people and cannot be condoned in any circumstances. Canada also continues to oppose strongly and persistently the occupation of Kampuchea by Viet Nam.

In the absence of a long-awaited negotiated settlement, Canada continues to provide, through dedicated multilateral agencies, humanitarian assistance to the

(Mr. McLean, Canada)

Khmer people displaced or otherwise affected by the continuing conflict. During the 1986-1987 fiscal year Canada will have contributed \$2.7 million for humanitarian programmes in Thailand. The greater part of these funds will be utilized for relief and refugee programmes in the border area and in the holding camps within Thailand. This contribution brings to more than \$33 million the funds that Canada has provided over recent years for the protection, care and assistance of displaced persons and refugees in the region. Again I wish to acknowledge the efforts made by the Thai Government to shelter and succour the helpless Khmer people who have been given refuge in that country. Canada continues to be a major resettlement centre for Indochina refugees, many of whom received first asylum in neighbouring ASEAN countries.

(Mr. McLean, Canada)

I must note that if the draft resolution presented by the ASEAN nations, of which Canada is a sponsor, were to be fully implemented, movement towards a satisfactory solution to the Kampuchean problem might begin. The draft resolution contains in a balanced form the essential elements for a permanent solution. While Viet Nam maintains that its occupying forces will be withdrawn by 1990, we have heard similar statements before. We are not encouraged by recent developments. The prospects for peace in the region appear bleak. The international community must continue to seek and work for the goal of a free and independent Kampuchea. Canada, therefore, commends this draft resolution to the Assembly.

Mr. SIDDIKY (Bangladesh): I wish at the outset to express on behalf of my delegation our heartfelt condolences on the tragic demise of President Samora Machel of Mozambique. He was a valiant patriot and an inspiring statesman. His death is a loss not just to the people of Mozambique but to freedom-loving peoples everywhere.

The continuing sorrows of Kampuchea are a sad commentary on our so-called civilized values. The tragedy that is being enacted in that country, whose peace-loving people have no other wish but to be left to themselves, is one of the most regrettable issues of our times. It is a melancholy reminder of the reality that the unfolding of human history has not reached the point where we have achieved the triumph of rationality over animality.

Once again, as it has done year after year, the General Assembly is addressing itself to this problem. Throughout those years many have laboured hard so that the pains of the Kampuchean people might cease. We are grateful to the Secretary-General for his untiring efforts in this respect. We have before us his report, which does not appear to forecast a speedy end to the tribulations of the Kampuchean people. He has urged, and we endorse this request, that the countries concerned work actively

(Mr. Siddiky, Bangladesh)

in the coming months towards the evolution of a mutually acceptable mechanism for the initiation of the peace process.

The crux of the problem is intervention in the internal affairs of a sovereign country by its neighbour, which has resorted to illegal military means to promote its expansionist designs in the region. It is perhaps in order at this stage to analyze the various elements in the issue.

First, there is the political element. In clear contravention of all the norms and principles of inter-State relations and in gross violation of the United Nations Charter, a foreign Power intervened in 1979 to oust the Government in Kampuchea and install another of its own choice. The newly installed Government failed to win for itself a minimal measure of domestic and international support. Recognition was accorded instead to a Coalition Government that was broadly representative of the public that was driven out of Phnom Penh into exile.

Secondly, there is the military element. An estimated 150,000 foreign troops are still present in Kampuchea engaged in a bitter conflict with the forces of the Coalition Government. The war has brought about a holocaust of death and destruction and has driven hundreds of thousands from their homes. Further, the war threatens to destroy the confidence and pride of a nation which can justly boast one of the finest classical civilizations in the annals of man.

Thirdly, there is the humanitarian element. Hundreds of thousands of distressed humanity have sought peace by fleeing their homes and taking refuge in Thailand and other neighbouring countries. This has created a refugee problem of tremendous magnitude affecting not just the hosts but the entire global community. The world, in this respect, owes a debt of gratitude to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and to the donor countries which have been providing generous assistance to Kampuchean in need.

(Mr. Siddiky, Bangladesh)

Fourthly, there is the regional element. It is not just Kampuchea and Kampucheans that are threatened; the issue has wide regional ramifications. It might be difficult to contain the conflagration, which could engulf the neighbouring States of South-East Asia, which have so painstakingly engaged in transforming their economies into wonders of the contemporary age. This element in particular has involved the States members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN), and other peaceful countries near and far.

In focusing itself on the problem, the Assembly has adopted a number of resolutions. These have called for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Kampuchea, the restoration and preservation of its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, and recognition of the right of the Kampuchean people to determine their own destiny. They have, further, reaffirmed the commitment of all States to non-interference and non-intervention in the internal affairs of Kampuchea. These resolutions, year after year, have prevented this horrifying episode from escaping the attention of the world public, although the aggressor has yet to respond to their call. Recently, at the non-aligned summit in Harare, the participants issued yet another fervent appeal that the parties abide by these resolutions. To sharpen the focus and bring the issues into broader relief, the Ad Hoc Committee of the International Conference on Kampuchea has been performing some significant work.

In the opinion of my delegation, the recent eight-point programme proposed by the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, under the presidency of His Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk, merits serious consideration. I shall not enumerate its components as these are well known. I should like to point out, however, that for the first time it offers the creation of a coalition Government that would include the present authorities in Phnom Penh. This positive suggestion

(Mr. Siddiky, Bangladesh)

reflects the genuine desire of the proponents for a speedy solution. It is heartening that the ASEAN Foreign Ministers have endorsed the proposal as a constructive and comprehensive framework for negotiations. We hope that this will not go unheeded by the intervening foreign Power. Bangladesh also hopes for an early reconvening of the International Conference on Kampuchea.

Bangladesh has time and again unequivocally and unflinchingly stated its position on the Kampuchean issue. This is dictated by our foreign policy, which is based on principles, not expediency. On every issue we have endeavoured to be moderate, objective and constructive. We have not spoken out of turn, and when we have spoken it has been to advance the cause of peace. There are certain fundamental beliefs that mould our external expression: the strong must not commit aggression against the weak with impunity; inter-State relations must be tempered by justice; States must not interfere in the affairs of neighbours; and each nation must be allowed to chart the course of its destiny. It is our conviction that global peace, harmony, and development hinge on the ability of mankind to transform these beliefs into articles of faith.

Based on this, Bangladesh stands committed to the United Nations Charter. In consonance with this commitment, we endorse all the United Nations resolutions on Kampuchea. We believe that any just and lasting solution of this problem must include the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchean soil, the restoration and preservation of that country's independence, sovereignty and recognition of territorial integrity, and recognition of the right of its people to determine their own future without external interference or intervention. We request that the praiseworthy efforts of the Secretary-General in search of a solution and in providing succour to the suffering continue.

(Mr. Siddiky, Bangladesh)

We are in favour of an early reconvening of the International Conference. We urge the States in the region, upon the achievement of a solution, to strive to create in the area a zone of peace. These are components of the draft resolution. My delegation has therefore decided to sponsor it.

Bangladesh and Kampuchea are linked by legacy and legend. We share many common vowels, verbs and values. Our sympathy with the pains of the Kampuchians are therefore deep and abiding.

Forty-eight years ago, some thought Czechoslovakia was a far-away country about which we knew little, and cared less. The result was the Second World War. I say this to warn those who might perceive Kampuchea as a distant land. No problem, no issue, no country can be too far away in the modern world. Shall we not learn from history?

Mr. AFOLABI (Nigeria): Let me first of all, on behalf of my delegation, extend my heartfelt condolences to the Government and people of Mozambique on the shocking and untimely death of President Samora Machel. His sudden death is indeed sad, not only to his family and people and the entire continent of Africa, but also to all freedom-loving people the world over.

Nigeria once again joins other speakers in assuring the Secretary-General of our support for his continuous efforts to find a lasting solution to the Kampuchean problem. We particularly note the extensive discussions that the Secretary-General has held with the various political leaders of the area concerned. We feel encouraged by his optimism that in the light of these discussions, which were aimed at bridging the significant differences regarding the procedure for negotiations, a comprehensive political settlement will ultimately be achieved.

(Mr. Afolabi, Nigeria)

My delegation also takes this opportunity to renew its expression of appreciation to the Ad Hoc Committee of the International Conference on Kampuchea for its enduring spirit in the difficult task assigned to it. We congratulate the Committee on the missions for the peace and stability of Kampuchea which it undertook on behalf of the Secretary-General earlier this year.

We likewise commend the United Nations agencies and the humanitarian organizations that have been steadily engaged in assisting Kampuchean refugees to find settlements in third countries and for the generous contributions made to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. We appeal to Member States to contribute more generously in any manner they deem appropriate to help achieve lasting peace and stability in Kampuchea.

The position of Nigeria on the Kampuchean conflict is very clear. We shall continue to support the various United Nations resolutions calling for a just and lasting solution to the problem, as it is the view of my delegation that the only way to a just and lasting peace for the Kampuchean people is through a process of negotiation and constructive dialogue, as outlined in the various United Nations resolutions. Nigeria not only deplores the continued foreign intervention in, and occupation of, Kampuchea but also calls for the withdrawal of such foreign forces. My delegation hereby reiterates its support for the withdrawal of all foreign forces, as such withdrawal will certainly facilitate free and meaningful discussions under the auspices of the United Nations.

To this end, Nigeria reaffirms its stand on the need for the restoration of the independence and sovereignty of Kampuchea. Only then will Kampuchea be able to exercise its inalienable right to self-determination as a sovereign, neutral and non-aligned State. My country strongly believes in the principle of the right to self-determination, not only because self-determination for Nigeria has become an

(Mr. Afolabi, Nigeria)

article of faith, but also because it is consistent with the Charter of our Organization. That is one more reason why the international community should exert all the influence at its disposal to discourage any change of government through the force of arms of a foreign Power. Such interference in the internal affairs of a country by a sovereign Power not only is dangerous but also has far-reaching consequences for international peace and security.

We therefore call for the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea. Thereafter, the people of Kampuchea may, under the auspices of the United Nations, freely determine their own future without foreign interference or intervention. In this regard, my delegation calls upon the occupying Power to withdraw from Kampuchea in compliance with the wishes of the international community. Finally, it is the hope of my delegation that the Secretary-General will continue to use his good offices to hold further consultations with all concerned in the Kampuchean conflict with a view to finding lasting peace and stability in Kampuchea. The proposals for a political settlement must be handled with the seriousness the situation deserves. We therefore appeal to all Member States to give more support to both the Secretary-General and the Ad Hoc Committee in their noble efforts to find a lasting and honourable solution to the Kampuchean problem, in accordance with the United Nations Charter and international law.

Mr. OSMAN (Somalia): Let me begin by expressing, on behalf of my Government, our deep sympathy and sincere condolences to the Government and people of Mozambique on the sudden and tragic death of President Samora Machel. President Machel was not only the Head of State of his country, but a great and prominent African leader who has fought valiantly for freedom, justice and human dignity. His loss will be seriously felt by the people of his country, by the people of Africa, and by the international community as a whole.

(Mr. Osman, Somalia)

It is most regrettable that there has been no progress on the long-standing question of Kampuchea. The report of the Secretary-General, while describing the sustained efforts he has devoted towards a negotiated solution of this tragic situation, shows that there continues to be a significant difference between the parties regarding the proposals for negotiation and the implementation of the main elements of a comprehensive political settlement.

The framework for a settlement has already been agreed upon by this Assembly. A solution must involve the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea; the restoration and preservation of its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity; the exercise by the people of Kampuchea of their inalienable right of self-determination; and a commitment by all States to non-interference and non-intervention in the internal affairs of that country.

(Mr. Osman, Somalia)

This framework for a peaceful settlement has formed an integral part of resolutions adopted annually by the General Assembly since 1979 by an overwhelming majority. Unfortunately, the decisions of the Assembly have been disregarded time and again by the occupying Power. We continue to witness the subjugation of Kampuchea by a neighbour which is intent on undermining the country's sovereignty and territorial integrity and imposing ruthless policies which have forced tens of thousands of the population to flee their homes and their country. This unacceptable set of circumstances has resulted in large-scale humanitarian problems and brought in its train conditions which threaten the peace and stability of neighbouring countries.

My delegation listened very carefully to the statement by Prince Norodom Sihanouk to this Assembly yesterday and we were impressed by the positive spirit which the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea has shown regarding a peaceful political settlement of this problem. The eight-point proposal conforms in substance to the provisions of the relevant United Nations resolutions, as well as to the Declaration of the International Conference on Kampuchea adopted in July 1981. In situations of this nature, however, where a foreign force invades a country and attempts to impose its will and its ideology on the people of that country measures for resolving the situation must begin with the removal of the original cause of the problem: that is, with the unconditional withdrawal of all foreign military forces from that country.

Finally, I should like to emphasize that my delegation, as a co-sponsor of draft resolution A/41/L.2, of 10 October, fully supports the approach taken by the Secretary-General, and we are confident that the General Assembly will again call upon him to continue his efforts to bring about an early solution of this urgent and grave problem consistent with the terms and provisions of the relevant General Assembly resolutions.

Mr. SLAQUI (Morocco) (interpretation from French): First I should like to convey to the delegation of Mozambique the condolences of the Government of His Majesty King Hassan II on the tragic death of President Samora Machel, a faithful defender of the independence of his country and a valiant fighter against the apartheid system.

Once again the General Assembly is considering the question of the situation caused by the armed Vietnamese intervention in Kampuchea and the risks that it entails for peace and security in the region. For seven years now the people of Kampuchea have been subjected to foreign occupation, with the privations, suffering and exile that this implies. This situation, which is undoubtedly a flagrant violation of the principles of the United Nations Charter, has been unequivocally and constantly condemned by the international community and in successive resolutions adopted by the General Assembly.

Despite the appeals of our Assembly, the good offices of the Secretary-General and the persistent efforts of the countries of the region, there is no indication of a peaceful solution to this problem in the near future. The reason lies in the intransigence of the Vietnamese Government and its refusal to abide by the various proposals for a settlement made since 1979.

Whether it is a matter of the good offices of the Secretary-General undertaken pursuant to General Assembly resolutions or the efforts by the member countries of the Association of South-East Asian Nations [ASEAN], the basis of the proposals is respect for the principles of the Charter - that is, the non-use of force, with its corollary, the peaceful settlement of disputes in accordance with Article 33, non-interference in the internal affairs of States, and respect for the right of peoples to choose their political, economic and social system. It is precisely these basic elements that are to be found in the latest proposals, submitted on

(Mr. Slaoui, Morocco)

17 March 1986, by the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea with a view to the peaceful solution of the problem.

That balanced, realistic proposal, which seems to have the active support of the countries of the region, could have led to the restoration of peace and harmony in that sensitive area of the world, but we must say that so far the noble, sincere desire for peace which underlies the action of Democratic Kampuchea and the countries of ASEAN has not met with a response from the Vietnamese side.

The Kingdom of Morocco, despite the fact that it is geographically remote from the region, follows with concern the situation in Kampuchea and appreciates the efforts of the countries neighbouring Kampuchea to promote a just, final solution to this problem. This effort is part of the great generosity they have constantly shown to the Kampuchean refugees, in co-operation with international humanitarian organizations.

My country welcomes the role that the Secretary-General continues to play, with his usual devotion, in efforts to bring the positions closer together and find a common negotiating platform. His role in co-ordinating humanitarian relief assistance to Kampuchean refugees deserves our gratitude and support.

In his statement before this Assembly, His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk described the tragic situation of Kampuchean refugees and reaffirmed the aspiration of his people to live in freedom, unity and good-neighbourliness with other States of the region. Our Assembly is still awaiting a positive response from Viet Nam to the appeals of the international community that it put an end to the sufferings of the Kampuchean people and accept a peaceful, final solution to this problem.

(Mr. Slaoui, Morocco)

The Kingdom of Morocco, which has always rejected intervention and interference by one country in the internal affairs of another, reiterates its solidarity with the Kampuchean people and supports all efforts to find a political, comprehensive solution, guaranteeing the withdrawal of foreign troops from Kampuchea, respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of that country, its neutrality and non-alignment, and the right of the Kampuchean people to self-determination.

The Kingdom of Morocco will finally express this position of principle by voting in favour of draft resolution A/41/L.2.

Mr. MATTURI (Sierra Leone): On Sunday, Mozambique mourned the loss of its President. Africa lost one of its greatest sons. Sierra Leone mourns the death of President Samora Machel.

Since 1975 the imperial ambitions of Viet Nam - the principal beneficiary of France's colonial investment in Indo-China have been reborn. In fulfilment of those ambitions, Vietnamese armed forces of more than 180,000 men unashamedly invaded Cambodia in December 1978, ousted the notoriously discredited Government of Pol Pot, which the international community recognized as responsible for the deaths of some 2 million Cambodians from 1975 to 1978 inclusive, and installed in Phnom Penh the People's Republic of Kampuchea under the leadership of Heng Samrin. That Government has still to win broad recognition.

It is an irony of history, indeed a paradox, that Viet Nam should seek the domination of its weak neighbours - a situation which it had so courageously fought against and for which it had sacrificed the flower of its manhood and material resources for a great part of its own recorded history. What is more, if Viet Nam were allowed to legitimize its illegal occupation, then all small and militarily weak States would be at the mercy of their militarily significant neighbours.

(Mr. Matturi, Sierra Leone)

By invading and occupying Cambodia, Viet Nam has not only squandered the enormous good will which it won during its own struggle to be master of its destiny but has also violated those sacred principles of the Charter to which all Members of the Organization are heirs. Might is not right.

The Government of Sierra Leone, for its part, has since 1973 supported Prince Norodom Sihanouk's Government in exile as the legitimate Government of Kampuchea.

The illegal occupation of Cambodia by Viet Nam has not only claimed the lives of hundreds of thousands of Cambodians but has forced hundreds of thousands to flee into exile in Thailand, creating for that country a massive refugee problem. In addition, and because of disputed boundaries and the use of border zones as sanctuaries, the Thai people face regular incursions across the frontier. Viet Nam's incursions into Thailand have not only violated that country's sovereignty and territorial integrity, but have led to the loss of the lives of hundreds of citizens of Thailand. We therefore support the call upon the international community to render assistance to those unfortunate people along the Thailand-Cambodia border who have been forced to flee their ancestral homes and villages in search of succour.

At its last seven sessions General Assembly has adopted pertinent resolutions with a view to contributing to the solution of the problem of Cambodia, but Viet Nam has consistently and repeatedly ignored them all, including the Declaration adopted by the International Conference on Kampuchea in 1981, which also offered a firm basis for negotiations leading to a comprehensive settlement of the problem. Viet Nam's intransigence and occupation of Cambodia should not be allowed to continue.

Sierra Leone will once again, as in the past, give its full support to the

(Mr. Matturi, Sierra Leone)

draft resolution submitted by the members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations calling for a peaceful and just solution to the conflict as contained in the eight-point plan, which includes a cease-fire, the total withdrawal of Vietnamese forces, and free and fair elections.

To save the world requires faith and courage: faith in reason and courage to proclaim what reason shows to be true. The draft resolution therefore merits the support of all Members of the United Nations because it is reasonable and because it also reaffirms our common commitment to, and faith in, a peaceful process in solving problems within the United Nations framework for the enhancement of international peace and security.

Mr. FLEMMING (Saint Lucia): Once again the General Assembly has been called upon to adopt a draft resolution on the situation in Kampuchea. Saint Lucia has sponsored and voted for the resolutions on this item since 1980, and this year my delegation has joined with 59 other countries in sponsoring the draft resolution before us. As in previous sessions, my delegation is confident that, at the conclusion of the debate on the Kampuchean situation, the draft resolution will again be adopted by an overwhelming majority of the States Members of the United Nations. The draft resolution is just and fair and could, in my delegation's opinion, form the basis for a comprehensive, political solution to the Kampuchean problem in which the legitimate interests of all the South-East Asian nations, including Viet Nam, would be taken into account.

The distance between Saint Lucia in the Caribbean and Kampuchea in South-East Asia is about 12,000 miles and therefore the situation there poses no direct threat to the security of Saint Lucia. Yet we are concerned about the situation in Kampuchea. Why? As I stated in my address before the Assembly during the debate on this item in 1985, our concern arises from the fact that an act of armed aggression has occurred against a sovereign State Member of the United Nations.

(Mr. Flemming, Saint Lucia)

Saint Lucia has supported the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) on this item because the conflict in Kampuchea symbolizes a threat not only to the ASEAN States but to all States in the international community, especially the smaller and militarily weaker ones.

By invading Kampuchea in December 1978 and imposing a puppet régime on the Kampuchean people, Viet Nam has violated the fundamental principles that govern inter-State relations. These principles, including respect for the national independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of all States, non-intervention and non-interference in the internal affairs of States, non-recourse to the threat or use of force, and peaceful settlement of disputes, form the backbone of the instruments, norms and principles of the international community. By their actions in Kampuchea, the Vietnamese have conveniently discarded these principles to suit their purposes and have threatened regional and international peace and security.

Not only has Viet Nam discarded established principles set forth in the Charter of the United Nations but it has attempted to introduce a dangerous principle in international relations, namely, that a militarily powerful State has the right to invade, occupy and colonize a weaker neighbour and impose a puppet régime on it just because the stronger State does not approve of the Government of that neighbouring State. This precedent must not be allowed to become a norm in inter-State relations and, unless we oppose it, it will come back to haunt the smaller States among us. Some of us may find our countries the victims of similar aggression.

That is why my delegation has supported and continues to support the draft resolution on Kampuchea. Also, as I mentioned earlier, the draft resolution offers a comprehensive political solution to the conflict in Kampuchea, by calling for the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Kampuchea, advocating the re-establishment

(Mr. Flemming, Saint Lucia)

of Kampuchean independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, reaffirming the right of the Kampucheans to decide their own future with United Nations-supervised elections and calling on all States to commit themselves to non-interference in the internal affairs of Kampuchea.

Almost eight years after invading and overthrowing the legitimate Government of Democratic Kampuchea, Viet Nam has not succeeded in controlling the country that 140,000 of its troops and 20,000 advisers continue to occupy and administer. This is partly because the United Nations has refused to condone the Vietnamese action or recognize the Heng Samrin puppet régime. This action on the part of the United Nations has emboldened the Kampuchean people and given them the spirit to continue their struggle to liberate their nation. The valiant resistance of the Kampucheans, led by Prince Norodom Sihanouk, in their courageous war of national liberation to restore their independence and sovereignty, has also prevented the Vietnamese from consolidating their hold on Kampuchea. As Prince Norodom Sihanouk said in his address at this session of the General Assembly on 30 September 1986:

"so long as Viet Nam refuses to end its war of invasion and occupation in Kampuchea, the Khmer people and their coalition Government have no alternative but to pursue the struggle for the nation's survival." (A/41/PV.16, p. 27)

The Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea, led by Prince Norodom Sihanouk, has been exerting diplomatic efforts with the objective of seeking a comprehensive peaceful settlement with Viet Nam. Its eight-point proposal of March 1986 reflects recognition by the Coalition of Viet Nam's interests and concerns. In his recent address here Prince Norodom Sihanouk said that the proposal was an equitable and lasting solution to the problem of Kampuchea. It would not only restore peace to Kampuchea but also end the political, economic and diplomatic isolation of Viet Nam. Yet the Vietnamese refuse to negotiate seriously for a comprehensive political settlement.

(Mr. Flemming, Saint Lucia)

Viet Nam has rejected all the United Nations resolutions on this subject and, as stated in its statement issued on 15 October 1986 here in New York, will no doubt reject the present draft resolution. However, this is not a futile exercise, largely because, while Viet Nam could ignore the resolution, it cannot ignore the weight and moral authority of international public opinion. By voting for this draft resolution, the Member States of the United Nations can demonstrate once again that the international community does not condone naked aggression. We have a moral responsibility to a Member of our Organization that has fallen victim to foreign aggression and occupation. Again let me quote from Prince Norodom Sihanouk:

"The General Assembly of the United Nations is the only place in the world where all countries, from the biggest to the smallest, from the most powerful to the weakest, can freely explain their problems with the certainty of being listened to - and sometimes heard. That is why we, Khmers, overwhelmed with difficulties and having only the comfort of our conscience and your understanding, feel so much at home here." (ibid., pp. 33-35)

The Kampuchean people need our support. I urge all members of this Assembly to join my delegation in voting for this draft resolution.

Mr. ADAM (Sudan) (interpretation from Arabic): Let me first, on behalf of my delegation and on behalf of the Government of Sudan, convey our most sincere condolences to the people and the Government of Mozambique on the tragic death of President Samora Moises Machel. His death is a tremendous loss to the whole of southern Africa and a far-reaching tragedy for the whole of Africa. We are convinced, however, that the people of Mozambique will be able to overcome this loss with their usual fortitude and to continue their drive towards the building of this country and their common struggle with the rest of Africa.

The situation in Kampuchea is one of the important issues which the General Assembly has been seized of since the convening of the International Conference on Kampuchea in 1981. Sudan took part in that important International Conference and has the honour to be a member of the Committee established as a result of it. Sudan has taken part in the work of that Committee, in the conviction that this difficult issue is one of the most serious problems this Organization has to deal with. It is an example of the flagrant violation of the principles of the United Nations Charter, which establishes the right of all peoples to self-determination, territorial sovereignty and the right to live in peace, free from foreign intervention of any sort. The bloody struggle which has been waged in Kampuchea for several years now has not brought about a solution to this crucial problem. The fact that it has continued to rage and escalate has brought further devastation and suffering to the patient people of Kampuchea and plunged the whole region into a conflict that has hampered its economic and social development and deprived the peoples of the area of their legitimate right to well-being, security and peace. We believe that the International Conference on Kampuchea is the most appropriate forum for a political and lasting solution to this thorny problem which war has failed to solve. We therefore invite all the parties concerned in this problem to make a positive contribution to the work of the Conference and demonstrate their

(Mr. Adam, Sudan)

sincere political will to reach a solution.

Any just and lasting solution to the problem of Kampuchea has to be reached through the withdrawal of all foreign forces from that country, the reaffirmation of the independence and sovereignty of the people of Kampuchea and their right to self-determination. All other States should adhere to the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of Kampuchea. In the light of these fundamental principles, we appreciate the efforts of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) and believe that the eight-point proposal put forward by the Coalition Government under the chairmanship of Prince Norodom Sihanouk last March offers a practical framework and demonstrates a sincere political will to put an end to the conflict in Kampuchea.

We also believe that the proposal offers the practical means by which all the parties involved in this conflict can deal with the problem should they have the sincere will to do so. The proposal calls for a cease-fire, the withdrawal of foreign troops and free elections under the supervision of the United Nations. Furthermore, the proposal advocates the re-establishment of the independence of a neutral, united democratic Kampuchea and invites all members of the international community to contribute to the reconstruction of Kampuchea within the framework of true co-operation among all the countries in the region, regardless of the diversity of their economic and social systems.

My delegation has noted with great interest the report of the Secretary-General (A/41/707), dated 14 October 1986. The report confirms our conviction with regard to the basic prerequisites of any just and lasting solution to the problem. It has also highlighted the tragic situation of the Kampuchean people, and their migrations in search of safety under truly inhuman conditions, which have been ignored by some of the principal parties to the conflict. We would

(Mr. Adam, Sudan)

like to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General and the donor countries for their effective contributions towards the alleviation of the Kampuchean people's suffering. We support the efforts of the Secretary-General and share his conviction that further efforts are required in order to bring the divergent postures closer to a common ground that may bring the parties to the conflict to the point of negotiating a peaceful political solution.

We can only laud the persistence of the Secretary-General, who continues to shoulder the difficult task entrusted to him by the General Assembly. There may be cause for optimism in this very bleak situation, inasmuch as the Secretary-General has stated in his report that the need for a peaceful solution is rapidly becoming a shared conviction by all parties to the conflict. We agree with him that it is by no means possible to find a solution for such a problem if prior conditions are imposed by any of the principal parties to the dispute.

It goes without saying that we support the efforts of the Ad Hoc Committee of the International Conference on Kampuchea, of which we are members. We also support the initiatives of Mr. Gratz, the current President of the Conference. We call upon all the parties concerned with the conflict to contribute fully and effectively to the work of the Conference, which, we hope, will be reconvened as soon as possible.

Finally, we must stress a basic fact with regard to any future settlement of this major political and human problem, namely that an appropriate climate of confidence must be created in the area as a framework of mutual understanding and an indispensable factor of meaningful co-operation and constructive dialogue between the parties concerned. In order for the interests of all the countries of the region to be fully taken into account in any future settlement of the dispute, it is essential that the interests of the Kampuchean people should not be sacrificed. They have suffered enough and have the right to a better future.

Mr. ALZAMORA (Peru) (interpretation from Spanish):

President Samora Machel was a legendary symbol and an inspiration to all peoples fighting for their self-determination and independence. Peru reverently bows its head before his tomb and joins in fraternal unity with the grief of the people of Mozambique.

Once again my delegation, and the great majority of the nations represented here, must take a stand on the question of Kampuchea, as we have done in past years, in support of the principles of the Charter and the maintenance of the international legal order that rests on those principles. My delegation will accordingly vote for the draft resolution before us.

Ours is a position of principle and in keeping with our attitude towards other areas of conflict in the world, in respect of which our peaceful and constructive approach is also based on the principle of safeguarding self-determination, non-aggression, non-intervention, territorial integrity and national sovereignty of peoples.

At all times we must be aware of the fact that those values are universal; they are as valid in Asia as in Latin America or any other region of the world where, directly or indirectly, foreign intervention and the use or threat of force are employed in an attempt to deprive the peoples of their right to choose their own destiny.

Aggression and foreign intervention are the same in one place as in another, under whatever the political banner the action is taken. Let us not forget this if we wish to give our positions of principle the necessary consistency and credibility in this case in order to arrive at a lasting, comprehensive and agreed solution to the problem of Kampuchea in accordance with the provisions of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations and of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries.

(Mr. Alzamora, Peru)

In the search for such a solution, the United Nations has provided a broad framework for the consideration of the necessary formulas for a solution in the International Conference on Kampuchea and in the Declaration on Kampuchea it adopted. We still believe that the guidelines laid down by the Conference provide a sufficiently broad basis for negotiating the conclusion of a political settlement to the question. The increasing support given to the resolutions of the General Assembly, and in particular to resolution 40/7, demonstrates that this is the majority view.

Peru, which took part in the International Conference on Kampuchea and which later decided to become a member of the Ad Hoc Committee established by that Conference, will continue to devote all its efforts to the attainment of a broad and constructive political settlement of the question of Kampuchea.

We are encouraged by the belief referred to in the Secretary-General's report that all the parties now seem to recognize the need for a rapid political solution. We also support the assertion that this can only be achieved through a constructive process of negotiation without prior conditions and on the basis of a mutually acceptable procedure for initiating this process.

My delegation gives its support to the order of priorities established and believes that only by strictly adhering to it can we find the right road to a solution in terms of the principles referred to at the beginning of my statement, which constitute the basic elements in the position shared by the international community on this question.

The problem of refugees in the Thailand-Kampuchean border area not only continues to cause endless political friction in the area, but has also become a serious humanitarian problem for hundreds of thousands of people who have had to leave their homes in order to survive and who need assistance and relief. However,

(Mr. Alzamora, Peru)

we are pleased to note from the Secretary-General's report that many of the refugees have been resettled and, generally speaking,

"the humanitarian assistance extended by the Organization has done much to alleviate the plight of the Kampuchean people." (A/41/1, p. 4)

My delegation joins in the recognition which this praiseworthy humanitarian effort deserves, and we shall also give our support to any further action to deal with this very important aspect of the issue we are dealing with today.

Mr. MOUMINE (Comoros): My delegation is deeply grieved at the untimely death of President Samora Machel and many members of his suite. President Machel was a great son of Africa. Africa and the third world have lost one of their best. We send our heartfelt condolences to the people and Government of Mozambique and to the families of the deceased.

It is sad, it is very sad, that seven years have gone by, seven resolutions have been passed, seven times has the General Assembly debated the issue, and yet this unfortunate situation created by Viet Nam does not show any sign of an immediate solution.

Indeed it is a very sad situation because in the dock this time stands a third world country, a State member of the Non-Aligned Movement, a Movement whose cardinal principles are self-determination of peoples, sovereign equality of States, non-aggression, non-interference and peaceful coexistence among its members.

The Vietnamese military intervention in the affairs of its neighbour Kampuchea is a flagrant violation of these cardinal principles governing our Movement and therefore inadmissible.

In previous debates on the situation in Kampuchea, my delegation chose not to participate, in the belief that our Vietnamese brothers would heed the massive international appeals for it to withdraw its forces from Kampuchea. However, seven

(Mr. Moumine, Comoros)

General Assembly resolutions calling upon Viet Nam to withdraw its troops from Kampuchea have gone unheeded, and we are therefore today obliged to state our country's position on this issue.

Being a small country, the Comoros cannot acquiesce in or condone the action of any country, be it big or small, sending troops into the territory of its neighbour for any reason whatsoever.

We have great sympathy for the valiant people of Viet Nam, but too much is too much. The people of Kampuchea have had more than their share of suffering and it is inhuman for any country to continue inflicting further suffering on this unfortunate people.

(Mr. Moumine, Comoros)

Consequently, Viet Nam should - indeed must - withdraw its forces from Kampuchea so that the people of that country may be able to determine their own future free from all outside interference. In the name of third world solidarity we appeal to Viet Nam not to perpetuate this issue by ignoring our appeals and the resolutions of the General Assembly.

We are of the view that an acceptable and durable solution to this question will be possible if all parties concerned adhere to the eight-point proposal introduced by the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea and announced by its President, His Royal Highness Prince Norodom Sihanouk, on 17 March 1986. The eight-point proposal already enjoys enormous support in the international community; that is because it addresses comprehensively the core issue of the Kampuchea problem. Among other things, it calls for negotiations between the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea and Viet Nam to discuss the process of the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea. The proposal also calls for negotiations between the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea and the Heng Samrin faction with a view to setting up a quadripartite Government of Kampuchea. That demonstrates the flexibility of Democratic Kampuchea, which attaches importance to the national reconciliation of all the Kampuchean people.

My delegation is convinced that only strict adherence to the eight-point proposal will lead to a peaceful solution of the Kampuchean problem, thereby alleviating the untold suffering experienced by the people of Kampuchea and relieving Thailand of the great refugee burden it is carrying.

Mr. BOUZIRI (Tunisia) (interpretation from French): I wish first of all to convey the deep condolences of my delegation and my Government to the delegation of Mozambique on the tragic death of President Samora Machel and other members of the group accompanying him. On this sad occasion, the people of Tunisia share the sorrow and mourning of the people of the People's Republic of Mozambique.

(Mr. Bouziri, Tunisia)

Once again the General Assembly is considering the agenda item entitled "The situation in Kampuchea", which shows that no decisive progress has been made in the search for a peaceful solution to that problem. In its search for an honourable solution benefiting all parties concerned, the United Nations has already adopted seven resolutions, by large majorities. Those resolutions recall the principles of international law on the basis of which a negotiated solution should be brought about among the parties to the conflict and should entrust the Secretary-General with a mission of good offices.

The continuing efforts of the Organization and the personal commitment of the Secretary-General appear to have persuaded the forces involved of the need for a political settlement. But a negotiated solution necessarily involves the establishment of mutually acceptable machinery to promote the peace process.

Judging by the situation still besetting Kampuchea, the machinery we have hoped for continues to elude us. Indeed, despite apparently peaceful intentions, tension in South-East Asia, with all its risks to peace and security in the region, does not seem to have diminished. The occasional peace proposals made this year have not aroused any particular interest among those they were intended for, despite the impetus such proposals could have lent to developments.

Certainly, the great skepticism and mistrust that have grown over the years cannot be dissipated by a few proposals. But we venture to hope that one of the parties concerned will see that these represent a will to seek together for a compromise solution to the tragedy of Kampuchea.

The report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Kampuchea, while describing the intense activity that has taken place in the framework of the mission of good offices, clearly shows the lack of political will, which means that basic positions remain unchanged. The foreign troops that continue to occupy

(Mr. Bouziri, Tunisia)

Kampuchean territory are a manifestation of that fact. They remind us that in Kampuchea the norms of international law are disregarded, to the detriment of the independence of that country and of its people's right to self-determination and to its right to decide on its own future without foreign interference.

This situation is especially serious, for the seven years since the intervention in Kampuchea have demonstrated the harmful effects of military occupation, an occupation which is facing increased national resistance and international condemnation. Moreover, the parties to the conflict have faced the fact that military means cannot provide a radical solution to the problem and that only a peaceful settlement can offer the Kampuchean people the necessary guarantees of the peace and security they need so badly.

My country sincerely regrets that foreign troops have not been withdrawn in spite of the many resolutions and appeals adopted by the General Assembly. We reiterate our conviction that whatever its motives the military intervention in Kampuchea cannot be justified. The flagrant interference to which Kampuchea was victim in no way constituted an act of self-defence, and the attempts at justification do not stand up to scrutiny. The behaviour of the Khmer Rouge Government towards the Kampuchean people, however criminal and despicable it was, did not justify the overthrow of that Government by foreign armed force.

In our view, international law has never permitted military intervention in a country on the pretext of defending that country's citizens from the cruelty of their leaders. That would be a grave precedent, which would entitle some to pass judgement against the sovereignty and security of States.

(Mr. Bouziri, Tunisia)

Once again my country denounces the use of force, especially in the circumstances to which I have referred. We do this because we are convinced that there are peaceful means of resolving the most complex disputes, and also because, if this were the practice, small, weak countries could become the prime target of the stronger countries, thus calling into question their political, economic and social choices and jeopardizing their freedom to take decisions. In adopting this position Tunisia does not intend to whitewash the former Kampuchean régime, whose odious crimes have seriously jeopardized the legitimacy they might have claimed. Nor does it intend to justify the military intervention that is still continuing, on the pretext that there were massive violations of human rights by the former régime. Tunisia believes that the withdrawal of foreign forces from Kampuchea is not a false solution, as some would claim; on the contrary it is the basic component of any peaceful solution to the problem that would be achieved by a reconciliation among the Kampucheans themselves.

Only in this way can the Kampuchean tragedy be resolved and an end put to the condemnation and indignation of the international community. The right to self-determination, I need not remind you, cannot be exercised by the people of Kampuchea if an army of occupation is stationed there. This is contrary to the United Nations Charter and to the principles of international law. The trials and tribulations that have afflicted Kampuchea for more than a dozen years, and which have decimated their people and exposed their territory to occupation, have clearly shown that neither the terror of a discredited régime nor the intervention of foreign forces serves the legitimate interests of the Kampucheans. These interests can be served only after a national reconciliation has taken place. This is the best guarantee of a free, united, non-aligned Kampuchea. My country has seen that

(Mr. Bouziri, Tunisia)

the Coalition Government headed by Prince Norodom Sihanouk partially meets that concern. It gives reason for hope that under the presidency of that well-known patriot, an eminent figure in Kampuchea, the Coalition can overcome the obstacles that still confront a negotiated settlement. In order to do that, a compromise solution must be found as soon as possible to spare the Kampuchean people any further suffering.

We appeal to Viet Nam, which more than anyone else has experienced the horrors of war and foreign occupation, to respond favourably to the peace efforts. The parties concerned have been sorely tried by the conflict and their peoples are tired of waging war. Let us help them bring about an honourable settlement, one that will safeguard the legitimate interests of Kampuchea and make it possible to respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the other countries in the region.

Since last year some proposals for initiating the peace process have been put forward by the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) and by the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea. Whether we refer to the proposal to engage in indirect talks or to the eight-point plan, which does contain several positive elements, the response in both cases has unfortunately been negative.

My country supports ASEAN and the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea in their efforts towards peace, and we hope that the other side will finally adopt a more conciliatory attitude towards its neighbours.

Tunisia wishes to pay a tribute to the efforts of the Secretary-General and his Personal Representative, Mr. Rafeuiddin Ahmed, who have been working tirelessly to arrange a sound dialogue between the parties to the conflict. The difficulties they have encountered do not in any way diminish their merit nor their contribution to the search for peace, nor the humanitarian assistance given to the Kampuchean victims by our Organization and by the United Nations system in general.

(Mr. Bouziri, Tunisia)

Tunisia believes that the draft resolution contained in document A/41/L.2 is in keeping with the principles of law and justice and we will vote in favour of it.

Mr. KASEMSRI (Thailand): My delegation is deeply shocked to learn of the death of His Excellency President Samora Moises Machel of the People's Republic of Mozambique and of other members of his delegation. President Machel was one of Africa's great statesmen and a dedicated leader of his country. The Thai delegation wishes therefore to convey its profound condolences to the Government, the people and the mission of Mozambique and to the bereaved families on this painful loss.

The struggle to restore peace, sovereign independence and self-determination in Kampuchea, now in its eighth year, continues to deserve international attention and support. Thanks to the fact that the Kampuchean resistance on the spot against foreign forces is gaining momentum, the struggle on the diplomatic front has made some significant advances as well.

Against this backdrop, the eight-point peace proposal was submitted by the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea. It seeks to provide an honourable way to end the conflict and a graceful exit for the occupation forces. It conforms to the wish for national reconciliation and peaceful coexistence. It complies with the principles involved, including self-determination and non-interference in the internal affairs of States. It looks forward to a future of genuine non-alignment and good-neighbourly relations for Kampuchea.

The proposal has already enjoyed the support of many countries, particularly in Asia, including the members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN), and Japan and China. They see it as a significant development, especially

(Mr. Kasemsri, Thailand)

since it comes from one of the parties to the conflict. It is also a reasonable proposal, since it envisages phased withdrawals of the Vietnamese forces and direct talks with the Heng Samrin party.

Viet Nam on the other hand, has rejected the proposal. Let us examine the pretexts for its rejection of the eight-point peace proposal. First, Viet Nam continues to insist on the elimination of the "Pol Pot clique". Secondly, Viet Nam continues to maintain that the Heng Samrin régime is the "sole, legitimate and authentic representative of the Kampuchean people". Thirdly, Viet Nam continues to proclaim that the "so-called Kampuchean problem will, sooner or later, solve itself".

In the first instance, Viet Nam contends that the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea "serves as a cover for the Pol Pot clique", and that that is why Viet Nam adamantly refuses to negotiate with it. This is amazing coming from Viet Nam, which extolled the virtues of the "Pol Pot clique" as their comrades-in-arms, even three years after its advent to power in 1975. Be that as it may, Prince Norodom Sihanouk has pointedly asked how Viet Nam will be able to reach a political solution to the problem of Kampuchea while it has obstinately been refusing to negotiate with the only party against which it is fighting, namely, the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea.

(Mr. Kasemsri, Thailand)

This is also why Viet Nam has rejected the Declaration of the International Conference on Kampuchea, which states as a matter of principle that all Kampuchians have the right to participate in the elections in accordance with their right to self-determination.

Secondly, Viet Nam has heretofore contended that the legitimacy of the Heng Samrin régime was confirmed in the so-called general election of 1 May 1981. What a sham that election was is not easily forgotten by the rest of the world. It also recalls to mind the fact that Viet Nam has relied on the agreement concluded eight weeks after its invasion of Kampuchea as the pretext for claiming the régime's legitimacy and thus the legitimacy of the Vietnamese presence in Kampuchea. No wonder Viet Nam has maintained that the situation in Kampuchea is irreversible when events never did follow any logical or legal sequence to start with.

Concerning the third pretext, Viet Nam's avowed readiness to withdraw its forces from Kampuchea by 1990 is not without a condition. It is subject to the condition that others do not seek "to take advantage of this withdrawal to undermine the security and peace in Kampuchea". This has led Prince Norodom Sihanouk to observe wryly that "Viet Nam has not yet left, and it is already preparing to return to Cambodia". More important, the three Vietnamese pretexts underline in no uncertain terms Viet Nam's continued intransigence on the Kampuchean situation.

In the general debate on 6 October 1986, the head of the Vietnamese delegation, the Deputy Foreign Minister of Viet Nam, seems to have confirmed the following.

First, there is no substantive change in Viet Nam's policy and attitude on the Kampuchean situation. The problem is still regarded as an internal matter and stems from threats to the security of the Heng Samrin régime. This, and only this, constitutes the so-called Kampuchean problem.

(Mr. Kasemsri, Thailand)

Secondly, Viet Nam is still intent on imposing its own solution to the situation. In this it arrogates to itself the usual role of speaking for the other two Indochinese countries as well. Any such solution is seen by Viet Nam as only one in the basket of other solutions for all problems concerning South-East Asia. What is not clear, however, is whether, in the post-Kampuchean period referred to by the Deputy Foreign Minister of Viet Nam, Viet Nam expects to see any Kampuchea at all. The Vietnamization of Kampuchea is proceeding through the heinous programme of demographic change and the establishment of settlements for ethnic Vietnamese arrivals in Kampuchea.

Today, in 1986, the international community no longer has any doubt about the reality of this Vietnamization programme and its grave implications. Prince Norodom Sihanouk voices his concern thus:

"The Hanoi authorities have already sent more than 700,000 Vietnamese to settle on the most fertile land, in towns and along the rivers. The objective is to raise this number to 2 million within the next four or five years".

(A/41/PV.42, p. 46)

All this goes on while Viet Nam has taken measures to try to prevent Kampuchean refugees from exercising their legitimate right to return safely to their homeland.

So what will Kampuchea be like in 1990?

Another piece of evidence was mentioned by my delegation as early as 1983:

"The 20 July 1983 border treaty between Viet Nam and the régime in Phnom Penh underscores Phnom Penh's subordination to Hanoi. The so-called treaty ceded to Viet Nam territory on the Vietnamese-Kampuchean border that has been in dispute for several decades. Another treaty, signed on 7 July 1982, handed over to Viet Nam several islands that Kampuchea had held or claimed previously."

Prince Norodom Sihanouk added that the Hanoi authorities have, since the

(Mr. Kasemsri, Thailand)

beginning of the invasion of Kampuchea, shifted the boundary marks from 3 to 5 kilometres inside Kampuchea. All this has occurred despite Viet Nam's solemn declaration that it would respect the territorial integrity of Kampuchea within its 1967 borders.

So what will happen to Kampuchea in 1990?

Yet another piece of evidence is the continuing exploitation of Kampuchea's meagre resources by Viet Nam, particularly by the occupation forces. Incidences of diversion of international food aid have occurred. Commitments by the Phnom Penh régime to export foods to Viet Nam are enforced even while the régime is seeking additional assistance from the international community to the tune of 400,000 metric tons. Kampuchea was once the rice bowl of Asia.

So what will Kampuchea be like in 1990?

Thailand's consistent stand on the Kampuchean issue is predicated on the following: first, the rules of international law and the provisions of the United Nations Charter; secondly, the norms and principles governing inter-State relations; thirdly, relevant United Nations resolutions; fourthly, the tradition of independence and reliance on diplomacy; fifthly, aspirations to constructive regional and international co-operation.

Even though Thailand is not a party to the conflict in Kampuchea, it has not escaped its brutal effects. Since Kampuchea is Thailand's neighbour, Thailand is directly affected by the conflict there. The most visible effects are the quarter of a million Kampuchean refugees and displaced persons in Thailand, the 100,000 affected Thai villagers who live close to the border and the death and destruction continually inflicted on Thai nationals and their property by frequent Vietnamese incursions and shellings from across the border. Indeed the meetings on Kampuchean humanitarian relief and the activities of the United Nations Border Relief Operations and other agencies, as well as the various communications of my

(Mr. Kasemsri, Thailand)

Government circulated as official United Nations documents, have testified to all this. Moreover, apart from the hundreds of thousands of land mines laid in Kampuchean territory, Vietnamese forces have planted 20,000 of them inside Thailand. As of May 1986 those mines had claimed over 150 casualties.

Above all, the Vietnamese invasion and continued military occupation of Kampuchea represent a flagrant violation of the United Nations Charter and the principles and norms governing international relations, in particular the principles of the non-use of force and non-intervention. In joining this Organization, all Member States have committed themselves not only scrupulously to respect those principles but also to defend them and ensure that they are respected everywhere. Thailand, which is a country profoundly desirous of peace and harmony, has for its part always been and will remain concerned whenever the fundamental principles of the Charter are flouted, thus endangering international peace and security.

Despite Viet Nam's rejection of those principles, the majority of Member States are evidently in agreement with Thailand on this question. Together with the countries of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) and a growing number of delegations, Thailand has sponsored the resolutions on the situation in Kampuchea year after year, and they have been adopted by the General Assembly with an ever increasing margin of support.

Despite Vietnam's rejection of the relevant United Nations resolutions, the international community must persevere in the interest of peace and justice. In his report (A/41/707), the Secretary-General has reaffirmed his determination to contribute to these efforts in the framework of his good offices. It should be noted, however, that Viet Nam has refused to recognize the office of the Secretary-General in this regard, but continues to insist on his acting in his personal capacity.

(Mr. Kasemsri, Thailand)

In spite of Viet Nam's rejection of the official role of the Secretary-General, the must pursue its effort to confer its official blessings on the Secretary-General's role by providing him with a renewed mandate.

In spite of Viet Nam's rejection of the General Assembly's debate on this item, the Assembly has before it draft resolution A/41/L.2, submitted by 60 co-sponsors. Approval of that draft resolution by an overwhelming margin will serve to reaffirm our common commitment to a peaceful and comprehensive settlement of the Kampuchean conflict in keeping with the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter as well as with the legitimate aspirations of the Kampuchean people themselves. My delegation therefore urges all Member States to vote in support of the draft resolution before us in the interests of peace and stability in the region and beyond.

Before ending my remarks, I should like to express my delegation's deep appreciation to the Secretary-General for his tireless efforts to bring about a peaceful and comprehensive settlement of the Kampuchean conflict and to alleviate its tragic consequences by humanitarian means. In so doing, he is ably assisted by his Special Representatives, Mr. Rafeeuddin Ahmed and Mr. Tatsuro Kunugi, to whom we should like also to extend our grateful appreciation.

My delegation also wishes to commend highly Mr. Leopold Gratz, President of the International Conference on Kampuchea, and Mr. Massamba Sarré of Senegal, Chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee of the International Conference on Kampuchea, as well as the members of that Ad Hoc Committee, for the important roles they play on behalf of the just cause of Kampuchea.

My delegation also wishes to express its deep appreciation to the donor Governments, to the various United Nations bodies and agencies, to the International Committee of the Red Cross and to other humanitarian organizations for the assistance they have given to the Kampuchean refugees and displaced persons

(Mr. Kasemsri, Thailand)

in Thailand and along the Thai-Kampuchean border. We are also deeply grateful to all delegations for the kind words they have extended to the Royal Thai Government for its efforts in this regard.

The PRESIDENT: We have heard the last speaker in the debate on this agenda item.

The Assembly will now vote on draft resolution A/41/L.2. The report of the Fifth Committee on the programme budget implications of that draft resolution is contained in document A/41/735.

A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Belgium, Belize, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Burkina Faso, Burma, Burundi, Cameroon, Canada, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Comoros, Costa Rica, Côte d'Ivoire, Democratic Kampuchea, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Fiji, France, Gabon, Gambia, Germany, Federal Republic of, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, Indonesia, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lesotho, Liberia, Luxembourg, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Morocco, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Papua New Guinea, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Qatar, Rwanda, Saint Christopher and Nevis, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Solomon Islands, Somalia, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia

Against: Afghanistan, Albania, Angola, Bulgaria, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Congo, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Democratic Yemen, Ethiopia, German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Mongolia, Nicaragua, Poland, Syrian Arab Republic, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Viet Nam

Abstaining: Benin, Cape Verde, Finland, Guyana, India, Iran (Islamic Republic of), Iraq, Lebanon, Madagascar, Mexico, Uganda, United Republic of Tanzania, Zimbabwe

Draft resolution A/41/L.2 was adopted by 115 votes to 21, with 13 abstentions (resolution 41/6).*

The PRESIDENT: I now call upon those delegations which have asked to make statements in explanation of vote.

Mr. SIMAS MAGALHAES (Brazil): Brazil voted in favour of draft resolution A/41/L.2 on the situation in Kampuchea because it contains those elements we consider essential for the comprehensive political settlement of the Kampuchean question. We would like, however, to place on record our reservations concerning the fifth preambular paragraph, which refers to the struggle against foreign forces by the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea. It is our belief that the problem cannot be solved by military means and that the interests of all the parties concerned - and, indeed, of the Kampuchean people - will best be served by a peaceful solution reached through genuine negotiations. Brazil would not subscribe to language that prejudices the outcome of the exercise by the Kampuchean people of their right to self-determination.

Mr. McDONAGH (Ireland): I should like first to extend to the delegation of Mozambique the sincere condolences of the people and Government of Ireland on the tragic death of President Samora Machel. Our sympathy goes to the people and Government of Mozambique in their sorrow and to the families of all the victims.

Ireland voted in favour of the draft resolution on the situation in Kampuchea. We did so because, as in previous years, we are in agreement with the general thrust of the draft resolution. I wish to make it clear, however, that the

* Subsequently the delegation of Barbados advised the Secretariat that it had intended to vote in favour; the delegations of Algeria and Vanuatu had intended to abstain.

(Mr. McDonagh, Ireland)

fact that we have voted in favour of a draft resolution containing, as it does, the wording of its fifth preambular paragraph does not imply any change in Ireland's position regarding Kampuchean representation. The records of the Assembly clearly show that when that question was last raised formally in the context of the presentation of the report of the Credentials Committee to the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly, Ireland, as in previous years, abstained.

The PRESIDENT: The Assembly has thus concluded its consideration of agenda item 25.

The meeting rose at 12.20 p.m.